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Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)

The Aquino Assassination: **Marcos Reaps the Whirlwind** **Why He Killed Ninoy**

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UPI Photo

Editorial

The Lessons of August 21

Had it been Ferdinand Marcos' funeral, there would have been dancing in the streets of Manila. Millions of Filipinos, who clenched their fists and shouted their hatred for Marcos as they paid their last respects to Senator Benigno Aquino, told the world as much. The Marcos regime is isolated and deeply despised. At Sen. Aquino's funeral, the people turned Philippine flags red side up, signifying a declaration of war against the Marcos dictatorship.

Indeed, one of the fundamental lessons of the August 21 assassination is that the Marcos regime cannot be changed by peaceful means. By answering Aquino's peaceful entreaties with fascist violence, Ferdinand Marcos told the Filipino people, in no uncertain terms, that if they want to challenge his regime they had better be prepared to wage a revolutionary war. This was the message of the martial law decree of September 1972. It was confirmed by ten years of brutal repression and lies, and reconfirmed with violent emphasis by the .357 Magnum of August 1983.

The Filipino people are well aware that Marcos was not alone in crying crocodile tears for his latest victim. Hypocrisy is not the least of the Reagan administration's strong points. They know that the U.S. military

and economic interests that Marcos serves are the cornerstones of his fascist foundations. It is U.S. support and armaments that give Marcos the bold arrogance to shoot at will. The Aquino murder should make it clear to everyone that Ninoy was as much a victim of imperialist foreign policy and "national security interests" as he was the target of a cruel political liquidation—a fate already shared by countless revolutionary patriots.

U.S. national interests are the proverbial root of all political evils in the Philippines. These interests shield Marcos from the wrath of his own people. One can correctly say that the U.S. military bases are the main obstacles to democracy and human rights in the country. Ultimately these interests will even dictate U.S. military intervention in the effort to prevent the Filipino people's final surge toward liberation and self-determination. America's national interests in the Philippines are the bane of Filipino national interests. This lesson also lies at the heart of the August 21 tragedy.

The elite opposition that Aquino led should benefit most from these lessons. Elite oppositionists have played a valuable role in exposing the regime's anti-democratic character, contributing greatly to Marcos' isolation at home and abroad. However, their class positions have

also dictated certain illusions about the anti-fascist struggle and quite often, they have also been given to anti-communism—weakening the prospects for greater unity among all patriotic forces. Now is the time to strengthen anti-fascist resolve and to reconsider previous positions.

It is fruitless to appeal to Marcos for a fair contest in

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MARCOS AGENTS IN U.S. EXPOSED Page 2

MARCOS AGENTS IN THE U.S. EXPOSED

By NANCY ROCAMORA

While the wire services continue to hum with news concerning the assassination of Marcos foe Benigno Aquino in Manila, sources in the U.S. reveal news of similarly deadly activity against the Marcos opposition by the dictator's agents in the U.S.

On August 24, Rep. Don Edwards (D-San Jose) and Rep. Pete Stark (D-Oakland) revealed a new document that proves U.S. government knowledge that Marcos agents are active on U.S. soil to spy on "and possibly operate against" Marcos critics in the U.S. They were joined by Geline Avila and Odette Taverna of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network and Marcos critic Charito Planas.

The same day, a news feature appeared in the *Washington Post* concerning the murder of anti-Marcos union leaders Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes in Seattle two years ago. The new document, suggested reporter Caryle Murphy, strengthens the argument of progressive Filipino groups here that the Marcos regime was behind

of Benigno Aquino and the activities of the Marcos agents in our own country are thoroughly investigated and resolved to the satisfaction of the people of the United States."

Noted Avila, "This new document proves what forces in the anti-Marcos movement have long contended: the deliberate and consistent harassment of our activists by Marcos agents occurs with the express approval of the U.S. government." Such harassment, added Taverna, ranges from threats, vandalism, illegal bugging of telephones, and the growing threat of extradition to outright murder.

The evidence itself comes in the form of a two-page article from an in-house publication of the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Pentagon's intelligence unit. Stamped "Secret" and dated July 1982, the document reveals the arrival of a new high-level military team dispatched to the Philippine Embassy in Washington. The goal of the five-man team: "to help manage President Marcos' forthcoming visit to the United States, to try to expand ties between the Philippine

co-regionalists of the President. Kanapi is a member of the PMA class of '53 upon which Marcos relied most heavily when he instituted martial law in 1972. Maddela was entrusted the delicate task of escorting prisoner Victor Burns Lovely from the Philippines to testify before a U.S. grand jury on opposition activities in the U.S.

CAMD and the Union of Democratic Filipinos noted that these close ties mean the new team consists of "loyalists—diehards who will carry out any of Marcos' orders and who have a direct line to the presidential palace." The two organizations further note that the new team's involvement in the preparations for the Marcos visit last September explains "the particularly intense physical and psychological harassment our movement experienced during that period."

The new five-man intelligence team represents a significant upgrading of what the Marcos government itself calls "Philippine Infiltration Plan." The Plan's existence was uncovered by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1979 and revealed via a secret report circulated throughout the U.S. intelligence network and ultimately



called for a stop to harassment of the Filipino community and an expulsion of all Marcos agents. They demanded strong legislative action to protect the rights of Filipinos and other foreign residents seeking the advancement of human rights in countries under the rule of U.S.-supported dictators. If Marcos' intelligence team is not immediately expelled, they warned, they plan to take legal action against the five men, possibly seeking injunctive relief.

New York Times columnist Tom Wickler, in light of the latest revelations, called for the discarding of the new U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty. The new treaty places full responsibility for determining whether an individual is a criminal or a political enemy of Ferdinand Marcos in the hands of the U.S. State Department. Two bills currently in the U.S. Congress aim to bring U.S. extradition law in line with the treaty and will eliminate the judiciary

Marcos agents harassed
Filipino 'spy' operation in U.S. reported
How Marcos 'Harassed' Foes in U.S.
ex-officials say
Marcos foes say documents back charges
Filipinos in U.S. Were Harassed, Ex-Aides Assert
FAMILIES OF OPPONENTS DESCRIBED AS TARGETS
FILIPINOS IN U.S. REPORTED HARRIED



Planas, Stark, Edwards, Avila; calling for hearings on Marcos' spying and for the cancellation of Reagan's Manila visit. (AK Photo)

the murders and that the U.S. government has aided in its cover-up.

Two unidentified former State Department officials stepped forward a mere day later to reveal that five years ago the U.S. had intercepted messages from Manila to Philippine agents in the U.S. ordering them to harass Marcos opponents. The two were both active under the Carter administration.

Suddenly the protective mask the Marcos government had created to hide its export of repression to the U.S. was crumbling to bits. Beneath it lay the vicious face of a fascist regime that will stop at nothing to silence dissent.

Edwards, as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's Civil and Constitutional Subcommittee, wrote FBI Director William Webster asking for an investigation. "Such harassment would not only be a violation of civil rights laws and state criminal laws," he told the press, "they would also mandate prohibition of U.S. military aid" under the 1981 Arms Export Control Act.

Stark called for Reagan to cancel his November trip to Manila "until the circumstances surrounding the assassination

Embassy and the U.S. Department of Defense, and monitor anti-Marcos Philippine activists in the U.S." It adds ominously that the military attaches "will undoubtedly report on, and possibly operate against anti-Marcos activists in the U.S."

The impressive new team is headed by Brig. Gen. Angel Kanapi as Defense Attache, the first flag officer to hold the post since 1966. He is joined by Assistant Defense and Naval Attache Commander Domingo Tucay, Ground Forces Attache PC Lt. Col. Roman Maddela, Air Attache Lt. Col. Melchor Rosales, and Assistant Ground Forces Attache Lt. Col. Narciso Abaya.

Kanapi—until recently head of the Philippine Military Academy—Tucay, Maddela, and Rosales, are PMA men. Abaya graduated from West Point. All five the DIA points out, have extremely close ties to Marcos, his wife and Philippine Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fabian Ver. The team was personally selected by Mrs. Marcos' closest brother, Ambassador to the U.S. Benjamin "Kokoy" Romualdez. Kanapi, Maddela and Rosales have accompanied Mrs. Marcos on numerous trips abroad. Four of the five are Ilocanos,

leaked to the press. Initiated by the Philippine government in 1973, the Plan aimed to monitor, infiltrate and neutralize anti-Marcos groups operating here. According to the Foreign Relations Committee, the Plan "did not rule out the possibility of violence" by Philippine agents. "At the time," notes *Ang Katipunan* editor Rene Cruz, "the report came as no surprise to us; we had already experienced harassment and the report merely substantiated our claims."

The Philippine opposition movement was not alone. The Foreign Relations Committee reported that agents from Chile, Iran, South Korea, and Taiwan also operated freely to counter and neutralize critics of their regimes. Particular emphasis was placed on the dreaded SAVAK, intelligence agency of the Shah of Iran. The report claimed that the State Department "actively discouraged the FBI" from pursuing investigations into violations of U.S. laws by foreign intelligence agents.

A letter from 13 congressmen released by CAMD/PSN expressed concern that "support for repressive regimes such as Marcos' . . . forces us to support violations of human and civil rights of the people of other countries, but also to allow the curtailment of rights of people in the United States." Addressing two subcommittees of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, they demand open congressional hearings into the "activities of Philippine government agents and the responsibility of U.S. government agencies in allowing such activities."

A broad spectrum of civil libertarians, union leaders and representatives joined CAMD/PSN in a statement which pointed out that the current administration has taken the policy of aiding dictatorial regimes a step farther than any of its predecessors. Ronald Reagan, they noted, has expanded the powers of both the FBI and the CIA to spy on domestic groups, especially those with "foreign links," leaving immigrant communities particularly vulnerable.

KDP, CAMD/PSN and their supporters

branch from the process altogether.

In other words, points out the CAMD/PSN, "extradition will be determined by U.S. foreign policy, not by justice—the U.S. can extradite anyone if it would please Marcos."

Press conferences held by CAMD/PSN in Los Angeles, Honolulu, Seattle, and San Francisco quickly followed the one in Washington. In San Francisco, Cruz and Marcos opponent Steve Psinakis met the San Francisco press corps. Both men are marked for extradition by the Marcos regime. Psinakis provided classified documents proving that Henry Kissinger blocked Justice Department investigations both of SAVAK and of Marcos agents.

"The new documents," noted Cruz, "place the suit concerning the murder of our slain comrades in Seattle in a new light. It certainly strengthens our case and our appeals for the judge's reconsideration." Relatives and supporters of the slain men have formed the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes which last year filed a suit against the Philippine and U.S. governments for violating the two men's rights. The plaintiffs, Cruz among them, are asking for several million dollars in damages and injunctive relief from harassment for anti-Marcos Filipinos.

The judge granted U.S. officials immunity from any monetary claims and found Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos immune from the suit as foreign sovereigns. Last July, he dismissed the claims against the Philippine government but invited the CJDV to amend its allegations to make them more specific.

"We intend to do just that," noted Cruz. "The DIA document and subsequent revelations will create a good deal of pressure upon the judge to amend his position."

Meanwhile, the recent brazen assassination of former senator Benigno Aquino in Manila strengthens popular receptiveness worldwide to the argument that Ferdinand Marcos will stop at nothing to eliminate his foes. □

By NENE OJEDA
and NANCY ROCAMORA

The Aquino Assassination: Marcos Reaps the Whirlwind

It was without question the largest—and most militant—funeral the Philippines had ever seen. People jammed the sidewalks up to eight feet deep along the 19-mile route from Santo Domingo Church to Manila Memorial Park. Philippine flags hung upside down from the office windows along the route and banners read “Ninoy, you are not alone.”

“Marcos, Hitler, Diktador, Tuta!” came the shouts from the surging procession. Everywhere there were signs and chants of “Laban! Laban! Fight! Fight!” “Marcos, Imelda, Ver—killers on the loose!” read the placards. Some signs were even angrier: “Marcos Assassin” and “May the killers of Ninoy rest in peace—soon!”

Two million people braved the thunderstorms to bid former Senator Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino farewell on August 31, capping a 10-day wake beginning the day he was assassinated as he returned home from the United States. (At press time, one student has been killed and 59 others injured in clashes with the police near the presidential palace.)

It was an appropriate conclusion to an unrivaled period of mourning and protest. Five hundred thousand walked behind the casket the day it was moved from the Aquino home on Times Street in Quezon City to Santo Domingo Church. Inside the church built to seat 20,000 over twice that number were packed like sardines.

The move to the nearby church became necessary to allow more space and comfort for the thousands who daily crowded the Aquino residence. For three days, they filed through the late senator's home. One western reporter estimated the flow at 1,800 per hour. The lines outside snaked around the blocks in the sweltering heat, but the visitors were willing to wait.

Some were clearly touched by grief. But the mood was principally one of anger. It was as if an entire city joined together to say with a single voice, “Ferdinand Marcos, this time you've gone one step too far.”

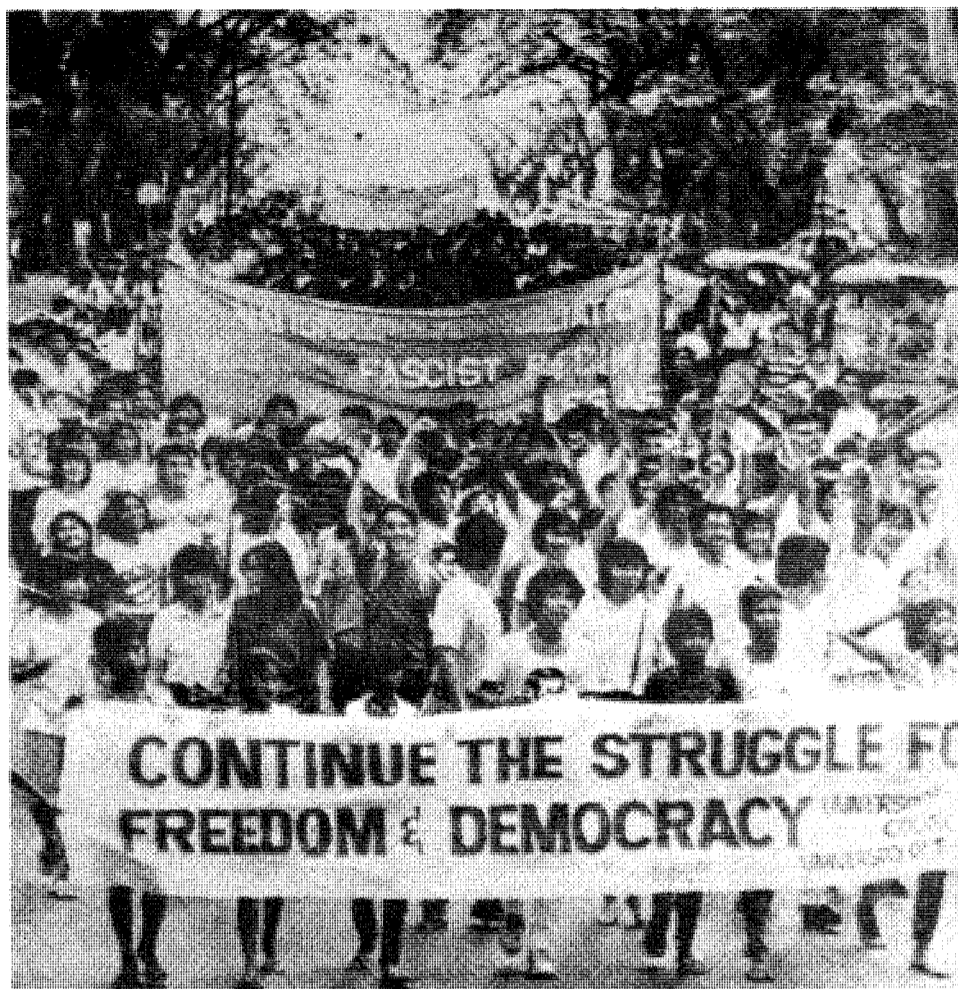
Elsewhere the mood was less solemn and more militant. At the nearby University of the Philippines, 3,500 students last August 24 were joined by Aquino's son and namesake in a rousing demonstration. The tree-lined streets of the campus reverberated with cries of “No reconciliation under a fascist regime!” and “Continue the struggle for freedom and democracy!” The same day at downtown Far Eastern University, another 2,000 students gathered. After a brief scuffle with police, 15 were temporarily detained.

The anger was hardly limited to Metro-Manila. At least another million crowded the 70-mile stretch of road joining Manila and Tarlac on August 26 as a 100-car cortege bore the body to Aquino's home province. Passing cars turned to join the procession. Others stopped to allow passengers to disembark and pack in with the crowds along the roadside. A similar throng jammed the highways three days later as the body was brought back once more to prepare for the funeral.

Everywhere the tone was one of unity against a fascist dictator who went too far. Cory Aquino, widow of the late senator, set the tone herself when asked if she had received condolences from the Marcos family. “If they really wish to express their condolences,” she told the press, “they ought to release all political prisoners.”

The National Democratic Front expressed both admiration for the deceased's courage and grief over his loss. “There can be no national reconciliation under a rabidly brutal regime,” noted the NDF on the day of Aquino's death. “There can only be unity of the people in the fight against the injustices and oppression perpetrated by it.” (See full statement on page 6.)

“These people filing past the coffin,” noted Lupita Kashiwahara, the slain man's sister, during the first few days following the assassination, “many are far too young to even know who Ninoy was, let alone be followers.” Aquino today is a symbol for the simmering popular hatred of the Marcos regime which lay so near the surface for so



Millions fill the streets in protest and farewell; a serious miscalculation puts Marcos on brink of political crisis. (UPI)

long. With the fatal gunshot that hatred began to overflow.

Aquino knew that his youth (50 years old), charisma and political savvy represented a serious threat to the Marcos regime. He spoke of possible martyrdom; “not everyone is given an opportunity to die for his country,” he told an interviewer before he left. He donned a bulletproof vest just before he stepped off the plane on his return home from three years of exile in the United States. “Of course if they go for my head, I'm a goner,” he joked with fellow passengers.

Moments later he was dead of a single bullet which entered below his left ear and exited through his chin. A “lone gunman” disguised as an airport mechanic and armed with a .357 Magnum had allegedly slipped past the tight airport security, between Aquino and his three military escorts, and fired the fatal shot only 18 inches from its mark. Seconds later the unknown assassin lay dead beside Aquino, shot by the senator's escorts and their massive back-up team.

So ran the official statement on the murder delivered on national television and flashed across the international wire services.

But this official version soon began to fall apart. Miyoshi Wakamiya, a reporter for the Japanese news agency Kyodo swore that he saw two of Aquino's military escorts draw their pistols and shoot him from behind as they descended the ramp onto the airport tarmac. Having ridden home with the returning exile, Wakamiya managed to view the scene between the legs of other passengers. At the same time, he insisted, the man about to be slain as the lone assassin was shoved from the rear of a near-by van and unceremoniously executed by the waiting security.

While the regime vehemently denied Wakamiya's story, nothing else could explain the acute trajectory of the fatal bullet which pierced the senator diagonally downward from a distance of only 18 inches. The fact that the assassin was six inches shorter than Aquino made the regime's version even more incredible.

Then there were other questions:

- Would not a lone assassin carrying a bulky .357 Magnum in a holster have had some difficulty passing through the airport security and the military command deployed to protect Aquino?

- How could the lone man have known Aquino's secret itinerary which was only told to the Philippine government after he took off from Taipei?

- Why was the assassin killed on the spot?

- Why did the security guards take Aquino down the steps to the runway rather than through an enclosed tube to the airport terminal as is customary? How did the assassin predict this aberration and know where to wait?

- Why did the alleged assassin's body fall in front and to the side of Aquino when he shot from behind?

- Why are the three soldiers who escorted Aquino down from the plane still missing and unidentified?

As his story crumbled around him, Ferdinand Marcos quickly shifted gears. A day and a half after the assassination, the dictator appeared on TV to announce that, in fact, it was a communist plot. This went over no better than the first story.

From all corners of the nation and all points of the globe, the fingers were pointing at Ferdinand Marcos. The International Commission of Jurists de-

manded an independent investigation and offered to conduct it. A panicked Marcos moved into high gear attempting to appear as if seriously investigating the incident.

The entire security unit assigned to the Manila International Airport the day of the assassination was abruptly confined to quarters—including the general in charge. Marcos quickly appointed Manila Police Chief Prospero Olivas to head up an investigation. His team produced a “re-enactment” of the event to prove the lone gunman theory.

They waited until the day of the funeral itself to announce the identity of the alleged assassin—a Rolando Galman y Dawang, reportedly a figure with ties to organized crime and “subversives.” The *London Times* reported, however, that “Galman” was a former member of the Presidential Guards. Some observers suspected that the announcement was timed to draw attention away from the massive outpouring. Aside from the man's name, the military came up with little evidence of value. A film clip from the government-owned TV station showed Aquino's plane taxiing to a stop followed by a shot of the two mortally wounded men. The intervening scenes of Aquino's murder were mysteriously missing.

His options dwindling, Marcos appointed a special panel to investigate the matter headed by Supreme Court Chief Justice Enrique Fernando. But the panel's impartiality was immediately suspect. All members were either Marcos appointees or known to be loyalists.

To date the commission has accomplished little. Though supposedly granted access to all government investigative agencies, it chose to wait until after the funeral to hold its first public hearing. Meanwhile the general skepticism was aggravated by the refusal of some of its would-be members to serve. Former Chief Justice Roberto Concepcion wrote the President that his ill health prevented him from serving. Jaime Cardinal Sin refused the offer outright.

The Reagan administration—unqualified supporter of Ferdinand Marcos—was clearly caught off guard. White House spokesman Larry Speakes initially dismissed any suggestion that the regime was involved in the slaying as mere “confused impressions of people aboard the plane.” At the same time, he insisted that there would be no change in Reagan's plans for a November visit to Manila. While condemning the murder as “cowardly and despicable,” the State Department expressed confidence that “the Philippine government will swiftly and vigorously track down the perpetrators.”

But as the damning evidence poured in, White House spokesmen began to put a grudging distance between themselves and Ferdinand Marcos, saying they may be forced to “cool” relations should Marcos be proven responsible for the killing. Of course not to the point of endangering U.S. strategic interests—the bases in the Philippines—State Department spokesmen added

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Why He Killed Ninoy

Instantly, international public opinion blamed Ferdinand Marcos for the assassination of Benigno Aquino. Critics and impartial observers alike knew without question that the Philippine dictator had committed the most brazen rub-out yet of his blood-spattered career.

But, insisted Marcos' supporters, why should Marcos do anything that stupid? The Philippine president, they say, would not risk bringing embarrassment and international condemnation upon his regime. That Marcos had nothing to gain and everything to lose by such desperate act is proof he did not do it.

The Aquino assassination, however, was indeed an act of desperation. Marcos

felt he was trapped and had no choice. The alternatives, he was convinced, might prove even more embarrassing—and dangerous.

Ferdinand Marcos plans to see his family's interests safeguarded by his wife Imelda Romualdez Marcos or a trusted group of cohorts with close ties to his family long after he departs the political scene. He has no intention of seeing his carefully managed plans for succession challenged and altered by a revitalized elite opposition.

Benigno Aquino represented precisely the ingredient which might bring to life the demoralized and splintered group of politicians whose role in Philippine society

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Buod ng mga Balita

ASEAN Conference: All Show No Substance

Foreign Minister Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines, that octogenarian with a penchant for the dramatic, hailed the recent ASEAN ministerial conference as "a landmark in the 16-year history of the regional organization." This was before the two-day conference in Bangkok which ended on June 25.

In fact, no substantive issues on the economic integration of ASEAN with its dialogue partners, the key topic on its agenda, were resolved. The dialogue partners are the developed countries of the U.S., Japan, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the European community. One journalist termed the conference "a big talkfest." Said one ASEAN official, the meeting was "disappointing in substance."

As expected, the conference bogged down on the Kampuchea issue, confirming the stalemate between Vietnam, on the one hand, and ASEAN and China on the other. The problem for ASEAN is that the Vietnam-backed Heng Samrin government has stabilized its leadership and made significant strides in the reconstruction of the country. At the same time, "Democratic Kampuchea," the rebel coalition headed by Norodom Sihanouk is wracked with dissension and unable to gain a stable foothold inside Kampuchea. On top of this, Vietnam launched a diplomatic offensive which brought Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Ky Thach through the ASEAN countries, drawing generally favorable response.

The conference reiterated the call for unilateral withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, which Vietnam had already rejected. But it did endorse a proposal by Thai Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila that he visit Hanoi for negotiations if Vietnamese troops withdraw 30 kilometers from the Thai border. This proposal, along with the recent diplomatic initiative by Vietnam sets the stage for a more favorable atmosphere



ASEAN foreign ministers meet in Bangkok; much talk, little substance reports western press. (FEER)

towards the resolution of the Kampuchean conflict.

In a related development, two conferences, one the UN-sponsored conference on Palestine held in Kuala Lumpur last May, and another on the "Palestinian People's Rights," hosted by Jakarta and attended by UN permanent PLO observer, Zehdi Tergi, brought the Palestinian issue to the ASEAN, and were a measure of the PLO's limited success in winning support from the region.

The PLO initiative finds ASEAN on a tightrope and this is reflected by the varying stances of individual ASEAN members. None of the ASEAN countries wants to antagonize the PLO or its oil-rich backers.

The Philippines, Malaysia and Thailand import a large share of their oil from the Arab countries and the Philippines and Thailand benefit from huge remittances by their workers in those countries. Neither they nor Indonesia wants to further inflame their local Muslim insurgencies by antagonizing the PLO.

At the same time, all ASEAN members remain dependent on the U.S. With U.S. power reasserted in the Mid-East, no one can afford to be overly friendly to the revolutionary Palestinian organization. Thus, while Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, only Malaysia is willing to formalize that recognition. Malaysia allowed the PLO to open a mission in 1980 and granted it diplomatic status in 1981.

While a senior PLO representative visited the Philippines in mid-1982, that country keeps the PLO at arms length. This is both a measure of U.S. influence and an indication of Israeli strength. Israel is an important distributor of arms to right-wing regimes and the Israeli Embassy in Manila is the principal distribution center for its propaganda in the region.

Thailand was also visited by PLO representative for Southeast Asia, Ali Fayyad, but it is not prepared to allow a PLO mission there at this time. Least cordial to the PLO is Singapore because of its longstanding military and economic ties with Israel. □

Detainees End Hunger Strike

Forty detainees at Davao Detention Center ended their six-week hunger strike after gaining limited but significant concessions from the government.

The new district commander, Col. Geronimo Valderama, who replaced Col. Andres Superable, granted the demands after an unscheduled meeting with the detainees while accompanying Archbishop Mabus who was saying mass for the prisoners. The archbishop arranged a dialogue between the new commander and the political detainees concerning their hunger strike which started June 12.

Among the concessions gained: permission to sun themselves and plan their own menus, access to medical services, return of their beds which were taken by the military at the beginning of the strike, permission to entertain visitors, participation in income-generating activities, conjugal visits, and, for prisoners with poor health, access to private physicians instead of military doctors.

The prisoners had also called for annulment of the Presidential Commitment Order, an end to "salvaging" and illegal transfer of prisoners for purposes of torture or salvaging, and the release of political prisoners below 18 years of age.

The military had hoped to break the hunger strike and demoralize the prisoners when it earlier removed Karl Gaspar and Volker Martin Schmidt, two well known laymen working for church agencies arrested last March on subversion charges, from the detention center to the city jail. The detainees demanded that Gaspar and Schmidt be brought back to the detention center and asked that no reprisals be taken against any of them.

Elsewhere in Mindanao, Mayor Aquilino Pimentel of Cagayan de Oro City was finally released by the government after a series of conflicting orders for his release and detention which went on for five days.

Ferdinand Marcos first ordered Mayor Pimentel released from detention on July 22. Even before he could be released from the PC Stockade in Camp Sergio Osmena in Cebu City, however, Pimentel was arrested once again by military authorities on a new warrant which denied bail. The welcoming party in Cagayan de Oro City became a prayer rally which ended only when Marcos announced that Pimentel's release had been reviewed. On July 27, despite the new warrant, Pimentel was again ordered released.

Pimentel's release ended 103 days of detention following his arrest on April 17. The Cagayan de Oro mayor was charged with rebellion before the Cebu regional court and was accused by the government of furnishing funds and arms and giving sanctuary to subversive elements. □

Guess Who Came to Dinner

A flustered John Leech of the British government-financed Commonwealth Development Corporation admitted that "a major error of judgement was made" when Colonel Carlos Lademora was welcomed as an honored guest at the CDC-funded plantation in Agusan del Sur.

News has only recently surfaced that Lademora was invited by the plantation's local management to give a key speech at the May Day celebration to mark the third anniversary of its oil palm project in that province. The souvenir program for the event also included a personal message from Col. Lademora.

Leech has apologized to the Catholic Institute for International Relations, saying that this hospitality towards the leader of the Lost Command "will not be repeated."

The Lost Command, until early this year, was employed as a security force on the CDC-Guthrie plantation. It is a paramilitary group that has terrorized the residents of the area. Lademora is a Philippine Constabulary officer and his men are former PC soldiers who were dismissed from the service for disciplinary offenses. Even Britain's former Minister

for Overseas Development, Neil Marten, condemned the Lost Command for its "odious actions." Several months ago Marten promised that the CDC would "curtail the activities" of the Lost Command in Agusan del Sur because it was terrorizing the local community.

Members of the Catholic Institute for International Relations privately briefed CDC officials about Lademora and urged them to fire him and his gang. Six weeks later, CDC's head office learned of Lademora's role in the celebration. "It is highly bizarre," commented one CDC official: "one minute our project is sacking Col. Lademora and then he turns up as a local worthy."

Three days after the May Day celebration, the Lost Command murdered a farmer on the borders of the estate. 24 year-old Jimmy Patria was gunned down and his wife Ella and younger brother Julius were held personally interrogated by Col. Lademora.

Local government officials were well aware of the sensitivity of the Lademora invitation. The Governor and Provincial Administrator held a special meeting to discuss the matter. But the CDC representative in Agusan del Sur responsible for monitoring Lost Command activities on the estate did not even report back to the CDC's parent company in London on the grounds that he felt Col. Lademora's presence at the May Day celebration was not significant. □



Government Envelopes Distribute NDF Literature

The resistance movement to the Marcos dictatorship has found a way to disseminate information under repression while making government officials do some leg work. Publications from the national democratic movement have been reaching thousands via nothing less than the Philippine Postal service neatly disguised in the envelopes of government or other official agencies.

The most recent coup involved envelopes of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. His ministry graciously disseminated a letter encouraging people to participate in a silent prayer on June 12, Philippine Independence Day, to halt abuses of Enrile's men in the field and end oppression.

Last March, national democrats used a similar tactic to distribute underground publications. *Liberation*, official news magazine of the National Democratic Front, arrived at people's doors neatly enclosed in Asian Development Bank wrappings. The issue contained a number of lively articles including those criticizing the recent U.S.-R.P. bases negotiations and describing the status of guerrilla warfare in the countryside. Another publication containing quotes from Philippine heroes liberally sprinkled with the word "revolution" was sent to Social Security recipients supposedly from the government's Social Security System.

Perhaps most offensive of all the publications distributed through the mail, the underground lampoon, *Sick of the Times*, was sent out last February. The mimeographed tabloid contained articles and spoofs ridiculing technocrats and other government officials for their claims of economic prosperity. The envelopes used were from the now defunct U.S. International Communications Agency.

The NDF distribution tactic remained nothing but a quiet irritant to the Philippine government until the latest incident which got Enrile's goat. Baring the technique during a speech before the Manila Rotary Club, the Defense Minister revealed it to the international press which picked it up and carried it widely.

The NDF's cleverness thus became international news. Thanks Johnny. □

Political Prisoner Friends Abroad Press Carlos' Release

By CARLA MARIANO

"The one affected most by Sixto's incarceration is our eight-year-old son who, before his father's arrest, was in excellent health. Two months afterwards, he developed a chronic respiratory problem which our doctors believe is psychological due to the forced separation from his father to whom he is very close. . .

"His release will mean relief from anguish for his aged parents, who hope frantically for his freedom. His 75-year-old father, who was Judge Advocate General of the Armed Forces of the Philippines during the administration of President Ramon Magsaysay, dreams of nothing more than to see, before he dies, his son out of prison leading a peaceful life."

Thus, Cristine Carlos wrote in a letter to concerned individuals and groups all over the world asking once more for support in putting pressure on the Marcos regime to release her husband, Sixto Carlos, Jr., from prison.

But it is not just Sixto's immediate family which suffers from his continued detention. His friends and colleagues in the national democratic movement as well sorely miss Sixto's "selfless and single-minded desire to work for the oppressed," as his wife puts it.

For indeed, it was his active participation in the movement to change the existing oppressive order in the Philippines which forced him into a fugitive life from the time the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended in 1971 up until his arrest on April 23, 1979.

PROMINENCE EARNS HIM HARSHEST TREATMENT

At the time of his arrest, Sixto Carlos, Jr. was a leader of the National Democratic Front, a broad coalition of progressive and nationalist forces seeking the end to the U.S.-supported Marcos regime. The prominent role that he played in the national democratic movement earned him the

harsh treatment that the Marcos regime reserves for Sixto's kind.

For the three days and nights following his arrest, Sixto was brutally tortured by his captors. He was suspended from a steel beam, upside down and naked, water from a hose was poured at intervals over a towel covering his face. His torturers beat his thighs and legs with a wooden paddle, poured scalding water all over his body and sadistically hit his genitals with a hammer-like object. They poured gin into his nostrils and forced a thin bitter liquid down his throat. They watched eagerly as he trembled and grew dizzy and numb.

After the three days of torture, Sixto was taken to Fort Bonifacio and placed in solitary confinement in an 11-foot by 4-foot cell. This ill-lit and ill-ventilated hole was to be his home for months. From April 24 to September 2, 1979, he was held incommunicado. During this time, the military did not reveal his whereabouts to his family. The only human contact he had was with military guards who brought his food. Because of the torture and inhuman prison conditions, a congenital heart ailment worsened.

TRUMPED UP EVIDENCE

Only after a persistent campaign of appeals and inquiries launched by family, friends and human rights organizations locally and internationally did the military admit that they were holding Sixto. And only then were his wife (who gave birth to their second child only three days after their first prison meeting), child and legal counsel allowed to visit him.

On April 9, 1981, after almost two years of solitary detention, Sixto was transferred to Bicutan Rehabilitation Center in Metro Manila where he is currently detained. Simultaneously, after an outpouring of international and domestic pressure, the Philippine military filed charges of subversion and illegal possession of firearms against him. But after a preliminary investigation, no formal judicial case was filed.

Instead, at least two blatant instances of tampering with evidence emerged and were subsequently documented by Sixto's lawyer, Jose W. Diokno. Sixto's name was inserted into an ante-dated Arrest, Search and Seizure Order (ASSO). In an attempt to cover up this irregularity, the military claimed that they could not locate the original copy. Also ante-dated were evidence tags on articles allegedly seized from him. Further, the main witness against Sixto, an alleged New People's Army commander who surrendered, revealed that he was kept by the military in a Makati hotel before he testified against Sixto and that his earlier testimony to the military had said nothing about the prisoner.

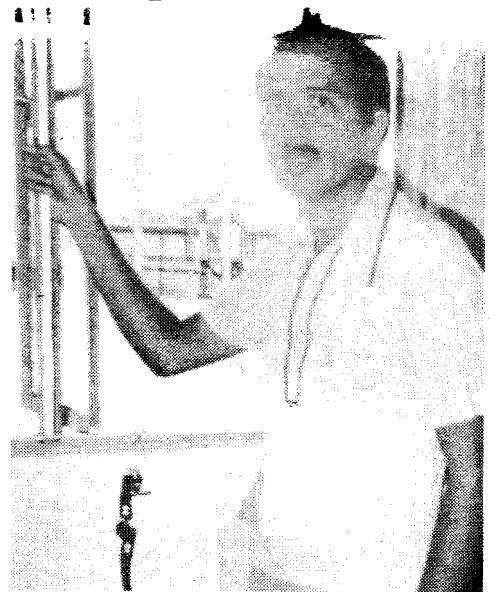
YOUTH AND STUDENT LEADER

What brought Sixto Carlos, Jr. to such prominence? Clearly, it was his involvement in activities which the Marcos regime considers "subversive" dating back to his college days.

While attending college at the University of the Philippines and majoring in political science, Sixto served both as an officer of the student council and columnist for the student newspaper, the *Philippine Collegian*. As a student leader at UP, he participated in the struggle to defend and promote academic freedom. Together with other progressive students and organizations, he helped link campus issues with the broader issue of nationalism.

As a charter member of the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism and the Movement for a Democratic Philippines, he attended discussions and conferences and participated in concerted actions demanding the abrogation of unequal U.S.-R.P. treaties.

Prior to the imposition of martial law in the Philippines in 1972, Sixto was chairman of the Samahan ng mga Demokratikong Kabataan (Organization of Democratic Youth), one of the leading youth organizations in the forefront of the opposition to foreign domination of the Philippines and



Sixto Carlos in Bicutan Prison; campaign is on to force his release. (AK)

increased militarization of the nation. Because of his active participation in protest actions to expose the neo-colonial status of the country and the intensifying fascist schemes of the government, he was one of the first 60 placed on the wanted list of the government when the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended in 1971.

CURRENT STATUS

In May of last year, two prestigious organizations, the Ecumenical Scholarships Programme of West Germany and an agency of the Catholic Bishop's Conference of France offered Sixto scholarships and employment.

A year has passed since the application for Sixto's release entered the military bureaucracy. Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile himself has recommended favorable action despite the reservations expressed by military intelligence. All that remains is the signature of President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

The Marcos regime has indicated, through its treatment of Sixto, that it considers him a prize catch. That final signature will therefore be more difficult to get than all the others put together.

"At this point," notes Cristine, "intervention by way of letters of concern and support for his release by influential persons abroad are crucial." □

FM Pulls Fast One on Bishops

By ROMY GARCIA

Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos, renowned for his political juggling, has once again pulled a fast one on his lukewarm critics in the Catholic hierarchy. By issuing three new decrees pertaining to political prisoners and "preventive detention," he convinced the 109-strong Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines last July to withdraw a pastoral letter slated to be read from pulpits all over the country.

The letter, titled "A Message to the People of God," sharply censured Marcos' power to imprison suspected subversives without the right of appeal to any court.

The three new presidential decrees all dated July 21, repealed both the Public Order Act and the National Security Code. The biggest news, though unconfirmed, was that one of the decrees abolished the Presidential Commitment Order. The Philippine Supreme Court recently ruled that the PCO was not subject to review by the judicial system — not even by the highest court in the land.

No one was precisely sure, however. Teodoro Padilla, CBCP's lawyer, told the press that government representatives had told Cardinal Sin that the PCO had been abolished.

But the new decrees by no means return the judicial powers now vested within the administrative branch and Marcos himself to the powerless Philippine judiciary. Instead, the PCO is replaced by the Preventive Detention Action. Preventive detention is still fully legal.

The new act insists that a judicial warrant — "or its equivalent" will be



Bishops meet with Marcos in Malacahang; Marcos' juggling convinced them to withdraw protest letter. (FEER)

issued before preventive arrest. There is no explanation as to what is the "equivalent" of a judicial warrant.

Even this vague language has its loopholes. The exception comes when Marcos or local military officials deem a person(s) as jeopardizing "the safety of the state." He or she can then be arrested with no document at all. Marcos thus fully maintains the right to order the arrest of anyone he chooses.

The new law, claims Marcos generously, however, shortens the period of detention for anyone so arrested to only one year.

Once again, there are loopholes. The end of one year does not bring release, but merely review. And who conducts the review? Either Marcos himself or a review committee appointed by Marcos and composed of military folks as well as civilians Recommendations by the review committee are non-binding.

No mention is made of the estimated 1,100 detainees arrested under the PCO or its predecessor the Arrest, Search and Seizure Order, and currently languishing in Philippine jails. As to whether their cases will be reviewed, the three decrees

say nothing. The clerics were, however, pleased with the new development. As to the details, they seemed to know little. Padilla admitted he had not seen the decrees and doubted if any of the clerics had either. Monsignor Irisari, spokesman for the CBCP was asked if the bishops had read the decrees. "How could they yet?" he responded abruptly.

Many Manila observers were astounded by the bishop's eagerness to withdraw their letter. Some felt that the new decrees were part of a clean-up act by Marcos timed for U.S. President Ronald Reagan's November visit. Meanwhile, government repression and threats of more repression were on the increase.

Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile was the chief tough talker. Speaking last July in Legaspi City, he warned that current counterinsurgency plans target non-combatants as well as rebel fighters. Though force will be used against "terroristic elements," supporters as well as proven members of the NPA are now "fair" targets for government forces. He was quick to add, that the new drive by the Armed Forces of the Philippines will not affect government concern for the "preservation of human rights."

Enrile also launched a not-so-subtle attack on the Philippine media which has been somewhat bolder lately. He urged the media to "cooperate" and to base their coverage of current events on "mutual assessment" with the government.

In another, more blatant warning to non-combatants, Enrile warned citizens in Davao City against aiding rebels. He stated the military will not touch those people only "visited" by the NPA. But those who "voluntarily" cooperate will be treated as "enemies of the Republic." Enrile did not elaborate on how such a distinction would be made. □

NDF Condemns Assassination of Benigno S. Aquino

The NDF condemns with all vehemence the dastardly assassination of Senator Benigno S. Aquino, Jr.

Sen. Aquino was, like other unceremoniously salvaged Filipinos, the victim of an unjust and extremely cruel dispensation.

When he signified his intention to come back to the Philippines, the NDF offered him the safety of its territories under the protection of the New People's Army. We are certain he would have opted for this had he been granted more time to do so.

Sen. Aquino became a martyr to the cause of both democracy and freedom in laying down his life to come back to his native land.

His assassination signals the death of all well-meaning but vain efforts to achieve national reconciliation.

There can be no national reconciliation under a rabidly brutal regime. There can only be unity of the people in the fight against the injustice and oppression perpetrated by it.

We salute Sen. Aquino for his admirable courage and determination. We grieve with his family over his untimely death.

He did not die in vain for the Filipino people will turn their grief into courage and determination worthy of all martyrs to their cause.

National Democratic Front
August 23, 1983

Lessons . . .

Continued from front page

the electoral arena. He will only answer with fraud or with a hail of bullets. While it is completely necessary to utilize all available legal means of struggle, to *rely on them solely* or to absolutize the fight for reforms within Marcos' framework can only sow political illusions. Senator Aquino's colleagues should abandon all plans to participate in the sham 1984 elections. There can be no national reconciliation under fascism.

Furthermore, the elite oppositionists should desist from bewailing the eventuality of a revolutionary confrontation with Marcos. Describing revolution as "just another evil" would only lead to their alienation from a people choked and infuriated by institutional fascist violence. Revolution is not a matter of personal preference but of political and historical necessity. By grabbing power in 1972, Marcos lit the fuse of social revolution and a fuse, once lit, only gets shorter. Only after the overthrow of the Marcos regime can there be a peaceful process of national reconciliation.

A good number of elite oppositionists have developed, from bitter experience, sincere anti-imperialist sentiments. However, a great many more have yet to abandon their illusions about the U.S. role in the Philippines and their reliance on this foreign power to bring about a change at the top. But a pact with imperialism is a pact with the devil. Anyone who topples Marcos with U.S. cooperation will have to accede to U.S. demands for privileges, such as Marcos now only too willingly provides. Replacing Marcos in this way will only lead to isolation from the people and ultimately, to

reliance on Marcos' very methods of rule. There can be no national reconciliation under imperialist domination.

In other words, the elite oppositionists should follow through on their assessment that Aquino's death "will radicalize the opposition." Rather than leave this as a mere statement of spite against the Reagan administration, they must realize that radicalization is the only legitimate option available. Those who are prepared to brave the rigors of underground life should find their way to the National Democratic Front which is prepared to give them sanctuary. Those who prefer to fight in the legal arena should nevertheless seek secret ties with the NDF in order to better coordinate the anti-fascist resistance.

Filipinos in the United States stepped forward in large numbers in the wake of the assassination. The thousands who protested showed that their feelings lie with the millions back home who shouted a collective curse at the Marcos regime. But we too must learn the deepest lessons of August 21. As we do not live the day-to-day oppression suffered by our people under fascism, we can fall prey to certain illusions about "easier" ways to liberation. We cannot substitute our fears and wishes for the realities of the Philippine political struggle.

Meanwhile, we are direct witnesses to the callousness of the U.S. government in the face of Aquino's brazen assassination. We have seen America's rulers brush aside Marcos' guilt for the sake of their military and economic interests. August 21 showed us with greater clarity that our long-term task is to mobilize the American public against imperialism's stranglehold on the Filipino people's political destiny. We cannot look to a free and prosperous homeland under the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

KDP National Executive Board
August 29, 1983

Marcos Reaps . . .

Continued from page 3

pointedly. And while the administration reiterated its demand for an impartial investigation, it discreetly avoided commenting upon the existing panel.

But while Ronald Reagan tried to distance himself from Ferdinand Marcos, in many ways his administration was directly responsible for Aquino's death. It was the Reagan State Department which gave Aquino the high sign and encouraged him to go home.

Even some of Aquino's colleagues in the elite opposition questioned the idea. His mother opposed it. But Secretary of State George Schultz and his entourage during their Manila visit last June urged a reconciliation between the elite opposition and Marcos as the only hope for a regime "entering its twilight years."

The vehicle they hoped might accomplish this was the Interim *Batasang Pambansa* (National Assembly) elections slated for next May. Fearing rapid polarization that would undoubtedly continue if Marcos were succeeded by someone from his own camp, they looked to the opposition as the only hope. The opposition, in turn, knew that the spark they needed to unify their ranks lay in Aquino who eagerly flew home.

But while the Reagan administration vacillated between support and condemnation, reaction elsewhere in government circles, the financial community and the media was strong. Senator Edward Kennedy demanded cancellation of Reagan's visit as did a number of congressmen. Observers of the financial community insisted that the regime would find it far more difficult in the post-assassination era to cover its debts.

The U.S. press dismissed Marcos' lone assassin and communist plot alibis out of hand. Editorials across the country joined Kennedy in demanding a cancellation of Reagan's visit. "Stop blessing the Marcos regime!" exclaimed the *Chicago Sun-Times*. "It would folly . . . to drag America's dignity through blood." Marcos was condemned as evil, vicious and blood-thirsty.

Meanwhile, the story hung onto the front pages for over a week, often with three or four stories per newspaper a day. Film clips of Aquino's last few minutes on the plane ran for days on TV. It was as if an American official—and a high one at

that—had been slain right in the U.S. And always, the blame was placed squarely on Marcos. Diane Feinstein, mayor of San Francisco, considered "the possibility of severing Sister City ties" with Manila.

Despite the grieving editorials, the strategic ties with Marcos remained unquestioned. The *Wall Street Journal*, as usual, put it most bluntly: "The answer . . . is not for the Reagan administration to turn its back on Marcos . . . We should not forget that there are other powers out there waiting to take advantage of whatever new instability comes to trouble the Philippines."

Anti-Marcos Filipino exiles, in spite of their past differences spoke with one voice in targeting Marcos as the assassin. Some counterparts of the elite opposition abroad, such as former Sen. Raul Manglapus, even went as far as accusing U.S. officials of hatching the assassination with Marcos.

Former Sen. Jovito Salonga commented from Los Angeles, "If people see no alternative, I can understand their resorting to armed struggle. I do not call it violence, but self defense for those with no human rights."

Meanwhile in the Philippines, the elite opposition remained clearly stunned. Some saw the loss of Aquino as the end of a moderate opposition altogether. Former Sen. Salvador Laurel, now a member of the IBP threatened to disband UNIDO, the united Nationalist Democratic Opposition as a protest against the regime and its U.S. support. UNIDO acts as an umbrella organization to the many splintered and often regionally-based opposition groups. Laurel serves as spokesperson.

It is clear by now to all that Ferdinand Marcos made a grave miscalculation last August 21 when he ordered the trigger pulled on Ninoy Aquino. He may have rid himself of a key political rival, but he put himself on the brink of a political crisis.

The breadth and intensity of reaction to the assassination are far greater than Marcos expected. If the elite opposition does indeed disband, some may become disenchanted and drop out of politics.

Many more, however, stand to become radicalized and drift over to the left. This, in the long run, hurts Marcos' backers in Washington more than it hurts Marcos himself. The absence of a moderate wing aggravates the polarization process and implies a succession crisis when Marcos finally steps down from the throne or is pulled down by his ill-health.

Thus with a single hail of bullets Ferdinand Marcos told the world what the left has been saying all along. In the Philippines today there are really only two choices: the Marcos regime or revolution. □

Why . . .

Continued from page 3

has been steadily eroded by the increasing polarization between right and left. Marcos could therefore only tolerate Aquino if the latter were out of the country or dead—never inside the country and alive.

One wing of the U.S. foreign policy establishment—that led by Secretary of State George Schultz—had become openly disturbed by that polarization process. Schultz said as much during his Manila visit last June. He and his followers spoke openly about the need for reconciliation between Marcos and the elite opposition and for credible elections next May. This was heady talk for the opposition—and Aquino.

But Marcos would have nothing of it and was determined to prevent the opposition from getting back on its feet. His options were relatively limited and as Aquino's return neared he played them one by one.

The first was a not-so-subtle death threat. "Enemies are after you," he told Aquino. "Return home and you will be assassinated." Observers of the Philippine political scene knew precisely who the enemies were—and knew that they had absolutely nothing to do with Aquino's earlier political career.

Next came the refusal to grant Aquino appropriate travel papers. But Aquino continued to call Marcos' bluffs.

A death sentence hung over Aquino's head and Marcos had threatened to arrest him once he returned home. An arrest at the airport, however, could be highly unpopular and embarrassing particularly since Aquino was arriving with an entourage of international press people. It would only

herald Aquino's return. Besides, even in jail, Aquino could pose a real threat.

Not to arrest him would prove equally awkward. Marcos would appear a weakling unable to stand up to his opponent, and his trumped up charges against Aquino would be proven hollow. Worse—an Aquino on the loose would be extremely dangerous. Marcos feared that he might rally the opposition quickly. By the time of Reagan's visit in November—still three months away—the long-demoralized elite opposition might have attained new stature and greater leverage. This would lend greater credence to the Schultz position on reconciliation, possibly force Marcos into concessions he was unwilling to make, and seriously undermine his plans for succession.

Ferdinand Marcos thus took a wild gamble. When Aquino refused to back off, he hoped that the "lone gunman" explanation would gain credence and that even the whole controversy would dissipate over time. Meanwhile Aquino would not be around to threaten him anymore. His confidence in the ultimate success of the outrageous move grew from his full confidence in unqualified U.S. support. His ally in the White House, he knew, would think twice before drastically altering their relations. He was right.

What Marcos failed to take into consideration was the extent of his own unpopularity at home and lack of credibility abroad. Within a day, the dictator was forced to switch to the "communist plot" theory which observers took even less seriously than the lone gunman. There are no theories left for the dictator to pull out of his sleeves. Ferdinand Marcos is stuck.

Benigno Aquino may have lost his life, but he won this particular confrontation. The Marcos regime was ready to lose a battle to win the war but it appears that he has lost both. □ NR

ANNOUNCEMENT

Due to the Aquino assassination, Inodoro Delihencia, Marcos apologist *par excellence*, did not feel like submitting his column for this issue: "My doctor said I will be sick starting next week. *Litter from Manila* will be back next issue. Maybe.

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The Aquino Murder

U.S. Filipinos Rise Up in Anger



CAMD/PSN Coordinator Geline Avila, center, leading one of nationwide demonstrations.

By VINCE REYES

The moment it was announced that ex-senator Benigno Aquino had been assassinated, the anti-Marcos movement in the U.S. charged into action. The murder became the cue for the opposition to call on the Filipino community to publicly express its outrage and anger towards the Marcos regime. The response has been amazing.

In a flurry of actions unparalleled since Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in 1972, hundreds have gone to demonstrations, meeting halls and churches to mourn Aquino's death and to point their fingers at the Marcos regime as the culprit behind the gun.

The assassination has also been a sore point for the Reagan administration as the opposition has been quick to point out that Reagan's \$900 million military aid package has given Marcos the confidence to do anything he wants.

Shouts of "Down With Marcos!" and "Stop U.S. Aid to the Marcos Regime!" assaulted Philippine Consulate offices across the country and even rang on the streets in front of the White House.

The mood in the Filipino community has been that of anger and disgust at Marcos. Hundreds of Filipinos have walked picket lines, most of them for the first time in their lives. Many have spoken in front of television cameras and even posed for newspaper photographs not intimidated by the usual squad of Marcos agents observing the protests.

NATIONAL DAY OF PROTEST

A National Day of Protest on August 29, timed with Aquino's funeral, proved to be the highpoint in the week-long string of anti-Marcos activities that began August 22.

In Washington, D.C., 350 people, over-

whelmingly Filipino, held a rally in front of the White House. The event was sponsored by the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network and the Movement for a Free Philippines.

The protesters included community leaders, the elderly and a number of youth.

Senators Allan Cranston (D-CA), Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA), ex-vice president Walter Mondale, and Congressman James Oberstar (D-MN) sent messages condemning Marcos and calling for the cancellation of Reagan's visit to the Philippines in November.

Geline Avila, National Coordinator of CAMD/PSN drew attention to the fact that many opposition activists have been imprisoned, tortured, and murdered like Aquino by the Marcos regime over the past decade. Former Philippine senator Raul Manglapus, like Aquino a leading Marcos foe, said that the people in the White House were responsible for Aquino's death.

In Los Angeles, 250 converged on the Philippine Consulate. Tony Russo, author of the *Pentagon Papers* and Frank Wilkinson, head of the National Committee Against Racist Legislation were featured speakers. Representatives from Casa El Salvador, Farabundo Marti, linked the struggle of Central America to that of the Philippines' fight against U.S. imperialism.

The picket was followed by a large vigil at the Filipino American Community of Los Angeles' community center. Five hundred people spilled out of the doorways to listen to CAMD, Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP), MFP, and other community representatives. Mayor Tom Bradley sent a message expressing his concern over the issue.

Put on the defensive, the pro-Marcos camp in the community has been unusually quiet. But in Los Angeles the consulate-initiated CONPUSO acknowledged the vigil and sent a letter to Marcos asking for

an independent investigation of the assassination.

In San Francisco, a militant 300-person picket lined-up in front of the consulate. A coalition of anti-Marcos oppositionists joined forces to sponsor the event. Included were the CAMD/PSN, KDP, MFP, Philippine Education Support Committee, International Movement for a National Democratic Philippines, and the Philippine Support Committee.

New York City saw a 100-strong picket line march to wide media coverage with city council member Miriam Friedlander joining the CAMD/PSN, KDP-sponsored protest.

In Seattle, 120 people, including delegations from labor unions marched in front of the consulate. The KDP's Cindy Domingo also addressed 20,000 people at the August 27 demonstration honoring Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement.

Sacramento's community meeting and press conference attracted 30 CAMD sympathizers. At the California State Capitol in this city, a resolution demanding the cancellation of the Reagan visit and the restoration of democratic rights in the Philippines has been gaining support. Intro-

duced by Assemblywoman Gwen Moore, the resolution is being opposed by Republicans. In San Jose, local anti-Marcos activists appeared on a television talk show.

The Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines, the Friends of the Filipino People and Concerned Educators at the University of Hawaii drew a total of 600 to memorials in Honolulu. Two separate events were held at the University of Hawaii and St. Theresa's Parish.

Canadian Pilipinos have also been busy as CAMD chapters organized demonstrations and community meetings. In Montreal, 150 people demonstrated while the Toronto and Vancouver protests drew 250 and 50 people respectively. As in the U.S., an unprecedented number of Filipinos have been volunteering to distribute CAMD's *Taliba*, donating money and other services to bolster the protests.

By Monday demonstrations were held in front of Philippine Consulates in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, Honolulu, New York, and Washington, D.C. Despite such short notice 100 to 200 people, mostly Filipinos marched in the protest lines in each city.

Simultaneously, the Movement for a Free Philippines sponsored memorials and prayer rallies drawing hundreds from Washington, D.C., New York and San Francisco. As hundreds of thousands filed past Aquino's casket in the Philippines and as evidence mounted against Marcos the mood of Filipinos in the U.S. became even more militant. At the picket line in San Francisco, Donald Lopous exclaimed "Marcos is guilty—there is no question about it." Emily Evangelista added that she was marching because "this is the only way for the U.S. government to see us."



light vigil at Union Square.

On August 27, an ecumenical service drew 800 people in Honolulu. The ceremony was officiated by Fr. Rene Saguisin and Fr. Gigi Cocquio, former Marcos political detainees.

The assassination has prompted the American public to become more keenly aware of U.S. involvement in the Philippines and its complicity with the Marcos government.

This point was underscored at an August 24 press conference in Washington, D.C. when Congressmen Don Edwards (D-San Jose) and Fortney Stark (D-Oakland) revealed documents from two former State Department officials showing that the government had knowledge of a Marcos intelligence network operating in the U.S. (see story on page 2).

The spy ring was assigned to harass the anti-Marcos opposition and lends credence to the charges that Marcos was involved in the killings of anti-Marcos activists Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo two years ago in Seattle.

At press time Aquino's funeral in Manila has not taken place. Whatever happens there will definitely affect the mood of the community here. □



Over 200 people marched in front of the San Francisco Philippine Consulate. Similar protests were held in other cities. (AK Photo)

WEEK-LONG PROTESTS

The anti-Marcos activities started the moment news of the assassination was broadcast. Literally overnight the CAMD/PSN organized its nationwide network and formed coalitions with other groups.

Nicaraguan Information Center



(Editor's note: Travelling with 27 other North Americans, mostly from the Bay Area, Ms. Asidao, a member of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP), recently visited Nicaragua through the sponsorship of the Nicaragua Information Center. From July 10 to 24, the group toured the provinces of Masaya, Leon, Granada, Esteli, Chinandega and Matagalpa and met with members of numerous mass organizations. In the following article are Ms. Asidao's views and impressions of a country barely four years after national liberation. It is a country under attack but still determined to make strides in improving its people's conditions.)

By MAYEE ASIDAO

After a long wait at the Miami International Airport, our Aeronica plane finally took off for the short two hour flight to our destination: Managua.

Peering from the window of the plane, I had my first glimpse of the country's lush valleys, rolling hills, verdant mountains; its picturesque lakes and volcanoes.

As the plane slowly made its descent into Managua, I saw a sprawling city that resembled a mini-Los Angeles. Nestled along a lake, with a population of about 700,000 inhabitants, Managua has no visible center. The 1972 earthquake which claimed 10,000 lives and left 200,000 homeless, leveled most of the downtown area and encouraged the city's spread to new outlying barrios.

Lake Tiscapa sits in an old volcanic crater right in the center of the city, its breathtaking beauty, however, marred by the grim reminder that many bodies were exhumed from its chilly depths after the victory in 1979. It remains the unmarked grave of many political prisoners who were liquidated during the 46 years of barbaric Somoza rule.

As the plane touched ground, we all broke into a chorus of applause. It was after all a victorious moment. For many in the group, it was the first time to set foot in

'I lost my son in the war against Somoza. He was only 17. If defending the gains that he valiantly gave his life requires that I do the same, I am ready.'

—Mauricio, a militiaman

a country that has broken free from the power and control of U.S. imperialism and was well on its way to determining its own destiny.

For me, the trip had added significance. Remembering the Philippines, Nicaragua symbolized a dream, a hope and a promise that change is possible, no matter how overwhelming the odds.

A COUNTRY UNDER SIEGE

As the plane taxied to a stop, I saw men and women in olive green fatigues guarding the perimeters of the airport. Pitched army tents and trenches were also visible. Built amidst vast stretches of open land and situated about 10 miles from the city, the airport no doubt was considered a critical area of defense. Just last year, a suitcase containing explosives blew up, killing three baggage handlers and injuring several other bystanders. The same year in Mexico City's airport, an Aeronica jet was blown up with a time bomb

apparently planted for detonation during the aircraft's flight.

In the countryside, along the Honduran border, ex-Somocista National Guards grouped under the Nicaragua Democratic Front (FDN) continue their terrorist provocations against the population. Sheltered by the Honduran government and armed by the United States, they have also mounted a highly organized press campaign designed to show a Nicaragua racked by civil war and therefore not worthy of international support.

On the southern border along Costa Rica is the base of another contra (counter-revolutionary) group, the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE) headed by renegade Eden Pastora, once with the Frente Sandino para Liberacion Nacional (FSLN).

Pastora, along with Alfonso Robelo, recently boasted that they "have the support of 2.5 million Nicaraguans."

"Pastora," scoffed Julio Marengo of the Ministry of Internal Trade (MICOIN) in a meeting we had with him in Masaya, "has no base of support in Nicaragua. The guy is a fool. . . It is not enough to fight. One has to know why one has to fight. The careerism and opportunism of Pastora was already evident even before victory. For example, he allowed himself to be glorified in posters. I would not be surprised if as early as that time, the CIA was already promoting him, personalizing the revolution as the accomplishment of one man instead of portraying it for what it is — the creation and labor of the whole nation.

"The revolution is like a great freight train. Everybody is given a chance, everybody is welcome. Pastora thought the revolution ended when it reached the first stop. Poor fellow, he got off. What he failed to realize is that when he left, many more hopped in and moved on."

In a solidarity meeting with the National Union of Agricultural and Livestock Producers (UNAG) in the city of Esteli, a farmer, Enrique Garcia remarked:

"While we struggle to strengthen the new economic and social structures of our country, the enemy does everything to prevent their realization. In the coffee-rich regions of Jalapa, the contras target and disrupt our organizing of the land. They burn our crops, our homes and meeting places. Many of our companeros have been tortured and murdered. Many more have disappeared. Unfortunately, many of the casualties are unarmed, ordinary civilians."

On July 26th, I joined a demonstration in front of the Honduran Embassy in Managua, protesting the continued policy of the Honduran government in sheltering and arming counter-revolutionary forces. An explanation for the disappearance of 152 inhabitants of Montzonte, Ocotal, was demanded. I met Xiomara, a 16 year-old Miskito who with six other younger brothers and sisters (the youngest of which was only two) were left orphaned with the kidnapping of their father and pregnant mother. Tomas Rodriguez, a community leader, wearily explained that the kidnappings had been going on since January 1982 and that 400 people from their region have disappeared.

"I cannot understand why they would take an 87 year-old woman or a seven month-old infant. There is just no reason. . ."

Asked about the measures now taken to protect the people's safety, he replied, "At first we were afraid. We didn't know how to organize ourselves since we work during the day in the farms to ensure that our families will not starve. But with the repeated acts of terrorism, we realized we had to protect ourselves. Yesterday, we re-activated our local *Comite para Defensa Sandinismo* (CDS), and we are forming our own militia units."

PATRIA LIBRE O MORIR (FREE COUNTRY OR DEATH)

Besieged by the current joint U.S.-Honduran mili-

Filipina Activist

Despite Sandinistas

tary exercises scheduled to last five months on both her coasts, Nicaragua can hardly feel at ease. Still, an unmistakable air of normalcy pervades the many towns and cities of the country.

"Life goes on as usual" is a common response to questions concerning the country's situation. This expression is easily captured in the faces of Nicaraguans in the streets, in the restaurants, and stores. Asked what accounts for the serenity of the population, Ramon Galvez, a leader of a local Sandinista Defense Committee (CDS) in Managua offered this observation:

"Beneath the calm exterior is the strong determination of a people ready to take up arms. We are well informed, we keep up with developments and discuss them at our meetings." Mauricio, who was sitting nearby added:

"I lost my son in the war against Somoza. He was only 17. If defending the gains that he valiantly gave his life for requires that I do the same, I am ready."

Nowhere was this resolve more visible than when the Nicaraguan people overwhelmingly responded to the proposal for Patriotic Military Service by Comandante Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Junta of the National Reconstruction.

Addressing a crowd of 135,000 in the Pedro Arauz Palacios Plaza in Leon during the July 19 celebration Ortega warned that in light of heightening provocations from the United States and accelerated counter-revolutionary attacks, the defense of the country assumed a greater significance.

His proposal for the Patriotic Military Service (DMS), which will require mandatory enlistment in the military, received wide approval from the audience. At this time, service in the military, both in the *Ejercito Popular Sandinista* (EPS), the regular army, and the *Militia Popular Sandinista* (MPS), People's Militia are voluntary.

Apolinar Gonzales, the head teacher of the Farmers' School in Matagalpa province, summed up the sentiments of the people:

"You may have noticed the many crosses that dot streets and highways and barrios of my country. They are the graves of our martyrs — constant reminders that the birth of the New Nicaragua was paid dearly with the blood of 50,000 men and women, most of whom were young. The U.S. refuses to accept that we are a determined people and we will not allow our victory to



Tony Ryan



Nicaraguan Information Center

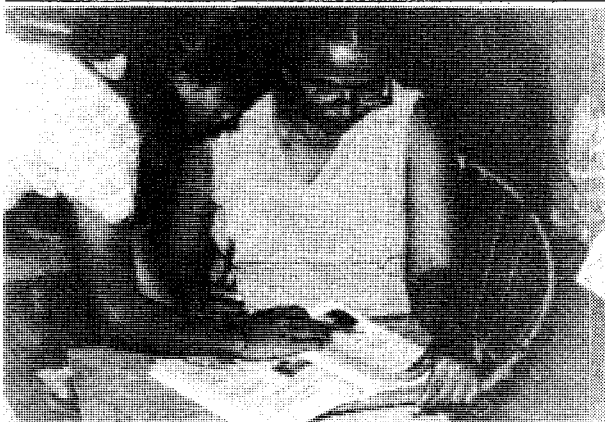
Visits Nicaragua

Siege, Advance

be robbed from us again. The gains of the past four years will be defended. The choices are few: *Patria libre o morir.*"

GAINS IMPRESSIVE DESPITE THREATS

Considering the concerted campaigns of sabotage being orchestrated by the United States not only on the military front but in the diplomatic and economic arenas as well, Nicaragua's gains appear doubly im-



pressive. Even U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Anthony Quainton begrudgingly admitted: "They have done remarkable things to improve life in Nicaragua."

Recognizing the fundamental role of education in increasing the productive capacity of the country, the Sandinista government immediately embarked on a literacy campaign two weeks after the victory in July, 1979. The "Second Revolution," as they termed it, reduced illiteracy from 50 percent to 13 percent, an accomplishment that earned the country the UNESCO award from the United Nations. The teachers from the National Association of Nicaraguan Teachers (ANDEN) whom we met in Leon reported:

"In Nicaragua today, primary and secondary education is free and tuition to state-owned universities is less than 200 *cordovas* or roughly equivalent to \$6.

The breakthroughs in health are immediately appreciated when posed against the record of the Somoza regime: infant mortality was 120 per 1,000 live births and as high as 300 per 1,000 in rural areas, the highest in Central America. Since liberation, the infant mortality has been reduced to 88 per 1,000.

Esperanza Martinez, a housewife from the city of Granada proudly shared her observations: "We now have a health clinic in our barrio, where before we had none. Hospitalization is free, and for 10 *cordovas* we can buy medicines. Our progress continues to be hindered by the fact that we do not have enough doctors and nurses. It is encouraging to see the increased enrollment in those areas however. My daughter is thinking of becoming a doctor when she enters college next year."

Carlos Rivas from Masaya gave his own impressions of progress under the new government:

"Before, the town of Monimbo had no paved streets. Now, with the participation of the people, we have 10 kilometers of paved roads and a working water system. We participated in the planning and actual building

with money given by the local government. We even reduced our cost, spending only 1 million *cordovas* from the original 4 budgeted. This explains why there are many volunteers to the Popular Militia. We built our roads and our water system ourselves. Is it any wonder why we would steadfastly defend them?"

"Land to whoever works it," a popular slogan by the Nicaraguan hero Augusto Cesar Sandino, guides the Sandinista Land Reform Program. Judging from my various discussions, the philosophy of the government on agrarian reform is not anti-private property. Daniel Nunez of the Ministry of Agrarian Reform (MIDINRA) in Matagalpa explained:

"The right to private property carries an obligation that the products be used for the benefit of society. Today, 80 percent of arable lands are still privately owned, a testament to the sincerity of the government to respect private property. For those who want to cooperate, there is no problem. Everybody has equal access to the banks for loans as long as they are earmarked for production."

In order to extend electrical services to 53 percent of the population which still does not have them and to provide energy for development of new productive projects, a series of geothermal and hydroelectric projects are being undertaken. New roads are being built, aqueducts, sewers, storm drains are being installed in 6 cities and 47 communities. Regional hospitals in Matagalpa, Rivas, Masaya and Blue Fields are under construction. Unemployment has been reduced sharply from 30 to 17.5 percent at the end of 1980.

The level of organization in the country is highly impressive. One easily gets the impression that people belong to at least one organization, whether it be the CDS or neighborhood blocks, militia, youth, women or union.

The remarkable gains of women in Nicaragua continue to be spearheaded by the Nicaraguan Womens' Organization (AMNLAE), which represents women in the Council of State. In the past four years, two important laws were passed. The law of "Relations Between Mother, Father and Children" provides for equal obligations and rights to common children; the "Child Support Law" defines these obligations. Also enacted is a decree prohibiting the use of women in advertisements to sell products.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

In a visit to a farmers' school in Matagalpa, where farmers from different barrios all over the country are sent for technical training, our discussions focused on the allegations from the U.S. State Department that "Russians and Cubans are running Nicaragua." One of

"The "Second Revolution" reduced illiteracy from 50% to 13%, an accomplishment that earned the country the UNESCO award from the United Nations."

the members of our tour remarked that so far, he "hadn't seen any Soviets."

Alejandro, one of the campesinos, responded: "Nicaragua has many friends. We do not deny the tremendous support that friendly countries have given us." After the revolution, many technicians, teachers, doctors fled, not to mention the legacies of 58 percent illiteracy, a national debt of \$1.5 billion and a bankrupt economy that Somoza left behind.

"The gains of the past four years were accomplished

with the initiative, determination and sacrifice of our people under the leadership of the FSLN," explained Alejandro.

Their accomplishments, however, he clarified, were greatly facilitated by *companeros* from Western Europe, the socialist countries of Europe, Latin America, Asia, Canada and the U.S. "They came to share what they know, not to tell us what to do," added Alejandro. "There is tremendous respect between us... that is *solidarity.*"

One teacher from Cuba told me: "There are many of us working in education, teaching. The country at this time still suffers from a shortage of teachers. We come on a two-year tour with no vacations in between." As always, Cuba has been very generous with her technical support, sending doctors, engineers, agricultural technicians, nurses and teachers.

I met an Italian couple, a doctor and a health worker, who for the past three years had been working in a small barrio in Paiwas. They were in the same team with the French doctor Pierre Grosjean, 32, whose life was cut short by a contra's bullet early in the morning of March 23, 1983 in Rancho Grande. Dr. Grosjean, in Nicaragua since August, 1982, had been working on a project to combat mountain leprosy, a serious health problem, when he was gunned down. The five-member health team, to which Dr. Grosjean belonged, was unarmed and had no military training. His death sparked widespread demonstrations in France that questioned U.S. foreign policy and its support for the *contras*.

I left, deeply impressed with the clarity of vision and determination of the Nicaraguan people. The leadership



Marvin Collins

of the FSLN is firm, yet flexible enough to adapt to changing conditions. It has the capacity to unite all who can be united, the humility and openness to learn from mistakes. I believe these qualities explain why the Nicaraguan revolution is bound to reach its goals, undeterred by external threats.

Many in the current leaderships of the mass organizations, departments, regions are young, in their early twenties and thirties. Young but extremely serious! Many with no prior administrative experience are in charge of entire ministries of government. *Companero* Federico Armas, for example, who is one of four members of the municipal junta of reconstruction in the city of Esteli, is in his early 30s.

The FSLN is the only government I have known that has the complete and unquestioning trust and confidence of its people, from whom it enjoys tremendous popularity and support.

But the government's faith in the Nicaraguan masses is just as staunch, as it recognizes who are the main defenders of the revolution. Thus, its impressive slogan for 1984: "*Todas las armas al pueblo*" — All Arms to the People.

Nicaragua was an experience not to be forgotten. Being a Filipina, I gained a glimpse of the exciting possibilities for the Philippine revolution and the many more trials it faces from U.S. imperialism, even after liberation. □

Speak Out

Teachers Score Reagan on Schools

In our July-August 1983 issue, Ang Katipunan ran a feature on Reagan's plans for education. His proposed program will have a far-reaching effect on civil rights gains made over the past two decades, and will prove delirious for the already shaky public system. Among his proposals:

- Tuition tax credits for families sending their children to private schools;
- Block grants to consolidate funds for federal school aid programs under the control of local areas;
- A merit pay program to reward "good" teachers with pay increases up to \$7,000 a year; and
- The reversal of initiatives resulting from the 1964 Civil Rights Act for Education, an act Reagan claims he would have opposed.

The following excerpts are from educators, comments addressing components of Reagan's program. However, a note is warranted: not one of the half-dozen or so educators interviewed felt Reagan's program was in the public's best interest.

tion report. He answers his own committee's call to provide national leadership by saying the solution is at the local level. He pushes platitudes, prayers, and private schools instead of focusing on the real needs of American public education. He insists that money is the only answer for American defense while turning the federal government's back on the development of America's brainpower.



ROD SANTOS, Acting Director San Francisco State University, Educational Opportunity Program

I deplore President Reagan's higher plans for education, and the way his plan works will indeed block access to public education and to higher education for ethnic minorities throughout the United States. Some of his plans for education will prove to be disastrous for public education, especially with the block grants and tuition tax credits which will have a pronounced effect on the quality of education for ethnic minorities. I single out ethnic minorities because they've never had, in my mind, equal educational opportunity in the history of American public education. During the 50s and the 60s, through the efforts of many ethnic minority community groups and others, we actually then only planted the seed for equal opportunity education. President Reagan's plans are shutting the doors of opportunities for ethnic minorities in public education.

The very first order of things in reversing Reagan's plans would be to get Reagan out of office, and his entire party out of office. As we move into the 1984

presidential elections we would need to educate the citizens of the United States as to the inequities of public education under President Reagan's administration.

We need to bring to office an administration that is indeed caring about education, that is concerned about the education of its citizenry, that the concern needs to be accompanied by monies, and that federal monies and taxpayers money be put into public education and not into the private sector of education. People throughout the United States realize that public education is the heart of America, that it be equal, and everybody have access to it.



PILAR ILAO, Teacher, Victoria Avenue Elementary School Cerritos, California

I don't believe in the merit system because practically, it's not very reliable, it's very subjective. If a teacher really works hard, but she's not a good friend of the principal, then she won't be recommended. So, I am against that . . . it [merit pay] will become the number one source of discrimination.

The teaching profession is the lowest paid. I would rather have the teachers given higher pay so they will at least be encouraged to work better, unless you have a very caring, very devoted teacher who cares little about fair wages.

So I would rather have an increase in teachers and lessen the number of children in the classrooms.

JACKIE GOLDBERG, Member, Board of Education, Los Angeles

I don't think Reagan sees the need for a vast educated populace. I think that his plans, including tax credits for private

schools and things like that are very elitists in fact. That they are aimed at a small portion of the population that needs to be hyper-educated, super-educated if you will, and I don't think he has a great deal of general or specific concerns for the vast majority of the youngsters who are attending schools.

I think he'll go down in history as one of the poorest national leaders that we've had on the civil rights issue in this century.

The federal and state level has not been willing to move on restrictions and discrimination in housing patterns and when you are prohibited by law or by court action from busing people, then you have removed the solution to desegregate schools. If you eliminate both ends of that spectrum, you are a segregationist, plain and simple.

Local control is not the answer.

We have had all the local control that we have needed to end discriminatory practices for a long time. Have they ended?

What he wants to do is return to something that we fought a civil war about, which is called "state's rights" and he has a classic state's rights position. We already had one war about that, and one side did lose. I don't think that we should go back and remake history and say they won.

Reagan's specific program to give tax credits to private schools can be one of the single major blows to public education, of all times.

When you encourage the growth of a private school industry, and that's what it will be if they could get these tax credit dollars, then you're encouraging dual school systems: one inferior system for those who can't afford any better and another made up of fancy private schools.



MARY HATWOOD FUTRELL, Secretary-Treasurer, National Education Association

As a classroom teacher for 20 years and a member of the teaching profession, I have had the opportunity to work with thousands of teachers throughout this country. I have found them to be hard-working, dedicated, and caring professionals. For the President of the United States to launch an attack on them is disgraceful.

It is shocking and sad that a President makes absurd responses to the National Commission on Excellence in Educa-

'Buy American' Hysteria Leads to Murder

By VICKY PEREZ

The U.S. economy can literally kill you — especially if you look anything close to being Japanese in a town which blames foreign competition for its economic woes.

Vincent Chin, a 27 year-old Chinese American was such a victim.

Chin was bludgeoned to death on June 19, 1982 after being mistaken for a Japanese. The two killers, Ronald Ebens and his stepson, Michael Nitz, verbally abused Chin and his "countrymen," saying "It's because of you mother f— that we're out of work." The confrontation occurred in a Detroit bar where Chin and his friends were celebrating his upcoming wedding.

Later, Ebens and Nitz stalked Chin to a nearby fast food restaurant, jumped out and dealt Chin four fatal blows to the head, according to two off-duty policemen who witnessed the killing.

In what observers condemned as an act in sympathy for the murderers, Judge Charles S. Kaufman put the two murderers on three years probation under a lesser charge of manslaughter and fined them \$3,000, payable at \$125 a month. The attorney prosecuting the two was never again present for the closing arguments or

when the sentence was delivered. Kaufman justified the sentence because Ebens and Nitz "weren't the kind of men you send to jail. . . These men are not going to go out and harm somebody else."

The sentence provoked massive outrage and criticism from civil rights groups nationally, who expressed that Kaufman had issued a "\$3,000 license to kill Asian Americans." A broad-based coalition,

the American Citizens for Justice, drew considerable attention to the sentencing that the Justice Department was forced to conduct a Grand Jury probe to determine whether Chin's civil rights were violated.

Deaths: Product of Times

But Ebens and Nitz were not alone in their hatred for the Japanese.

Detroit, like most hard-hit industrial



Lily Chin (left) Vincent's mother, tearfully recount his brutal slaying at a press conference.

towns, has been charged with an anti-foreign "Buy American" patriotism — its hopeless reaction to the prevailing harsh unemployment. The chauvinistic fervor promoted by corporate spokesmen and labor bureaucrats has been further fueled by the government's vigorous backing of anti-immigrant legislation. The end result is a dangerous atmosphere for immigrants.

"There is uneasiness," states Helen Zia, a Detroit community activist. "Asian Americans who work in the auto industry are advised not to go into the assembly plants." Detroit Japanese American officer Mark Bando remarked, "You see types that are strictly out for blood. They want to hurt you . . . we're walking targets."

This atmosphere is not limited to Detroit. In Davis, California, 17 year-old Thong Hy Huynh, a Vietnamese high school student was stabbed to death in May this year by white racist students, and Trac Thi Vu, a Vietnamese widow, mother of seven in Los Angeles was killed, also in May, when a sniper fired a shot into her home.

"Unfortunately," says George Wong, member of the Asian American Federation of Union Members, "these are not isolated incidents. During hard times, immigrants and minorities are always the scapegoats. Chinese were massacred and excluded from the country during the depressions in the late 1800's. Now, Detroit's anti-import campaign blames Japan for the auto industry's failures; it's whipped up racism against Asian Americans . . . That's why Vincent Chin died." □

Movie Review

'Moral': A Daring Film on Changing Mores

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

"*Moral*," a movie written by bright young Filipino writers Ricardo Lee and Mariou Diaz Abaya drags a controversial and taboo subject—sexual mores—out of the closet and onto the screen. The result—a look at the "morality of the young," an exploration of the whys and wherefores of sexual inequality, non-monogamous relationships, and homosexuality, as played out in the lives of four young women.

For Filipinos, away from home for several years, the film will come as a "culture shock." While offering no simple or hard and fast explanations, the movie succeeds in capturing the dissolution of feudal role models for women and depicts the ascending mores of a society in transition. For those who cherished the proverbial Maria Clara—be prepared for a jolt. While certainly not extinct, she is undergoing definite changes.

"*Moral*" challenges deep-seated prejudices molded by a conservative Catholic society. There are no simple typecasts in "*Moral*" which makes the movie a must for all those willing to examine an otherwise taboo and disquieting subject. Its ventures into uncharted territory brought it wide acclaim. "*Moral*" was the Philippines' official entry for competition in the 1983 Manila International Film Festival held early this year.

The movie unravels the story of the members of a campus *barkada* (peer group) in their pursuit of individual identities. While the characters are diverse in backgrounds and personalities, the glue which binds them together is their shared but unspoken plight as oppressed women.

Sylvia, deftly portrayed by Sandy Andolong, is a single mother, recently separated from her husband and is the most level-headed of the four. Grappling with her identity as a single person, she remains hopelessly in love with her husband (divorce remains illegal in the Philippines) who continues to be a responsible provider and father. She is also the most affluent of the four, bailing out her friends in times of need. She becomes momentarily stricken with shock and grief upon learning that her husband's new lover is a man.

Joey, played by Lorna Tolentino, is the most complex. The product of a broken home, she plays out her resentments toward her mother who "deserted" the family when Joey was at the threshold of adolescence, by going on a path of self-destruction. Joey rebels by acting out what society expects from a broken home—a wayward child. To even the score with her "poised, self-assured and attractive mother," Joey hops into bed with every available and willing man.

She is embittered and yet educated by these experiences, noting the irony that

when she exercises her sexual prerogatives as an individual, she is dubbed "*pakawala*," or a loose woman. Joey's love is reserved for a revolutionary activist, Jerry, who does not take advantage of her vulnerabilities. Jerry, convincingly portrayed by Ronald Bregendahl empathizes with Joey's oppression and maintains their relationship as classmates and to a lesser degree, allies.

This friendship is especially tested when Jerry comes down from the hills to ask Joey a special favor. His wife, Nita, by then several months pregnant, needs a place to stay and regain strength during those very important months of pregnancy. In a particularly poignant scene later in the film, Nita consoles Joey who breaks down after learning of Jerry's death during a government ambush of his unit.

Maritess (Anna Marin), is the most predictable of the four. A sensitive person who likes to write, her incipient talent, she is doomed by her marriage to "the boy next door." She becomes a full-time wife and mother. More oppressive is the home situation, where an entire extended family lives and vegetates. The home is run by her domineering mother-in-law, who lives by the edict that a woman's role is to procreate. Contraception is blasphemous. Thus, Maritess literally becomes a "baby factory"; her energy consumed by her infants during the day, her remaining strength sapped by her husband's sexual

demands at night.

And finally, there is Cathy (Gina Alajar), perhaps the most simple of the four. Cathy aspires to be a singer despite her obvious lack of talent. To become an overnight success, she exchanges sexual favors for career opportunities and the price is her self-respect.

"*Moral*" draws together themes about women's oppression as encountered by individuals. It does not, however, situate the individual stories in the broader political and economic context. It does not explain the broader social and economic forces at work to illuminate the question of women's emancipation. Moreover, the characters are women of means, a small number in a country where over half the population live below poverty levels. Because of their social positions, their options are greater, living their lives as they please. Perhaps the choice to focus on a smaller (and economically stable) class of women was due to government efforts to portray only "the good, the rich and the beautiful" of the Philippines. (Lee, a respected Filipino writer spent several months in Marcos' prison during the martial law years.)

More a "Manila phenomenon" where the upper, more cosmopolitan classes of Philippine society are concentrated, "*Moral*" captures the upheavals in the social relations between men and women, of this setting. Thus, while it may be speaking to a limited group of women, "*Moral*" to a certain extent mirrors a larger picture.

Women in the Philippines today are gaining access to education and employment, and yet are denied the full benefits of their acquired status. The lack of access to legalized abortion and the fact that divorce is not legal merely confirms this schism. Despite its limitations, "*Moral*" very vividly captures the tension of a society in transition. □

Book Review:

An Impressive But Confused Chronicle

Filipinos: Forgotten Asian-Americans
A Pictorial Essay

By Fred Cordova

By VINCE REYES

The latest attempt at seriously documenting the early years of the Filipino experience in America is a new book entitled *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian-Americans* by Fred Cordova. The 200-plus page pictorial essay is generously illustrated with vivid photographs interspersed with commentary and dialogue from Filipino pioneers and historians. The book is an informative, entertaining and often moving chronicle of Filipino immigration and community life from 1763 to 1963.

Filipinos depicts early migration from the experiences of the little-known "Manila-men" who literally jumped off Spanish galleons to establish communities in New Orleans in the mid-1760's to Filipinos who helped to found Los Angeles in 1788. However, the book's main emphasis is the larger migrations to Hawaii and the U.S. from 1900 to 1930.

BRINGING THE PAST TO LIFE

It is here where Cordova illustrates the motion and spirit of Filipino pioneers by allowing the oral histories of those who worked as field hands, cane cutters, cannery workers and cooks to speak for themselves.

Filipinos uses hundreds of photos to bring these people to life. A treasure trove of photographs by Frank Mancao dating from the 30's and 40's graces many of the

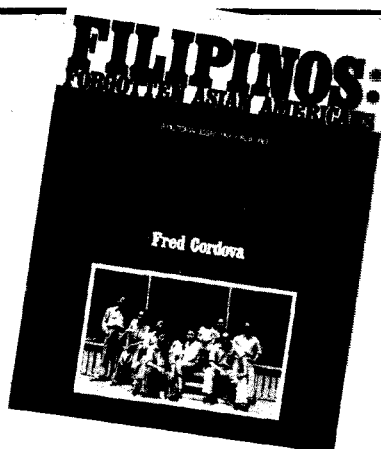
pages. The stereotyped posed groups pictures are there in force, with dapperly dressed Filipinos at picnic outings or hamming it up during breaks from work in the field or canneries.

From the outset, *Filipinos* makes no pretense of being the final authority on the history of Filipinos in America. This is just as well because the author's confused analytical framework presents a multitude of phenomena without explaining their relationship to one another. This perhaps is the book's greatest weakness.

CULTURAL NATIONALISM AND CONFUSION

From beginning to end the reader is assaulted with a profusion of well researched facts, figures, names, places and things in an almost stream of consciousness manner. The material is scattered along broadly organized chapters about women, families, the American-born second generation and types of community activities and social networks. Categories often overlap. Material that belongs in the text appears in captions and the other way around. The book clearly begs for a better editing job.

While each chapter of *Filipinos* presents the inevitable confrontations with racism and prejudice which characterize Filipino life in the U.S., the author responds with a form of cultural nationalism which does little to unravel the complexities of his people's experience.



Cordova adopts the "I'm Filipino and proud of it" approach — a dangerous one which can be manipulated by a canny dictator or right-wing politician. It was the theme used by Ferdinand Marcos and his entourage during his U.S. visit.

CHASING THE FILIPINO IDENTITY

Merely being Filipino becomes a positive thing. What kind of Filipino is irrelevant as is where one stands on the key issues of the day. Revolutionaries like Gabriela Silang, reactionaries like Carlos Romulo,

socialists like Carlos Bulosan, actors, athletes, consuls general and gangster union leaders are lumped together and viewed from the same perspective.

Thus, while *Filipinos* makes a helpful contribution to the community's history, serious students may come to regard it as simply a handsome coffee table book because its author remains trapped in a framework that has worn out its usefulness and, in fact, produces more confusion than anything else. The book's potential as a tool for understanding the Filipino-American experience remains unrealized while the author chases the elusive "Filipino Identity." □

Civil Rights Movement:

Still Fighting for King's Dream

EDITOR'S NOTE: To the anti-racist movement, which has been floundering in the throes of an ebb period for over the last decade, the recent march for "Jobs, Peace and Freedom" on Washington may signal a long-awaited revival. That the Filipino community was conspicuously absent from the event, organized in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the historic Civil Rights March of 1963, merely confirms its lack of awareness and appreciation of the movement led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., of its untold suffering and sacrifice, and especially of the gains it engendered for the lot of all minorities in the U.S. The following article is, therefore, aimed not only at correcting this historical unconsciousness but, just as paramount, at establishing the conviction that the continuing struggle for full equality is as much a responsibility of Filipinos as it is of Blacks and all other minorities.

By WICKS GEAGA

It was holiday season and Ms. Rosa Parks was returning home, weary from a long day of work at the alteration shop of the Montgomery Fair department store. After entering the bus and paying her fare, she dropped her aching body onto a seat in the whites-only front section. Normally she would, after paying the fare, step off the bus and reenter through the rear door. Then she would stand in the often crowded back section, even while seats remained empty in the front.

But on that fateful December day in 1955, Rosa Parks held her ground and became an instant people's heroine. Refusing to yield her seat to a standing white man, she was promptly submitted to the police for arrest at the next stop.

News of Park's defiance took little time to reach the Black community. Four days later on December 5, the historic Montgomery bus boycott began. Over 90 percent of the Blacks who ordinarily rode buses stayed away from them. Some drove wagons, others joined car pools, rode mules, or bicycled. Many just walked. Capturing Black Montgomery's determined spirit, one elderly Black woman exclaimed "My feet is tired, but my soul is rested."

Ridiculing the boycott at first, the white community soon began to feel its impact. After two months, downtown merchants claimed a million dollars lost in sales. Hard hit by a 65 percent reduction in income, the bus company was forced to raise fares and trim schedules.

Not to be intimidated by "a group of Negro radicals who have split asunder the fine relationship which have existed between the Negro and White people for generations," Mayor Gayle announced a "get tough" policy and launched a concerted campaign of harassment against the boycotters. Some lost jobs; carpool drivers were fined on trumped up charges of speeding; others were arrested for imaginary violations. Threatened by overwhelming defiance of the Black community, the mayor warned white Montgomery that the Blacks who sought to end segregation "were after the destruction of our social fabric."

Nearly a century after emancipation, Southern Blacks fared no better than their enslaved ancestors. Disenfranchised, and with no recourse to the police or courts, Blacks were helpless victims of white assault and murder. Between 1900 and 1915 alone, over a thousand lynchings were recorded. A host of statutes called Jim Crow laws enforced an all-encompassing system of white supremacy and segregation. These laws kept Blacks and whites apart from birth to death. They were born separately in segregated hospitals and educated in segregated schools. Funeral homes and cemeteries were likewise separated. Leaving no room for misinterpretation, "White only" and "Colored only" signs dotted whole southern landscape from schools and hospital wings to hot dog stands and public restrooms.

It was against this dehumanizing pattern of racism that the Black populace of Montgomery arose with such militance in support of the boycott. Despite the official harassment, the protest did not succumb.

The arrest and jailing of Martin Luther King, Jr. and over 90 other boycott leaders merely fueled the movement's resolve. For his dynamic role in rallying the

Black masses to engage in non-violent protest, King was propelled to national prominence.

Over a year after it began and near the brink of collapse, the Montgomery campaign finally precipitated the Supreme Court decision declaring Alabama's segregated buses as unconstitutional.

Thus ended the Civil Rights Movement's first victorious bout with segregation — a prelude to the massive demonstrations that would sweep the South like wildfire throughout the 1950's and 1960's.

At the helm of this movement would be King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which he formed immediately after the Montgomery campaign. Soon other organizations formed and committed themselves to King's direct, non-violent action. Among them were the Congress on Racial Equality and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Other traditional reformist groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League and the Southern Regional Council offered moral and financial support.

On February 1, 1960, four students from the Negro Agricultural and Technical College of Greensboro, North Carolina, entered a variety store, made several purchases and sat down at the lunch counter and ordered coffee. When they were refused service because they were Black, they remained in their seats until the store closed.

This was the beginning of the sit-in movement, which spread rapidly through the South and to some places in the North. In the Spring and Summer of 1960, thousands of young people, white and Black, participated in similar peaceful forms of protest against segregation and discrimination. They sat in white libraries, waded into white beaches, and slept in the lobbies of white hotels. Many of them were arrested for trespassing and disorderly conduct. As a result of these actions, literally hundreds of lunch counters across the South began to serve Blacks, and other facilities began to open up.

In May 1961 an even more dramatic attack on segregation was undertaken by CORE. It sent integrated teams of Freedom Riders through the South to test segregation laws and practices in interstate transportation. Making stops at Anniston, Birmingham and Montgomery, the Riders were attacked by angry white mobs wielding black jacks, iron bars, clubs and tire chains. In all cases the police were conspicuously absent.

The brutal mob violence and the deliberate indifference of Alabama officials thrust the Freedom Riders into the national and international headlines. Shock and disgust characterized the general reaction to the white South's brutality. Millions all over the world were for the first time exposed to the "save nature of American freedom and democracy."

By the Summer of 1961 the jails of Jackson, Mississippi and other Southern communities were virtually filled with Freedom Riders who had been arrested for alleged violation of the law.

The movement reached a higher point in April of 1963 when King launched a march in Birmingham, Alabama, considered the most segregated big city in America. Blacks dubbed it "bomblingham" for the 18 racial bombings and more than 50 cross-burnings that occurred between 1957 and 1963.

After 40 days of marching, during which over 2,500 Blacks were arrested, Birmingham's solid wall of segregation finally cracked. The SCLC had won its demands for the desegregation of lunch counters, restrooms, fitting rooms and drinking fountains. Despite the limited concessions wrenched from the local government, King hailed the event as "the most magnificent victory for justice we've ever seen in the Deep South."

Nearly 800 boycotts, marches and sit-ins in some 200 cities and towns across the South occurred in the three months following the Birmingham agreement. Finally, on August 28, 1963, the nation's capital witnessed the largest demonstration in its history when a quarter million Blacks and Whites converged on Washington demanding full civil rights for Blacks. The march in Washington, generally regarded as the climax of the civil rights movement, soon led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 — the most comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation in American history. The momentum continued with the enactment in 1965 of the Voting Rights Act.

For these long overdue legislative victories, the movement paid a high price. The great majority of the victims and casualties of the racist backlash that stalked

the movement through all its twists and turns never made the headlines. Among the more widely known was the murder of Medgar Evers, the NAACP Field Secretary for Mississippi, in June 1963. Evers had just vowed to end "all forms of segregation in Jackson" while spearheading a voter registration drive for Blacks.

Three months later, four Black girls were killed and dozens injured by a bomb tossed into a Birmingham church. Most of the perpetrators of the violence were never brought to justice, as many of them worked in direct collusion with law officials.

Nevertheless, the outrage spilled out into massive marches and demonstrations. Not since the civil war had tens of thousands of Blacks marched in open defiance of white supremacy, braving beatings, jailing, and even death.

That civil rights stage of the struggle had achieved legal equality but had not eliminated the oppressed conditions of his people was the problem which preoccupied Martin Luther King after 1965. He soon came to understand that the enforced economic inferiority of Blacks prevented them from exercising many of the rights they had just won. King's plan for a "Poor People's March" in Washington stemmed from his acute recognition of the economics of Black oppression. His decision to interrupt preparations for this march to support striking garbage workers in Memphis further demonstrated his understanding of the interdependence of Black liberation and other struggles.

In the last year of his life, King began to speak actively against the Vietnam War. He targeted the direct economic link between the money diverted for the war and the lack of jobs and social services for poor and Black people in this country. Many believe that King's increasingly radical views and his dangerous "awareness that Negro demands will necessitate structural changes in society" combined with his tremendous dynamism as a Black leader led to his murder. The decline of the movement he led did not take long to follow.

Still, the contributions made by the civil rights movement in advancing the struggle for equality in the U.S. cannot be overlooked. Not only did the movement achieve legal equality for blacks and all minorities of color. Likewise, the road was paved for the emergence of a whole spectrum of progressive struggles—from women's rights, to gay rights, to environmental protection.

But hardly had Blacks and other minorities begun to celebrate the fruits of their struggles when the U.S. government, with wide approval from privileged white America declared open season on these hard-won gains.

Compaigning against open housing and busing for racial balance, Richard Nixon easily sailed into the White House and made good on his pledges. His successor Gerald Ford, not to be outdone, shelved virtually every bill Congress passed that would have assisted the Black poor. While Carter rode 94 percent of the Black vote into the presidency, he was conspicuously quiet on the national debates raging over affirmative action and busing.

Arch-conservative Ronald Reagan has from the outset made no pretense about his aversion to any and all programs geared toward racial integration and equality. His vicious assault on both the spending and scope of federal social programs already overshadows the damage done by his recent predecessors.

Following the trend initiated by its decision on the Bakke case, the Supreme Court appears intent on upholding the seniority-on-the-job rule, thereby further eradicating the gains achieved by minority workers through affirmative action.

As if these were not sufficient, the incidents of racist violence against minorities by the police and terrorist hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis are on a dangerous upswing.

Nearly two decades after toppling Jim Crow, Blacks remain anchored at the bottom of U.S. society. Black unemployment is 19.5 percent, more than double the overall rate of 9.5 percent. Black male teenagers are especially hard hit with 48 percent unemployment, contrasted to 22 percent for white teenagers. One in three Blacks lived in poverty in 1980, compared to one in ten whites, and the disparity continues to accelerate.

Herein lies the urgency of reviving the anti-racist struggle from its current lethargy — and to this end lies the significance of the recent March in Washington. But just at a time when it requires the broadest and most politically steadfast support possible to fend off and reverse the current attacks, the anti-racist struggle is witnessing the rapid defection of its former white liberal allies in the struggle for legal civil rights.

With the political stakes raised — challenging white supremacy head-on as it is embodied in the very material privileges which whites enjoy over minorities — even the traditional leaders of the civil rights movement are undergoing serious vacillation.

But as Martin Luther King proved through his practice which others would do well to learn and to follow: the unbending adherence to the principles and demands of the anti-racist struggle will ultimately rally the support of ever-broader sections of oppressed people of color in this country. □