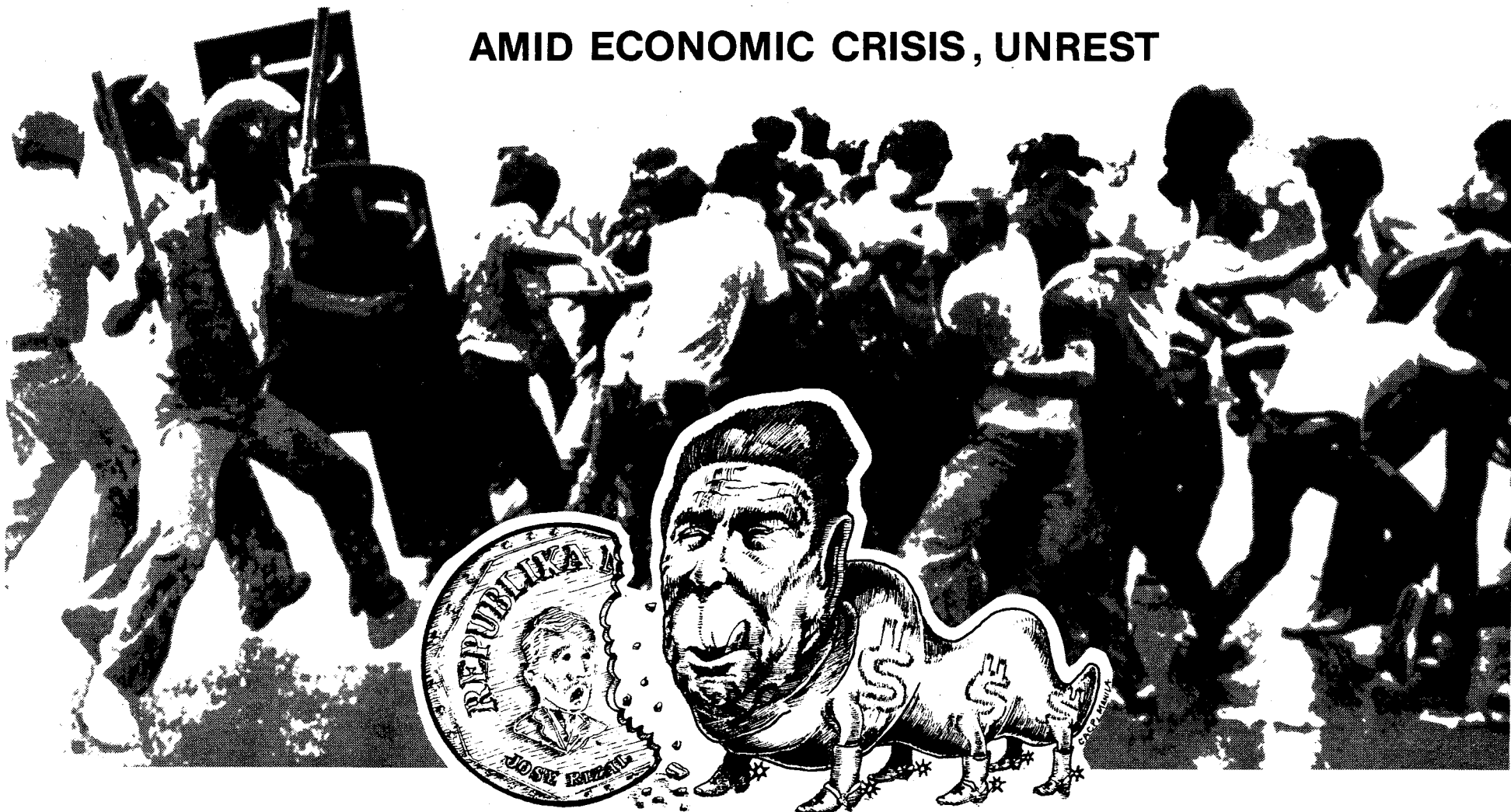


## AMID ECONOMIC CRISIS, UNREST



# FM's Debts: Pay Now, Pay Later

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

It was a shock to that small percentage of the Filipino population which still has enough cash to set some aside for a rainy day.

Tacked up on the door of the neighborhood savings and mortgage bank that Monday July 23 was a makeshift sign reading "Bank Holiday." It was no holiday anyone had ever heard of before.

Panic spread through the crowds of people milling before the Parañaque branch of Banco Filipino, one of 89 throughout the country. They had come to do business, to withdraw their savings, and suddenly their own money was off limits.

BF officers, headed by chairman Anthony C. Aguirre, remained cool in spite of the new run. An infusion of ₱3 million in backup funds from the Central Bank provided assurance that Banco Filipino would not go under.

But behind the ₱3 million backup loan and the nine-day closure of the Philippines' largest savings and mortgage bank lay a bigger tale of an economy sagging under the weight of its debts. President Ferdinand Marcos, having over-borrowed and over-spent now finds that the Devil wants his nation's soul in exchange for a reprieve. Unfortunately for Mr. Marcos, this is happening at a moment when the nation is out in the streets demanding his head.

**'Having overborrowed and overspent, Marcos now finds that the Devil wants his nation's soul in exchange for a reprieve.'**

Banco Filipino officers in Metro-Manila requested 92 constabulary troops, two for each of the 46 branches in the capital to control angry crowds which turned out, after all, to be surprisingly orderly. Other banks experienced sudden runs, leaving the entire banking establishment decidedly edgy.

Nine days later, Banco Filipino reopened its doors. In spite of newspaper advertisements bannering, "BANCO FILIPINO has all the CASH you need," depositors flocked to their local branches by the thousands, standing in line as early as 6:00 a.m., anxious to withdraw their savings.

### FM TO THE RESCUE

Central Bank Governor Jose "Jobo" Fernandez originally denied BF's request for an emergency loan. Fernandez reportedly told BF's management before the closure that the bank had lost the public's confidence and would have to be sold or merged.

But Marcos stepped into the picture. Responding to a letter from Aguirre, the president July 28 ordered the Monetary Board, the country's highest financial policy-making body chaired by Fernandez, to come to BF's rescue. "If one of the big banks fails, it affects the entire banking system. We will have a mass lack of

confidence . . ." Marcos told an interviewer a week later.

Obedying his boss, Fernandez abruptly shifted position, made the cash available and appointed Basilio Estanislao, president of the Land Bank and the Bankers Association of the Philippines as conservator of the troubled Banco Filipino.

"It became a very fundamental choice," commented J.P. Estanislao, president of Associated Bank. "Either to hit the [IMF] liquidity targets or save the confidence of your banking system."

The single decision to bail out Banco Filipino had implications that reached all the way to Washington. The massive infusion of pesos into an economy already bloated with excess cash and experiencing rampant inflation was precisely what the International Monetary Fund did not want to see.

### WHAT THE IMF WANTS

What the IMF wants is desperately important to the Philippines at the moment. For over a year, Philippine financial authorities have been struggling to meet a series of stringent requirements set forth by this institution in order to receive a desperately needed package of foreign loans. The cash is needed to pay off the Philippines' \$26 billion foreign debt.

The IMF component of the package consists of \$650 million in standby credit. Marcos has approached commercial lending institutions for an additional \$1.6 billion. But these creditors, wary of economic and political risks, are waiting for the IMF's approval of the standby credit before releasing the amount.

In return for the \$650 million credit, the IMF has imposed drastic requirements. Though never published, these measures include devaluation of the peso, strengthening of the banking system, cutbacks in government-provided social services and a reduction in real wages.

As part of its requirements, the IMF has asked for a reduction in liquidity—the money currently in circulation and in bank accounts. This is seen as a key to controlling runaway inflation which was aggravated when Marcos drained the Central Bank's reserves by releasing more money for the ruling *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* party's troubled campaign for the National Assembly last May.

In an effort to satisfy the liquidity requirement, Fernandez and the Monetary Board adopted a number of new policies. Banks are now required to keep a full 24% of their assets on deposits with the Central Bank to keep it out of circulation. The Central Bank also issued high-yield treasury bills which promise anything from 26% to 38% in interest rates.

The idea is to encourage people to invest in "Jobo Bills" as they are called and sop up excess cash. The hitch, of course, is that the high-yielding bills weaken the banks which offer no more than 9% to

*Continued on page 6*

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## September of Our Discontent

Poor Ferdinand E. Marcos, President of the New Republic, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Father of the Democratic Revolution, Convenor of the KBL Party, Chief Judge and Prosecutor, Most Bemedalled Hero of WWII, Protector of the Nation and the U.S. Bases, Maker of Secret Decrees, Richest Man in Asia, Chief Warden of Bicutan and Other Prisons, First Citizen of Ilocos, Bar Topnotcher, Sharpshooter, Archenemy of Communism, Friend of Ronald Reagan, Strict Adherent of Democratic Principles, Author of Many Books, Husband of the Governor of Metro-Manila, and Indestructible Challenger of Lupus. On the 12th year of "constitutional authoritarianism" on September 21 he finds himself between a rock and a very hard place.

The massive August 21 demonstration of over a half million Filipinos marking the first anniversary of Benigno Aquino's murder, completely erased Malacañang's and Washington's euphoria over the elaborate "fair elections" of last May. Marcos, to the White House's dismay, still finds himself very much alone as an extremely broad opposition continues to press the popular demand for his removal.

And now, it appears that the panel investigating Aquino's assassination will point its finger at Fabian Ver, the chauffeur-bodyguard Marcos had elevated as his armed forces Chief-of-Staff. While the panel might, on a technicality, absolve Marcos of direct responsi-

bility for Aquino's death, Ver is so close to the dictator that its finding would still be politically devastating.

### NEW BATTALIONS

While workers, squatters, teachers, clerks, nuns, priests, students, artists, and businessmen are braving police teargas and truncheons in the cities, peasant-based guerillas are giving Marcos' troops a run for their bullets. He might have to don his battledress more often because the New People's Army is getting bolder and reaping mass support all throughout the archipelago.

Having overspent, overborrowed, and having been overgenerous to himself, his cronies and to U.S. and Japanese investors, Marcos now finds his economy degenerating even faster than his health. With a \$26 billion foreign debt, 30% unemployment, devaluations that worsen an already rampant inflation, Marcos will find new battalions of enemies among a pauperized citizenry of laid-off workers, indebted and landless peasants, and desperate students. He won't even find solace among stifled native entrepreneurs. Meanwhile, the IMF and his foreign creditors are growing impatient because he is *too slow* in implementing even more "austerity" measures.

Marcos' woes are being duly noted in the United States. The liberal press headed by the *New York Times*, is demanding his head and calling for a more effective guardian of the U.S. bases and other interests in the Philippines. Even Vice President George Bush has been reduced to excusing himself, saying that "conditions have obviously changed" ever since he praised Marcos for adhering strictly to "democratic principles and processes." Indeed, there is an eerie silence about Marcos within Reagan's circle.

### UNITY AND VIGILANCE

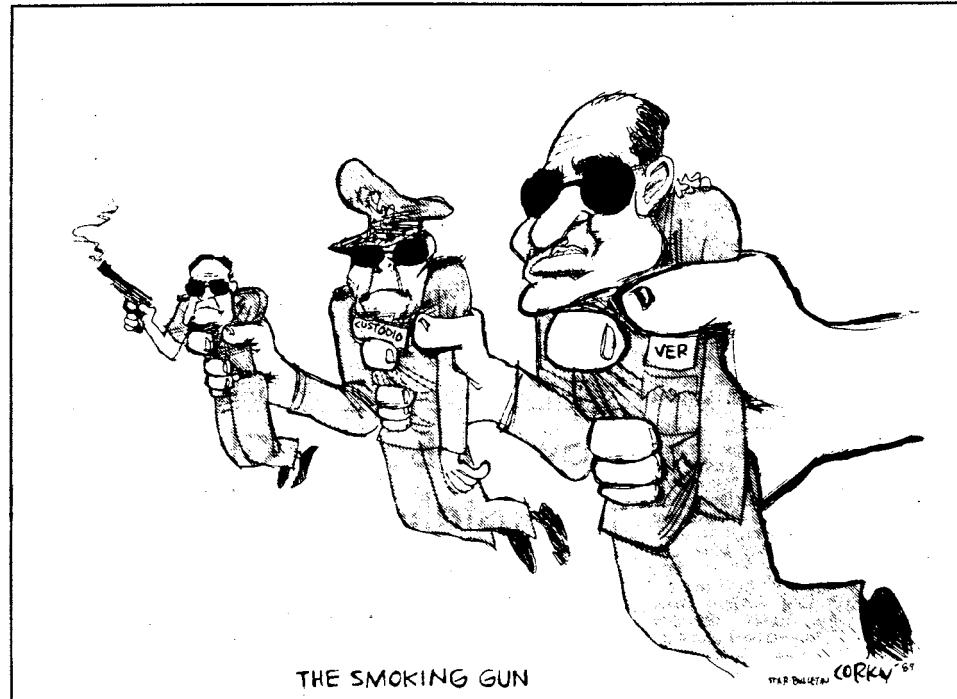
Marcos and his U.S. backers are in a quandary, and it is inspiring to see the popular opposition movement in the Philippines take advantage of this by struggling for a common ground against a common enemy.

However, when the people's strength is ascendant and the enemy is showing strain, political opportunism inevitably rears its head. The few politicians who wish to redirect the people's efforts should curb their ambitions as the masses, once betrayed, can be unforgiving. There should be accommodation on all sides. The mass movement is neither simply for "the left" nor for "the right," but for the common cause of removing Marcos and instituting a democratic order.

It is heartening to note that the various stripes of opposition abroad, particularly in the U.S., are taking the cue from their compatriots back home. There has been an increase in joint and united efforts among various groups in the past year. They too must guard against all forms of sectarianism, and nurture their growing unity. It is their responsibility to press for a change in U.S. policy, to press for an end to U.S. aid to Marcos and, in this election year, to contribute to the defeat of Marcos' prime sponsor, Ronald Reagan.

Despite his troubles, Ferdinand Marcos is still very much a dangerous adversary. He is down but not out and his White House handlers have not quite thrown in the towel to opt for another bet. Vigilance, both in the Philippines and here is still a precious watchword—vigilance against renewed repression and any U.S. attempts to derail the people's democratic cause.

With unity and vigilance, the Filipino people just might succeed in making Marcos' September 21 anniversary his last. □



THE SMOKING GUN

### ANG KATIPUNAN

A socialist periodical for the Filipino community

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Art and Production: Emil De Guzman, Wicks Geaga, Berto Nazareno, Nene Ojeda

## THE LOOSE WORD

Unreachable Star

By MAXIMO V. SALIVA

You may be disappointed that I am filling in for Doroy who is on a break. Just take an aspirin fellows and give me a chance. (Doroy, stay out of Ibiza—it's now full of drunken British soccer fans looking for sex and cheap vino. On the other hand, he's probably there already.) My column has been criticized as a chatty, endless hodgepodge of fractured attempts at being witty, and side accounts of people, places and things I've known around the world. I have been accused of egotism, pretentiousness, inveterate name dropping, *ad infinitum*.

People say I try to sound like a sophisticate, a hail-fellow-well-met, or when I want to be macho, a weary former foreign correspondent who has imbibed too many gin and tonics in dark and exotic cabarets all over the seven continents. It's water off my back, as my dear friend Harrison Salisbury used to say. (Harry wrote for the *New York Times* and used to



sneak in and out of Hanoi at the height of the war. I almost met him at a cocktail party once.) I can take all these insults. At least I'm not like that columnist who (I won't mention names) everyone knows can read but cannot write. Did I say Doroy Delihencia will be back next issue? In that case, make it *two* aspirin fellows.

But there's a canard that gets my goat: the charge that I'm a born-again critic, an oppositionist-come-lately. To anyone who thinks I have not been a consistent critic of the regime (a word, by the way, of French origin) let me remind you that I was jailed in September 1972 along with such blue-blooded patriots and good friends as Soc Rodrigo, Pepe Diokno (whose middle name is Wright, by the way) and Wonder Boy himself, Ninoy Aquino. If anyone thinks I had been too quiet after that and spoke up only after the Tarmac Tragedy, they should read my magazine *Manila* again. Known as the most sophisticated glossy in these here parts, *Manila* is a compendium of fine cuisine and sybaritic traveller's tales. In other words, a chronicle of gracious living. Now it can be told: *Manila* was always meant as a critique of the tastelessness of the present administration. With Madam's embarrassing international escapades I felt called upon to show the world there *are* Filipinos who can mix a good martini and appreciate a smooth sorbet.

In any case, my higher profile now is due in part to my foreign correspondent-soldier of fortune pal Arnaud de Borchgrave (he is of noble French lineage but speaks English like the Queen). We were nursing our rum toddies at the venerable Raffles bar in Singapore one day when he said: "Max, you're the most civilized Filipino I've ever met, a fact that has stopped me from instinctively asking you to draw my bath, and slashing your throat, Sabu . . . But by god, Maxie m'boy one day you have to summon that Legionnaire's

## Letters . . .

### I Disagree

I disagree with your editorial "The Rainbow Must Grow, Reagan Must Go," August 1984. As Americans we must support America first which Pres. Reagan has done this past 3-1/2 years—strong, at peace and with pride! As to the problems of the Philippines and Central America, history shows that liberty and democracy can be made possibly only by the people themselves. No matter how long or difficult, it is up to them and only them to decide! A Mondale victory could do more harm than good for we know that freedom must be earned not given. The people of the Philippines know what they want but it is their tragedy to choose and believe the kind of leaders who distrust their own people and depend instead on the goodwill and blessings of America. A Mondale victory will only prolong this mentality!

Robert I. Antonio  
Orange County, CA

### Glad

I would like to have the enclosed poem published in the next issue of the AK. I'm glad that there's a paper in the U.S. Filipino community that caters to the needs and aspirations of the Filipino poor. I'm also happy that you have a literary column that prints "progressive" poems, stories, etc. More power to your paper!

Paulo Guerrero  
Seattle, WA

### Shake It Off

Last April I attended the Boycott Conference in New York City. I picked up one of your issues. I did not have a chance to read it until last week, and I am very much impressed with it. I hope your publication can be an effective vehicle in shaking off the colonial mentality of most Filipinos in North America. In solidarity,

R. Karunungan  
Atlanta, GA

### Going Home

I am leaving the country shortly and perhaps spend the last days of my life in the Philippines, depending on the condition of my health and the situation of the country. So please hold my subscription to your lovely paper and advise you when to renew. This is however expressing my congratulations to the staff for making bold steps in denouncing the maladministration, the evils, corruption, nepotism, cronyism, persecutions, murders, and assassinations that are going on in our home country. It really pains me thinking of the suffering of the Filipino people under that administration, the suppression of their fundamental freedoms. I am only hoping and praying that eventually democracy will come back to the country.

C.H. Galvez  
Oakland, CA

elan and bloody your nose." These words came back to me when millions upon millions of our countrymen marched in Ninoy's funeral, unmindful of the chilling horror, the spine-tingling fear and the constipation-inducing tensions of the past ten years. It was then that I courageously decided to throw caution to the wind and risk bolder risks.

Ninoy would have understood me. The most important thing about him was that we shared moments together in Camp Crame where we were confined along with the other best minds of our generation. We started singing Don Quixote's song, "To dream the impossible dream . . ." to fight the unbeatable foe, to try when your arms are too weary, to reach the unreachable star. This is Ninoy's legacy. Where are those wearers of yellow ribbons? Have they left the barricades? Or are they still following that star, no matter how hopeless—no matter how far?

Actually the only ones who hate me are the Boycotters because I criticized their misguided efforts. It's not that I love Doy Laurel (a fellow pipe smoker—sorry Doy, I've run out of Borkum Riff; you'll have to make do with Captain Black) I just happen to believe that the poor boy from Lubao, former president Diosdado Macapagal et al. were playing into the hands of the Left. There's only one thing I agree with Marcos on: the Communists are a no-no. This goes not only for NPA-types but for any stripe of Communist. I met the late Euro-communist Enrico Berlinguer once in a *trattoria* near Rome's famed Piazza del Popolo and I didn't like him either even though we became good friends after some *antipasto* in his villa. To me he's better dead than red.

I suspect that my erstwhile friends and their leftist suitors are spreading the lie that I'm CIA. I know the trick. I didn't serve as Ngo Dinh Diem's PR man in Vietnam before he lost

Continued on page 11

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

## A 'Sea of People' Marks Aquino Death Anniversary

Over half a million people turned Luneta Park into a virtual "sea of yellow" last August 21, successfully commemorating the first anniversary of the assassination of former senator Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino.

In spite of government warnings of communist-instigated disturbances, four huge feeder marches converged at the rally site and labor absenteeism was estimated at 40% in Manila alone.

The unveiling of a bronze statue of Aquino, delivered on the same flatbed truck that bore his casket, opened the ceremonies and sent ripples of excitement through the crowd to whom the "statue saga" represented a second homecoming. Police and military units, ordered by the Supreme Court to maintain a discreet distance from the demonstrators, stood along the sidelines.

Keeping the police in abeyance and successfully unveiling the statue were considered major achievements by the organizers. Earlier, they spent weeks petitioning the Supreme Court to restrain the military and haggled with customs authorities to release the statue which arrived by air from the U.S. only days before the scheduled demonstration.

The peaceful rally drew the curious and the committed, the sentimental and the serious—all intent on remembering Ninoy and taking stock of the movement's achievements and setbacks of the past year.

### 'FALL GUY'

A booming cottage industry in Ninoy memorabilia—T-shirts, sun-visors, bronze mini-busts, jogging headbands, fans, balloons, hats, and comic books—rang up huge sales.

Spectacular banners, etched with the former senator's face and held by helium balloons rose above the demonstration. The son of alleged assassin Rolando Galman solemnly marched in an outfit similar to that worn by his father during the assassination.

The young Galman, however, embellished his costume with a T-shirt emblazoned "Fall Guy"—the post-mortem assessment of Galman's true role.

Others added a new twist to the year-long demand for Marcos' resignation, such as Lino Brocka who wore a T-shirt reading "Don't Resign, Just Die."



Thousands stream into Luneta Park to mark August 21; (inset) Rey Galman marched in clothing just like those his father wore the day of the murder. (Mr. & Ms.; Malaya)

### BUILD-UP MARKED BY POLICE VIOLENCE

Festiveness, militance and a sense of victory marked the event which climaxed a series of rallies begun on July 23. The largest of these was attended by as many as 32,000 participants.

The earlier events, however, were marked by police violence. Troopers used truncheons, teargas, and high-powered water hoses to disperse crowds. Gun-wielding plainclothesmen prevented demonstrators from regrouping.

Echoing the widespread sentiment of demonstrators, League of Filipino Students leader Leandro Alejandro vowed that the

demonstrators would defend themselves on August 21 if the police attacked. "We are trying to be as peaceful as possible," cautioned a participant during one of the earlier rallies, "but we are simply not going to kneel and get truncheoned on the head anymore."

The fact that a violent confrontation was averted however, did not mean that the protesters were any less militant. Many attributed the velvet-gloved treatment of the demonstrators to the presence of the international media, out in full force and eager to cover the first anniversary of the most newsworthy event in recent Philippine history.

## Agrava to Target Ver?

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

California newspaper reported August 26 that the commission investigating the assassination of former Senator Benigno Aquino will charge Philippine Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fabian Ver with masterminding the crime.

The *San Jose Mercury News* claims that its source is one of the five members of the panel appointed by Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos. The commission is chaired by former Appellate Justice Corazon Agrava.

The source allegedly expressed concern that the findings, scheduled to be released in less than two weeks, might be distorted by regime authorities and thus deliberately leaked the information to the press.

According to the panel member, Ver passed the order to execute the plot on to Brig. Gen. Luther Custodio, chief of the Aviation Security Command.

The commission reportedly believes that Aquino was shot by one of the five guards leading him from the plane which brought him home from the United States August 21 last year. Because it lacks sufficient evidence to determine precisely which guard, the panel will demand that all five be placed on trial along with Ver and Custodio.

The five panel members thus reject the government version that small-time crook Rolando Galman killed Aquino, acting as



Fabian Ver

hitman for the Communist Party of the Philippines.

### LETTING FM OFF THE HOOK

The panel will reportedly target as the "brain" behind the assassination plot "an intimate friend and ally of Ferdinand Marcos," but will not name names. The individual is further characterized as "an ambitious, troublesome individual who has his own plans to become president."

The reference can only be to businessman, Marcos crony and presidential aspirant Eduardo Cojuangco. The panel will

thus confirm the rumor of a Ver-Cojuangco conspiracy which first saw light only a week or two after the murder.

The Agrava Commission, however, will not target the president himself or First Lady Imelda Marcos. The *News* source claims that Marcos was too ill at the time of the assassination to make any such decision and that "those close to the president acted because they believed he was dying. . . They sincerely believed that Marcos, in his weakened condition, could not face a challenge by Aquino and they wanted to protect him and the First Lady."

The panel thus lets Ferdinand Marcos, almost universally considered the real mastermind, neatly off the hook. This, according to the constantly broadening opposition, is precisely what it was appointed to do in the first place.

### FIND A SACRIFICIAL LAMB

Widespread international conviction that Marcos ordered the slaying forced the Philippine president into a number of contortions to shift the blame elsewhere. The first commission appointed to investigate the matter, headed by Supreme Court Justice Enrique Fernando, quickly became known as the "Fernando Omission" and dissolved in ridicule.

The Agrava Commission followed and observers immediately concluded that its role was to find an acceptable sacrificial lamb to take the rap for the president. It would have to be a fairly important official to be credible, they determined, and one extremely loyal to the president.

The only question was how high up the chain of command Marcos would have to go. The fact that he had to move all the way to the top and select the nearly indispensable Ver is seen by most observers as an act of desperation.

### OPPOSITION STILL DIVIDED OVER BATASAN

The appearance of unity among all segments of the opposition did not conceal the politically divergent views held by various groups. The differences which divided the movement over whether to participate in the May 14 elections emerged once again at the rally.

Eva Estrada Kalaw, an opposition figure in the National Assembly, urged the crowd to vote more opposition politicians into the parliament. The call was met with boos and catcalls. Aquilino Pimentel, a fellow parliamentarian responded in dismay: "We [opposition assembly members] must establish dialogue with the parliament of the streets."

Pimentel reasserted, however, that "Now the feeling is one of hope that we can pursue a democratic dialogue through our efforts in Parliament." Former newspaperman Anding Roces offered a more skeptical view: "Marcos is much weaker compared to the power he had before Ninoy's death," he told the crowd. As to the parliament, Roces said it was but a "nuisance."

Other speakers roundly condemned the U.S.-backed Marcos dictatorship and demanded nothing less than its complete dismantling.

### SIZING UP MARCOS AS HOPELESS

All, however, were unanimous in the view that Marcos' rule was in jeopardy. Faced with an enormous debt crisis, impatient foreign creditors and a political opposition whose ranks are swelling rapidly, Marcos rule is heading towards what one foreign diplomat termed "an insoluble crisis." The same diplomat said, "We are five to ten years off from the possible downfall of a regime."

International observers were equally unkind. The *New York Times* described Marcos as "a ruinous burden to the 52 million people condemned to bear him" and assailed him for relying on U.S. aid "to rescue him from a mess of his own making."

A *Wall Street Journal* editorial assessed the Philippine president's economic policies as hopeless and urged the International Monetary Fund not to bail out his regime without long-term reforms. Many take this to mean that this mouthpiece of the more conservative wing of the U.S. ruling establishment has concluded that Marcos is now beyond hope. □

### ACCENT ON CREDIBILITY

Ver's blind loyalty makes him the ideal selection. According to the *Mercury News*, "The commission members hope the findings will defuse the political time bomb that has been ticking in the Philippines since the Aquino assassination."

Panel members reportedly will demand an immediate trial. "Our greatest concern is that as soon as the report comes out the president must take action," commented the *News* source. "Otherwise the president will have no credibility among any Filipinos and our country will have no credibility in the international community."

### 'NO WHITEWASH!' 'TRUTH AND JUSTICE!'

Some doubts have been expressed as to the validity of the Ver rumor. One panel member roundly denied that the AFP chief would be targeted, claiming that the commission is still nowhere near making a decision.

But at least one separate source confirmed the *News* version. Raul Gonzales, President of the National Bar Association of the Philippines and former counsel to the investigating panel told reporters that he had been given the same information by board members "in confidence."

One way or the other, the opposition movement remains concerned that the Agrava Commission will let Marcos off if it really does name Ver.

One women's organization known as AWARE (Alliance of Women for Action toward Reconciliation) organized daily pickets around the homes of commission members to demand that they tell the truth. "No whitewash!" "Truth and Justice!" read their slogans.

"You are accountable to the Filipino people!" insisted one picket sign. □

# Buod ng mga Balita

## Did Guards Help Prisoners Escape?

Three political prisoners escaped the tightly-guarded Bicutan Detention Center in the early morning of August 24 and three guards are now detained for aiding their flight.

Arturo Tabera, Joseph "Jojo" Olayer, and Roger Abera scaled the walls of the Philippine Constabulary/Integrated National Police stockade in Camp Bagong Diwa, Taguig, Metro-Manila between 6 and 7 a.m. Friday. The absence was not noted during the routine head count and inspection by prison guards a few hours later.

Three members of the PC/INP jail custodial force—CIC Reymundo Lappay, Carlito Vecina and a Samarista—were named responsible for the escape in a military report issued on the incident. In addition, Vecina and Samarista reportedly requested Guard on Duty SSG Peregrino Domingo and Duty Warden MSG Nicanor Acuña to log the three present after they were considered missing at 9:00 that evening. Lappay was the guard assigned at Tower Port 3 where the three reportedly escaped. All three guards are now detained in Bicutan.

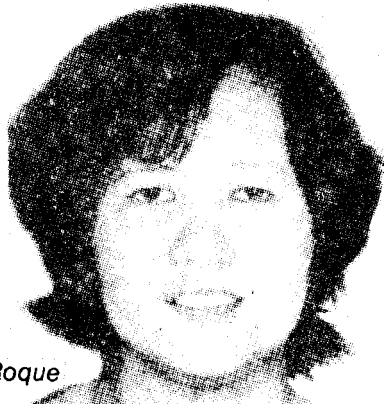
Tabera, Olayer, and Abera have been charged in court with subversion along with Alan Jasmynes, former professor at the University of the Philippines and the Asian Institute of Management. They were arrested during a rash of military raids in suspected "rebel hideouts" in Metro-Manila February 26, 1982. □

## Two Educators Nabbed in New Crackdown

The Alliance of Concerned Teachers has expressed concern that the August 6 arrest of two teachers may signal a military crackdown on the educators' sector.

Mila Aguilar-Roque, 35, was arrested August 6 at St. Joseph's College, Quezon City, where she is director of the Extension Center. A few hours before Roque's arrest, Cynthia Nolasco, 33, a science teacher at St. Joseph's and Regina Montecillo, 23, a volunteer social worker at the same school, were dragged out of a passenger jeepney by 15 armed men.

The arrests happened after police entered and searched Nolasco's Quezon City apartment. William Tolentino, 21, a volunteer social worker at St. Joseph's, was arrested during that raid. All are accused of subversive



Mila Aguilar-Roque

activities.

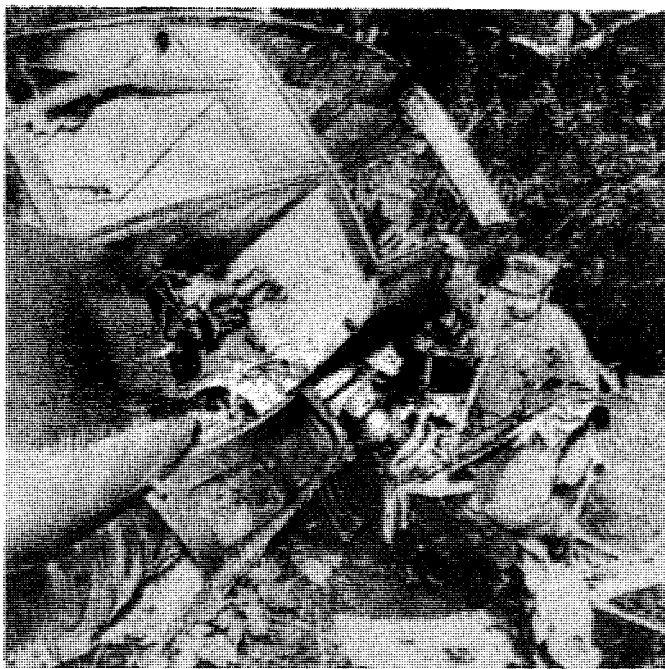
Police claim to have seized two boxes of documents in the raid on Nolasco's apartment, among them an elaborate plan of the Communist Party of the Philippines and its military arm, the New People's Army, to "win over 'bourgeois reformists' into the party mainstream."

The military clearly considers Roque a major catch. Intelligence officers insist she is the top female member of the CPP's politburo. At the time of her arrest, she carried a ₱100,000 price on her head. The military claims that Roque is wanted for involvement in the Andrea-Karagatan case of the early 1970s. They named her the chairperson of the National Democratic Front and the National United Front Committee of the CPP.

Nolasco, an active member in the ACT, on the other hand, is tagged by police reports as head of the technical staff of the NDF with Tolentino as a staff member.

Members of ACT, surprised at the military's accusations, express fear that the repressive measures against their colleagues are part of a plan to foil their efforts at organizing teachers and others in the educators' sector.

ACT, in a statement on the arrests, condemned the "brutal abduction" of Nolasco and demanded the immediate release of the two teachers. They warned of a general boycott of classes as one option of applying pressure. □



Philippine soldier inspects wreckage of AFP helicopter downed by NPA in Tinglayan; military simply said copter "crashed." (AP)

## More Military Drives Set

Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile last August 22 announced a "total approach" to stemming the growing dissident movement. Enrile met with representatives from various ministries and the Defense and Security Committee of the *Batasan Pambansa* to present a counterinsurgency plan designed by Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fabian Ver which entails full-scale military operations in the Cordilleras and the southern provinces of Mindanao.

President Ferdinand Marcos had ordered the plan. The president, in a June 26 meeting with cabinet members and his *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* party, admitted to being "shocked by the manner in which they [the rebels] have proliferated."

Underground papers report an increase in NPA ambushes and offensives in the last year. NPA offensives in Mindanao last year totalled 234, an average of four to five a week, twice the rate in 1982. These attacks netted the guerillas some 800 high-powered rifles. NPA activity in other regions has also spread the Armed Forces thin.

Enrile, however, maintains that while "communist and New People's Army infiltration have intensified, rebels have no control over any part of the country from which they cannot be dislodged by the government."

As part of the plan, the Cordilleras in the north and Lanao del Norte, Lanao del Sur, Agusan del Norte, Agusan del Sur, and Surigao on the southern island of Mindanao have been targets of heavy air and ground military strikes. The attacks have created thousands of refugees. Civilian deaths have not been counted, though observers believe that government reports of rebel casualties included civilians caught in the crossfire or killed by indiscriminate bombing of air force planes.

In the swamplands of Raman and Bayabo in Lanao del Sur, a military offensive early August lasted two weeks, resulting in the deaths of 99 people. □

## Tolentino Blasts FM's Decree-Making Power

Philippine observers anticipated a certain amount of controversy from the newly elected *Batasan Pambansa* with its 65 opposition members when that institution formally opened its doors July 23. But they hardly expected the biggest flap to come from a *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* member and Marcos appointee.

Nonetheless it is newly appointed Foreign Minister Arturo Tolentino who is raising the eyebrows in Malacañang. The degree of dissatisfaction with the respected jurist was revealed when a government-approved statement assailed Tolentino for making "disguised assaults" on Marcos' power to legislate by decree.

Amendment No. 6, granting Marcos legislative powers "in times of emergency" has been singled out as a key target by the opposition members of the *Batasan* grouped together in the United Nationalist Demo-

cratic Opposition. UNIDO claims that, with the opening of the new parliament, political normalcy has been achieved and "Amendment No. 6 is deemed *ipso facto* terminated."

They did not expect support from the maverick Tolentino, the sole member of the KBL to win election from the Metro-Manila area. Tolentino nonetheless publicly questioned Marcos' legislative powers and threw in criticism of two new decrees that raise vehicle registration fees and travel taxes. He called these "onerous" and complained that the agencies affected had not been consulted.

### TARGET KOKOY

This is not the first time Tolentino has made his fellow KBL members squirm. Earlier he echoed a government call that those holding dual government posts should resign from one of their jobs.

Administration officials insisted that *Batasan* members who are also governors or mayors resign their positions. Seven provincial governors and four mayors currently serve as *Batasan* members. A number of them are with the opposition.

Tolentino, a noted constitutionalist, agreed wholeheartedly. The constitution, he claimed, allows an individual to hold only one such position.

But Tolentino proceeded then to target none other than Benjamin "Kokoy" Romualdez, brother of First Lady Imelda Romualdez Marcos. Kokoy, now a *Batasan* member, simultaneously serves as Governor of Leyte and Ambassador to the United States and is the leading figure in the "hers" wing of the Marcos family empire.

Tolentino then proceeded to blast the regime's practice of appointing political figures instead of career diplomats to ambassadorial positions.

With friends like this in the cabinet and the KBL, Marcos is no doubt asking himself, who needs an opposition? □

## Libel Suits—New Form of Censorship

Philippine government and military officials irritated at the rebirth of a freewheeling press have found a new way to impose censorship: libel suits. These, warned members of the local and foreign press corps based in Manila, are threatening "the freedom to report and comment on issues of public importance." The group in a statement issued in early August added, "citizens' constitutional rights to be informed" are being withheld.

The statement, signed by some 250 writers and journalists, noted "ominous implications" in President Ferdinand E. Marcos' July 23 speech. Marcos hinted that "Violence, subversion and libel are not acceptable weapons of dissent in a democratic society." The group saw Marcos' comment as a threat aimed at the non-government or -crony owned periodicals that sprang up in the wake of the Aquino assassination. The new magazines and newspapers have made for a livelier press than anything the Philippines has seen since the declaration of martial law.

Though martial law was allegedly lifted in 1981, the regime conducted a raid and clampdown on the weekly *Philippine Times* and arrested and detained its editor-publisher Rommel Corro. This did not snuff out the "free press" so instead libel suits are becoming the weapons brandished by government and military targets.

The statement, initiated by a newly-formed committee to protect writers, pointed to a string of suits filed against journalists in the last two years. Largest ever filed is the ₱220 million (\$11 million) suit against Lupino Lazaro, lawyer of alleged Aquino assassin Rolando Galman's family; the publisher, the editor, and a writer for *Panorama*. The offending article, an interview with Lazaro, disclosed the Cojuangco/Ver link in the Aquino murder. Coconut kingpin and Marcos crony Eduardo Cojuangco responded with a ₱20 million libel charge, followed by a ₱100 million suit from Armed Forces Chief Gen. Fabian Ver.

On yet another front of the regime's attempts to muzzle the press, Japanese freelance journalist Hiyoshi Wakamiya was stopped by Philippine immigration authorities from entering the country last August 20. Wakamiya, called an "undesirable alien" by immigration officers, was put on board a Thai Airways flight for Bangkok two hours after his arrival from Tokyo. He had flown in to cover activities commemorating Aquino's death anniversary.

Wakamiya was part of Aquino's press entourage and his stories released abroad contradicted the government's version of the murder. His eight other companions, including two members of the Japanese parliament, were allowed entry. □

# Stars Take to the Streets

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

Charito Solis active in the "free the artist movement?" Gina Alajar censured for attending an opposition rally? Freddie Aguilar, the "minstrel of the masses"? The entertainment industry, which made standard fare of slapstick, "kiss kiss," "bang bang" and warmed-over American tunes, is apparently not immune to the protest epidemic sweeping the Philippines.

Some of the country's best artists are now treading political ground previously considered "off limits" by an industry beholden only to government guidelines and box-office returns. Only a few of these celebrities have longstanding activist credentials; some had been closet rebels, but most appear to be recent converts to activism.

Undoubtedly, the Aquino assassination pushed above ground the simmering resentments held by the country's entertainment cadre against government censorship and arbitrariness. In addition, not even top-earning movie stars have been spared the effects of the economic and political malaise.

With the Aquino assassination, the fledgling "free the artist movement" spearheaded by director Lino Brocka and writer Jose Lacaba, gained an unprecedented momentum, political scope and breadth of membership.

## VEILED CRITIQUES

The year 1983 marked a difficult time for the entertainment world, in particular, for the handful of progressive writers and directors in the movie industry who were eager to produce quality films but were hamstrung by the Board of Censors and prohibitive production costs.

For them the task of politicizing the film industry had been an arduous one. Previously, whatever political messages a producer wanted to convey could only be communicated in oblique allegorical forms.

"In a country like the Philippines a director is not free to choose the subjects of his films," explained director Lino Brocka who earned wide respect for films depicting social reality in its starkest forms. Thus, the reliance on metaphors, on symbolic motifs, to make implicit messages which could not be conveyed directly.

Mike de Leon's "Kisapmata" a film about incest perpetuated by a tyrannical father and "Batch '81" a film about fraternity hazing, are said to be veiled critiques of fascism.

## KATIGBAK'S CUTTERS

Enter Maria Kalaw Katigbak, the Marcos-appointed chair of the Board of Censors. The ensuing clashes with entertainers of

various political stripes was enough to cause, in the words of Amalia Fuentes who is apolitical by her own admission, "the radicalization of the industry." Kalaw, supposedly appointed to crack down on sex and violence in films, imposed arbitrary guidelines bordering on personal vindictiveness.

Whoever incurred her ire, such as Gina Alajar for attending an anti-censorship rally, was punished at the box office.

Yet, the imperious Katigbak, let by such soft-porn flicks as "Oro, Plata, Mata" and "Virgin People" as entries to the Manila Film Festival II, simply because the First Lady considered these films "artistic." Between Kalaw Katigbak's archaic biases and Imelda's fancies for only the "true, the good, and the beautiful," the film industry was thrown into confusion over what constituted fair and acceptable standards for public viewing.

To top it off, President Marcos expanded the powers of the Board of Censors to

**'We as free artists have chosen to be here . . . as free men and women who want to practice our art unfettered, uncoerced, unintimidated.'**

include the licensing of actors and the censorship of live entertainment with the issuance of Presidential Decree 868.

Lino Brocka and Mike de Leon thereafter led the Free the Artist Movement which sought to repeal the order. The Film Academy of the Philippines headed by Eddie Rodriguez, also moved to oust Katigbak and establish the classification Board which seeks to "self-regulate" and rate films, rather than simply cut and censor.

PD 868 has since been rescinded and replaced. The new version however, is still considered objectionable by many members of the industry.

## FREE ARTISTS

The Aquino assassination occurred shortly after a "Ban Censorship Movement" was launched. Since then, the Free the Artist Movement, now renamed Concerned Artists of the Philippines, has played an important supporting role in the ensuing protest movement. It played a key role in the establishment of Justice for Aquino, Justice for All (JAJA). CAP has sponsored forums and symposia on topics of broad political significance such as the peso devaluation, the May 14 election, Presidential Commitment Orders, and the labor situation.



Director Lino Brocka prepares for Manila protest: "The artist . . . cannot dissociate himself from society." (Mr. & Ms.)

Commenting on the impact of Aquino's death, Aguilar said: "The Filipino's life has no more value. I cried, you know, I was crying not for Aquino but for the Filipino people. For someone to be secured and protected by the military to be killed like that. . . what about us?"

## POPULAR FRONT

While the stringent regulations of censorship remain in effect, they are being challenged by a popular front of actors and actresses willing to take personal and career risks. As a result, Brocka and de Leon have confidently set out to make more explicitly political films. De Leon's widely acclaimed "Sister Stella L.," a movie about the metamorphosis of a nun from passive social worker and spiritual counselor to labor activist, is reportedly drawing record crowds at Manila's movie houses. "Stella L." was written by Lacaba.

"Ang Bayan Ko" by Brocka and "Soltero" similarly promise to be unforgettable and has already been premiered at the Cannes Film Festival. Brocka and writer Ricardo Lee are reportedly putting the finishing touches on the "Benigno Aquino Story."

While disc jockeys and recording houses have been asked by "higher ups" to stop promoting Aguilar's single "Ang Bayan Ko," this has neither intimidated Aguilar nor deterred his fans from obtaining taped copies.

And while the Board of Censors keeps an eagle eye even on popular TV personalities who are not so popular in Malacanang, the political climate of late has been conducive to acts of soft-core sedition. Talk host Elvira Manahan made a spoof of the censorship mania by replaying a tape of her show replete with all the "bleeps" and "expletives deleted."

Of course, not everyone in the entertainment field is carrying placards or signing manifestos. Among movie stars, for example, there are established "tutas" or puppets of the present dispensation. Actor-politico Joseph Estrada is among the most obvious luminaries of this camp.

But will the entertainment industry ever be the same again? Will the film standards set by the de Leons and the Brockas prevail? Will there be more "minstrels of the masses?"

The cultural sector, compared to others, is understandably the most fickle in terms of political consistency, as many artists deem art to be above politics. Yet there is no getting around the hard times and struggles in store for the Filipino people. And as participants in the democratization process, artists will constantly find themselves making choices: to side with reaction or be part of the forces of change.

As Brocka put it in his annual address to CAP: "The artist cannot separate his art from reality. He cannot dissociate himself from society. He must involve himself with the people." □



Freddie Aguilar, "minstrel of the masses."

# Pay Now, Pay Later...

Continued from page 1

12%. In addition, the Central Bank received only ₱11.6 million in total bids after it floated ₱314 million in Jobo bills.

Finally, the Central Bank agreed to a ceiling on reserve money or the money released by the Central Bank to the national government and other banks. The goal is to reduce the amount from the ₱27 to ₱28 billion range it hit during the first five months of this year to ₱26 billion.

The Banco Filipino bailout shattered that goal. *Business Day* reported that the figure as of July 27 hit ₱31.5 billion, a complete violation of the agreement with the IMF.

## SIMPLY CHAOS

Though the Banco Filipino crisis was the most dramatic, it was not the only sign of the banking blues.

Bankers interviewed by *Business Day* explained that, with borrowers weak and banks cautious, the banking system no longer performs its most important function: funding the economy's growth. They described the situation as simply "chaos."

Eight banks were closed in July, and in the wake of BF's "holiday," three others experienced runs. Many continue to have serious problems meeting the 24% reserve requirement.

The Central Bank recently announced a "crusade" to stabilize the banking system by encouraging mergers, buyouts and consolidations. Such "strengthening" of the banking system was also recommended by the IMF. The August 28 notice of a merger between Bank of the Philippine Islands and Family Bank and Trust Co. may well be the wave of the future.

Bankers expect continued pressure to consolidate the system. In any case, it is clear that economic priorities have shifted abruptly. As Fernandez recently told his staff, the Central Bank's chief concern is

**'An economy caught in a debt trap cannot be rescued by tightening a few nuts and bolts via an IMF austerity plan.'**

no longer to control liquidity but to stabilize the banking system.

## LOANS AS INVESTMENT

The Banco Filipino affair once again illustrates the Philippine economy's no-win situation. An economy caught in the debt trap cannot be rescued by tightening a few nuts and bolts via an IMF austerity plan. The minute its managers begin to get things under control on one front, all hell breaks loose on another. The only way out of the debt trap is through a complete overhaul.

The IMF fears precisely such an overhaul which might remove the Philippines from the grasp of international capital altogether. Its role is to try to exercise enough control over the faltering economy to keep debt payments coming. Tightening up the money supply, currency devaluation, lowering of real wages, cutting back on social services and consolidating the banking system are the standard prescription.

The Philippines is hardly alone. It is part of a worldwide economic crisis pitting Third World countries hopelessly mired in debt against the big lenders, the banks headquartered in the capitalist countries, principally the United States.

The problem began in the early 1970s with a dramatic increase in lending to Third World countries. Loans became a more important form of international investment coinciding with the need of the U.S. and other developed capitalist coun-



Thousands mill before closed Banco Filipino; decision to bail out bank instantly destroyed plans to control liquidity. (Asiaweek)

tries to give concessions to the nationalist stirrings of the less developed countries.

For big foreign capitalists, the bank loans, with their guaranteed rates of return, represented a safer, and no less profitable form of investment than direct investment.

## THE DEBT TRAP

The new form of investment led to a semblance of industrialization in countries such as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico. The new approach allowed the host country to maintain nominal control over enterprises through state-subsidized companies which contract for the financing. But the whole deal caught them, like the Philippines, in the debt trap. To service those debts increasingly required quick fixes of new loans which, in turn, would require new loans and on and on it went.

Today the total indebtedness of the less developed countries reaches roughly \$700 billion. Interests are high and continue to climb with each increase affecting a country's entire outstanding debt. A single percentage point rise hikes the Philippine foreign debt by \$160 million and that of Brazil by half a billion dollars.

Without some way of insuring the repayment of a significant portion of these outstanding loans, the entire capitalist banking system stands threatened with collapse. In an effort to keep a reasonable amount of the cash flowing, many lenders have agreed to near-indefinite moratoriums on principal while debtors concentrate on repaying the interest. Smaller loans are simply written off as uncollectible.

It is here where the IMF plays a crucial role for the lenders. While the banks agree to a "restructuring" of loans—providing new loans to repay the old—the debtor nations agree to a restructuring of their economies following the standard IMF formula and making them more vulnerable to carpetbagging by foreign capital.

In Mexico, the IMF orchestrated the devaluation of the peso to one-sixth its exchange rate in a single year. The government budget was slashed by 50%. In Brazil, the IMF demanded a law that would keep wage increases at 80% of the inflation rate.

While countries such as Brazil and the Philippines are eager to please, talk of a debtors cartel, emanating chiefly from Argentina, has put major lending institutions into a cold sweat. The idea is to band together the debtor nations to negotiate jointly for better terms both with the IMF and the individual banks.

The boldness of Argentina's stance is defined at least in part by the militance of its workforce in protesting against IMF-dictated austerity programs and its new liberal regime's efforts to maintain a popular base of support.

On this front, the cooperative Ferdinand Marcos—who is neither liberal nor popular had better watch out. For the opposition movement in the Philippines is experiencing an economic awakening.

## ECONOMIC AWAKENING

The June 29 People's Conference on the Present Economic Crisis, attended by workers, students, women's groups, and professionals, came out with a resolution condemning foreign control of the Philippine economy and espousing democratization of economic policies.

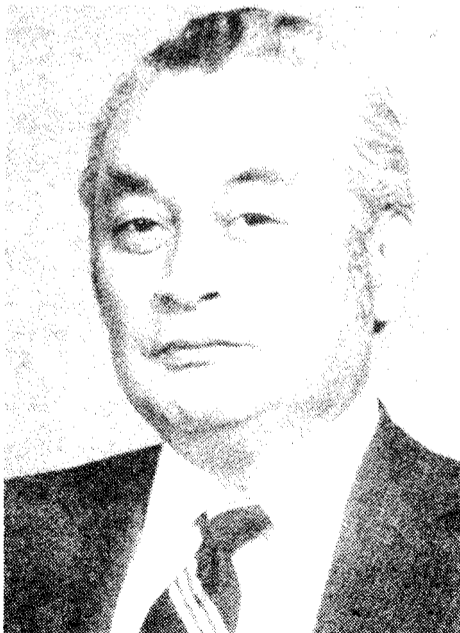
At the other end of the spectrum, the elite Makati Business Club is preparing a crash course on the economy which it hopes to offer all members of the *Batasan Pambansa*. In between are daily lectures and forums held by opposition groups of all stripes.

Also blossoming are standing organizations devoted exclusively to exposing economic issues. Most impressive of these is the new *Sandata Laban sa Kahirapan* (Weapon Against Poverty), a "movement dedicated to economic change and upliftment against exploitation and injustice."

The organizers of Sandata see their group as a defensive weapon. Chapters are organized by sectors around issues of particular concern to that group. At the same time, chapters investigate issues of importance to the entire economy.

The group's chairman, former Constitutional Convention delegate Teofisto Guingona explains that Sandata ultimately plans to improve the livelihood of its members via producers' and consumers' cooperatives and other such institutions.

On another front, the 50-year-old Nationalist Economic Protectionism Associa-



Jose "Jobo" Fernandez— (Who Magazine)

tion is experiencing a rebirth. Aimed at a different stratum of Philippine society, NEPA hopes to rally Filipino entrepreneurs to the cause of economic nationalism.

NEPA worked for 30 years against U.S. parity rights, reaching its height under President Garcia. Though never formally disbanded, it nearly disappeared after the declaration of martial law.

June of 1984 marked its reemergence, however, when it sponsored a forum on Presidential Decree 1892 with venerable nationalist Lorenzo Tañada as its main

speaker. The repeal of PD 1892—which allows foreign entities up to 100% equity in local firms—has become the organization's chief cause. The group promises to lobby the Batasan Pambansa and to file a case before the Supreme Court on the matter.

## ECONOMISTS WANT POLITICAL SOLUTION

Meanwhile, a White Paper written by 10 scholars of the University of the Philippines School of Economics has made quite a splash. A 171-page workshop report on the current economic crisis, the paper challenges regime positions that today's chaos was produced by "external difficulties" or that the country's economic woes are all by-products of the Aquino assassination.

The UP paper places the blame for the crisis squarely on the regime and its economic policies. It criticizes non-productive capital outlay, the use of government connections for private gain and over-reliance on foreign loans—particularly the short-term, high-interest variety.

In particular, the paper focuses on over-spending on government buildings—such as Mrs. Marcos' "City of Love," the bailouts of cronies in distress, special privileges and loan rates from the Central Bank to favored individuals and cronies and government-mandated monopolies. It devotes particular attention to the sugar and coconut industries, both under the control of presidential cronies.

The UP economists propose a number of alternatives to solve the country's prob-

**'The UP economists propose a number of alternatives, all of them political, to solve the country's problems.'**

lems, all of them in the political rather than the economic realm. The economy cannot be corrected, they insist, without significant changes in the government, in particular a less centralized, more accountable system of rule.

The scholars demand an unmuzzling of the press, an independent academe, an effective opposition, free and honest elections, a reordering of government priorities, a moratorium on both principal and interest repayments and a halt to further commercial borrowing.

In essence, the White Paper advocates a far more militant posture toward the IMF and lender nations, a posture somewhat akin to that of Argentina.

As such, the UP study has provoked much discussion. Seminars have been held for both opposition assemblymen and for Marcos' *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* (New Society Movement). Study groups have popped up everywhere.

The paper "should be made compulsory reading for the President, his technocrats, all newly elected assemblymen, and anyone else who claims to have a serious interest in our economic problems and formulating possible solutions to them," comments opposition businessman Jaime Ongpin.

The fascination with the UP paper is but part of the new wave of interest in the economy sweeping through Philippine society, a process which can only produce an opposition more sophisticated than ever.

Ferdinand Marcos, like dictators the world over, relies on the mumbo-jumbo terminology of capitalist economics to cast blame for the country's problems everywhere but where it belongs. The same abstract lingo serves nicely to obscure the actual character of the relationship between the Philippines and international capital.

The economic awakening is going to make that difficult. A mass movement which can make the connection between the closure of a neighborhood savings bank, the economic policies of its government and international finance capital will be a difficult one to fool. □

## Alternatives

# Boy Morales on the Coalition Government

From THE NEW PHILIPPINE REVIEW  
May-June 1984

(Reprinted in this issue of Ang Katipunan are the views of Horacio "Boy" Morales, a leading political detainee reputed to have been the chairman of the National Democratic Front before his arrest. The New Philippine Review is a new quarterly edited by Gloria Macapagal, Ricardo Ferrer, and Petronilo Bn. Daroy.)

After the assassination of former senator Benigno S. Aquino, Jr., the resignation of President Ferdinand E. Marcos and the members of his cabinet became a popular demand. Consequently, the idea of a "transition government" that will pave the way for normal democratic processes also became the subject of discussion.

One implication of the idea of a transition government was the constitution of some kind of an *ad hoc* committee, consisting of sectoral representatives. In effect, therefore, the transition government was to function as a coalition of various groups and factions opposed to the dictatorship.

Historically, the concept of a coalition government consisting of representatives from the various sectors of society did not emerge only after the Aquino assassination. Before the imposition of martial law in 1972, the National Democratic Front (NDF) put forward the forging of a United Front (UF) as an alternative to the two-party system. The idea was strengthened and further refined after the imposition of martial law when political power became a monopoly of President Marcos. It was only after the assassination of Senator Aquino, however, that the concept of a coalition government became part of the popular consensus...

**What alternatives are open to those who reject both the present regime and the forthcoming elections?**

There is, of course, an existing revolutionary movement, notably the forces identified with the National Democratic Front.

However, the catchy slogan posed by UNIDO—the ballot or the bullet—doesn't quite cover all alternatives. For those who still don't want the revolutionary option, there is the alternative of a non-violent militant mass movement, or what some political observers call "new politics." Such a movement would seek to exert maximum open, non-armed popular pressure on the government to either step down or substantially change its policies and composition.

**What is the most realistic alternative?**

This can't be answered statically or by examining the options in isolation. The balance and interplay of political forces (both organized and unorganized, local and foreign) will determine the chances and relative effectivity of such open non-violent struggle vis-a-vis the revolutionary movement.

**Why is there a need for a coalition government?**

At a very pragmatic level, because there are diverse forces in the opposition and no single organization adequately represents them all.

Also, it is rather obvious that martial law only hastened the process of exposing the inadequacy of the two-party system of elite democracy, i.e., alternating factions of the elite arrogating to themselves the representation of the middle and lower classes in government. Given the heightened political consciousness and activity of various sectors, only a broader, more popular democracy is an acceptable alternative. Such popular democratic alternative would have to take the form of a coalition government on top, supported by an alliance of people's organizations below.

**What is the nature of the proposed coalition government? What is its program of government?**

There are essentially two variations of the proposed coalition government. The NDF proposal (usually called national democracy), and what we may call popular democracy.

There is no basic difference in their nature as a coalition—they seek to be as representative as possible of the various opposition forces and of the various classes of Philippine society. Even the main lines of their program would coincide—the key aspects being democracy and nationalism.

The differences are directly related to the prospects of their coming to power. The NDF proposal envisions a revolutionary coalition that will come to power only after an armed overthrow of the regime. Hence, the clandestine, armed organizations will play correspondingly greater roles in the coalition. Given the political preferences of these forces, there will also be greater weight given to peasant and worker interests and



**'Since the coalition would include quite a mixture of forces, we cannot expect any outright adoption of a proposal by a single group . . . . But the main lines of nationalism and democracy should not be difficult to accept.'**

organizations.

On the other hand, the coalition government envisioned by "popular democracy" expects to come to power relatively peacefully. This would mean that legal organizations and middle class organizations will play much greater leadership roles, with corresponding implications for the program of government.

Still, the main lines of any alternative coalition government program cannot differ too greatly from each other, given the increasingly shared understanding of what is wrong with the present system and what is possible among the desirable alternatives.

**How does this coalition government differ from the caretaker government proposed by the legal opposition during the early months after the Aquino assassination?**

The main difference is that the caretaker government was either to be composed of a mix of Marcos camp people and traditional opposition personalities or a mix of traditional opposition personalities. In either case, the new legal opposition (particularly the politically awakened and active middle class) and the revolutionary opposition were not represented.

**Will the coalition government adopt the NDF's 10-point program? Do you see any major opposition to this program by the middle forces in the coalition?**

Since the coalition would include quite a mixture of forces, we cannot expect any outright adoption of a proposal by a single group, or even of an alliance as formidable as the NDF. But the main lines of democracy and nationalism should not be difficult to accept. We can see a trend toward convergence on these key points, in other published programs, like that of KAKBAY, for example, or even UNIDO in 1981. The joint declaration of the opposition in June 1983 and the Nationalist Alliance's program show the same general agreement.

**Which groups/sectors will constitute the coalition government? What is your idea of representation in the coalition government?**

As mentioned earlier, the composition of the coalition government will be affected by the method and timing

of its accession to power.

In general, two principles would govern representation: participation in the struggle to gain power and relative importance in social life. The first will tend to be more immediate, for obvious reasons. The second is a constant principle that any would-be representative government has to follow.

For example, if a coalition government comes to power soon and through relatively peaceful means, it would tend to have more representatives from the middle class organizations and even from the elite opposition despite the fact that the bulk of the struggles have been waged by the poorer majority. Although the peasants and workers constitute the majority, if they are not yet organized along class lines or if their organizations are too localized (not yet federated nationally), national political parties which are mainly elite and middle class in composition and leadership will tend to dominate the government bureaucracy. One structural remedy would be to give greater political roles to the people's organizations of the various sectors. But in the long run, there is no substitute for the painstaking work of building up national federations of sectoral organizations as the base for national political parties that represent their interests.

A second consideration in representation is the regional aspect; though this is secondary to the class or sectoral question, except in the Muslim areas and the Cordilleras.

**What is the role of capitalists (national businessmen) in the coalition? The peasantry/working class? The church?**

Obviously, businessmen will play an important role politically since economically (socially) they would be important. Even if they were not as directly active in the process of gaining power, they would need (and would surely seek) representation in government as a condition for cooperating with the economic program of the coalition government. The extent and form of representation is an open question, but it would surely be greater than what the present regime offers, given its bias in favor of cronies and foreign capital.

In rhetoric, at least, all alternatives to the present regime would seek to give peasants and workers much greater weight in any alternative coalition. But the key determinant will be the extent of the self-organization of peasants and workers along class lines, the degree of federation at regional and national levels, and the strength of political parties representing them.

The church, in principle, should not be directly represented in government. The separation of church and state introduced by liberal democracy remains a valid and desirable political principle. But based on the two considerations we mentioned earlier (participation in the struggle and relative importance in social life), we would expect the church to be represented in some way. One possible model would be the proposal by Cardinal Sin and the NCCP for an advisory council in which church leaders directly sit.

**Which sector will be the vanguard?**

That question only actual practice will answer. In broad terms, of course, the NDF has posed the issue as a choice between bourgeois or proletarian leadership. In either case, the petty bourgeoisie (middle class) would want an adequate share in the leadership. But as I mentioned earlier, a lot depends on the timing and method of coming to power, not to mention the balance of forces within the Philippines and also internationally.

**The realization of the coalition government seems generally tentative, depending on the unfolding of events in the near future. What are the determinants (long-range as well as immediate) leading to its establishment?**

The key determinant, whether short-term or long-term is the capacity of the opposition forces to expand their organized strength and political influence and their success in building both a working and formal unity or coalition.

The other determinants are 1) the political stability or instability of the Marcos regime, especially the problem of succession and the position the AFP takes; 2) the degree and direction of U.S. intervention; 3) the economic crisis; and 4) the extent and forms of spontaneous popular protest.

**What are the mechanics and time frame for its establishment?**

At present there is a proposal for a preparatory committee that will help form a transition government whose key functions would be to draft a new constitution for ratification and supervise the elections for a regular government.

These two elements (a new constitution ratified through a plebiscite and elections for leaders) are part of any mechanism for an alternative government.

As it stands, the proposed prepcom/transition government is not representative enough. A leadership coalition must include representatives of sectoral organizations, not only of the peasant and worker majority but also of

Continued on page 12

## TFD's 'Filipino Women in Struggle'

## Profiles in Courage

"Filipino Women in Struggle," a pamphlet released this year by the Task Force Detainees, presents the profiles of some of the women political prisoners in Metro-Manila.

The women in the pamphlet come from all walks of life—"peasant, trade union organizer, professional, ex-nun, even a Red fighter!" Most are married and have children; the youngest is 25, the oldest 54.

Reprinted here are the profiles of three of these women "who have survived and fought against all barbarism."



## NANAY ANDAL

Fifty-four-year-old Nanay Andal should not even be inside the Women's Correctional of the Bureau of Prisons. She has not killed anybody. Nor stolen what was not hers. Neither has she inflicted any harm against her fellowman, nor against society.

Nanay Andal's story is that of a mother's unselfish love for her children. It is a story that dates back five years ago, March 2, 1979, in Pinamalayan, Oriental Mindoro.

Elements of the Philippine Constabulary and Integrated National Police raided the house of Nanay Andal and retrieved a carbine under the bed in the room formerly occupied by Reynante, Nanay's late son.

Nanay Andal, who had to be fetched from her little meat stall in the public market, and her 25-year-old son Ervin were arrested and detained at the provincial jail.

Ten days later, both were arraigned in court and both pleaded innocent to the charge. The lawyer assigned to them, Atty. Bayani Anastacio, convinced Nanay to plead guilty. It was no good, according to the lawyer, for Ervin to plead guilty since both would still be imprisoned for possession of the gun found in Nanay's house. If Nanay would plead guilty, Ervin would be set free and she would get, at the most, two years in jail.

Nanay Andal agreed. Two years of imprisonment was little sacrifice for Ervin's freedom. She withdrew her plea and, instead, entered a plea of guilty.

In the decision of the court dated December 14, 1979, "Patria Andal testified and sought to establish the fact that she alone was responsible for the possession of said firearm which is a 'memento' of her late son, Reynante."

Ervin was acquitted by the court presided by Judge Dionisio Capistrano of the Court of First Instance of Oriental Mindoro while Nanay Andal was sentenced to a minimum term of 20 years to a maximum of life imprisonment.

Nanay Andal was transferred to the Women's Correctional in Mandaluyong to serve her sentence. By December of this year, 1984, she would have served five years as a sentenced political prisoner.

## A TRAGIC 'MEMENTO'

It was 1971. Nanay Andal had just lost a husband. At 41 years, she had to bear the task of bringing up seven children all alone. To earn a living, she sold meat at the town market of Pinamalayan.

It was also during this year that her eldest son, Reynante, came home to Mindoro. He was an active student leader in Manila and one of the spokesmen of the *Kilusang Kristiyano ng Kabataang Pilipino* (KKKP). His involvement in the struggle ended when four platoons of the Task Force Lawin of the Philippine Army surrounded and opened fire on the farmhouse where Rey and several of his companions were resting. Rey and three others were killed on the spot.

So it was that in 1971 Nanay Andal lost a husband and her eldest son. The carbine that would cause a controversy eight years later was Nanay's souvenir of a dead son.

"Hindi ko naman maitapon," Nanay says of the gun, "dahil malapit sa akin ang may-ari niyon. Remembrance ko iyon." (I could not throw it away because its owner was very dear to me. It was my remembrance of him.)

No evil was intended with that gun. Nanay Andal had not used it nor perhaps even knew how to use it. The only interest in the gun was that it belonged to her dead son.

## PRISON LIFE

Orange is the color of the *sentenciado*. It is Nanay Andal's color now. For nearly five years, she has worn nothing but the prison uniform, a not too subtle reminder that she is marked for life.

Visits of her children are not too frequent; Mindoro is too far away for two of her children and money is hard to come by these times. The others who are in Manila save their money to be able to visit their mother during Sundays.

Visits make ordinary days special. Nanay's short, natural curly hair is combed well, there is the faint trace of red on her lips and her uniform, though faded, is clean and crisp—even in prison, Nanay's dignity is quietly and firmly asserted.

"Para akong nasa langit kapag nadalaw kayo. Ako'y luksong-bata papanaog kapag natawag na ang pangalan ko," (I feel like I'm in heaven when you come to visit. Like a child, I hurry down whenever my name is called), Nanay says and breaks into a big smile.

Sundays thus become weekly reunions. Like the other inmates, Nanay entertains her family inside the *kamalig* (storage house) where tables and benches are provided for family meals. Rice and *ukoy* (shrimp fritters) brought by the children are laid out on plastic wrappers and feasted on with bare hands.

Undoubtedly, the visits of the children make Nanay's burden less heavy for she is able to see and talk with the children, kiss and embrace them and know that they are well.

It is during these times that Nanay's eyes glow. Anyone can see she is happy amidst her children. Nanay giggles like a schoolgirl over some old memories of life in Mindoro. The children join her in her laughter. On Sundays, Patria Andal is a mother once again.

## A MOTHER'S ANGUISH

The court sentence, not to mention the bungling of her lawyer, has deprived the Andal family of a mother; it has denied her too the loving care of her seven children. There is the hidden lament and the attempt to be strong for the children in one of her letters:

"Anong hirap pala ang mawalay sa mga mahal mo sa buhay, sa katulad kong isang ina. Ngunit ang damdamin ko ay lalo kong pinagtitiyap; hangad ko pa rin ang paglaya at muling magkapiling tayong lahat." (For a mother like me, it is so hard to be separated away from your loved ones. But I strengthen myself further; I still look forward to being free and to our being united once again.)

The tears are always hard to keep back—and she apologizes for being emotional. But Nanay is a strong woman—she has to be—to survive prison life.

Other excerpts from her letters to her children bare open Nanay Andal's soul:

"Kung ako na inyong ina ay halos pumutok ang dibdib sa dinanas kong mga pangyayari ay hindi ako sumusuko, lalong maalab pa ang aking damdamin, sapagkat nalalaman kong may pag-asa ang gawa kong mabuti..." (If I, your mother who have felt my chest explode with what has happened have never surrendered, but have felt my feelings become more intense, it is because I know that there is hope in my good deeds...)

"Ang paghihirap ay malalampasan at ito ay pag-subok sa ating katatagan at sa pagsikat ng pulang liwanag ay makikita mo ang tagumpay ng pagtititis." (Difficulties can be conquered and this is also a test of our strength and with the rising of the sun you will see the victory of all our suffering.)

## HER CHILDREN'S APPEAL

Nanay's children have written to the President to ask for a Presidential pardon or a grant of amnesty for Nanay Andal. Nanay's case could have been fought in court but the promise of a lighter sentence from the lawyer and the freedom of her son pushed Nanay Andal to retract her plea of innocence. Nanay Andal simply had no second thoughts in being a mother at that point in time. There is no bitterness expressed at her decision to plead guilty although she feels that the lawyer should have fought out the case in court.

Nanay Andal says softly, "Kahit na nagkaganito ako, sa isip ko malaya ako." (Even in what I am now, in my mind, I am still free.) But how long must a mother's heart be broken?

A lifetime, says the law. But can the law, in Nanay's case, be called just?

## JUDY

Judy Taguiwalo is heavy with child. In three months' time, probably in the first weeks of June, she expects to give birth. It is Judy's hope that the baby will be born in freedom and not in prison.

The 34-year-old Social Work graduate from the

University of the Philippines was picked up in downtown Angeles City last January 28, 1984 by plainclothesmen who she later identified as elements of the Regional Security Unit (RSU)-3.

While being dragged to a waiting car, Judy shouted for help and attracted the attention of passersby and policemen who tried to come to her rescue. The driver of the car approached the policemen, identified himself and his companions and explained that they were arresting a member of the "NPA" (New People's Army). Shortly after, Judy was brought to the Metrodiscom and, after two hours, to Camp Olivas, San Fernando, Pampanga.

On March 5, Judy was transferred from Camp Olivas to the Camp Crame stockade.

## POLITICAL AND CRIMINAL CHARGES

Judy was charged under Presidential Decrees 1834 and 1835, two "secret" decrees that were leaked out to the press late last year and which aroused a strong public protest. Both decrees increased the penalties for subversion, rebellion, sedition, and related crimes to life imprisonment to death, making these crimes capital offenses. So far, only a preliminary hearing for Judy has been held in Angeles City.

On March 1, 1984, a warrant of arrest for Judy was issued by the Provincial Commander of Antique on charges of murder and assault on a person with authority. The provincial commander likewise recommended no bail for her.

## JUDY'S FIRST ARREST

Judy's first brush with the military was with her first arrest on June 28, 1973 in Iloilo. The Antique provincial commander who filed criminal charges against Judy had somehow figured in her arrest (although he had been a lieutenant then). Judy was later transferred to Ipil Reception Center in Fort Bonifacio.

She was one of the early batch of political detainees who suffered brutal forms of torture in the hands of the military. Among the other forms of torture used on her were stripping and being made to sit on a block of ice. No charges were made against her then. Judy got out of prison on November 1974 after being detained for a year and five months.

## JUDY'S UNBORN CHILD

Even in the warm womb of its mother, it is said that the baby already has the capacity to feel and to know. If so, then Judy's righteous anger over her illegal arrest as well as over the trumped-up charges against her passes through the lifeline to her unborn child. Perhaps in the same way that her unborn child knows of the love and eager expectation of its mother.

Even before the little one is born, it will have learned what it is to struggle.



Judy Taguiwalo

For the unborn little one as well as for Judy, their family appeals for release on humanitarian grounds.

Who is there in the government or the military who will not be moved at the sight of a mother giving birth under detention? Or of a mother raising the little one under the shadows of iron bars and watch towers?

Perhaps only those of the hardened and blackest of hearts.

## DORIS

She is a Maryknoll Communication Arts graduate, Batch 1973. A divorcee, she is mother to six-year-old Robert Michael ("Dagul"), a prep student at a Makati school. The Philippine Ministry of Tourism in New York knew her as a foreign service officer for many years. She is 31 years old, a woman at the prime of her life.

She is also accused as one of the bombers of the Plenary Hall of the Philippine International Convention Center (PICC) last October 19, 1980, a bombing that resulted in injuries to seven American delegates to the American Society of Travel Agents (ASTA) Convention and eight Filipinos.

She was arrested nine days later by the Special Operations Group under Col. Ramon Montano. She has been under political detention for three years and five months.

She is Doris N. Baffrey.

## PAPER FREEDOM

Doris should have been released two years ago. On

Continued on page 9



# CAMD/PSN Opens Prisoner Amnesty Drive

Joining the efforts of human rights groups in the Philippines, the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network has launched a campaign for general amnesty for political prisoners by seeking petitions and donations from Filipinos and other sympathizers in the U.S. and Canada.

Signaling the campaign's start, the wife of a political prisoner spoke to private gatherings in eight cities in August giving them moving accounts of life in Marcos' political prisons. She has visited Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Seattle, Sacramento, San Jose, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

"In prison, the political detainees' spirit is heightened knowing there are those on the outside working not only for their release, but for a change in the entire repressive machinery which put them there," she assured her audiences.

CAMD/PSN sees the release of all political prisoners as a necessary condition for the democratization of the Philippines. Since Benigno Aquino's assassination, this demand has been prominently raised in opposition protest rallies and marches.

Over 70,000 people have been arrested and detained by Marcos since the imposition of martial law, yet he continues to deny their existence. Human rights groups have documented the most brutal uses of mental and physical torture including electric shock, beatings and rape. Many prisoners live in unsanitary conditions and do not receive medical care. Known national resistance leaders are often made to suffer prolonged solitary confinement.

Political prisoners have themselves moun-

ted resistance from behind bars. In the past 11 years, political detainees have undertaken over 35 hunger strikes to draw international attention to their plight.

## GENERAL AMNESTY

On August 18, 1983, 100 representatives of various human rights groups organized the Movement for General Amnesty as a direct challenge to Marcos' calls for "national unity."

According to MGA, general amnesty "is one of several concessions that the government can grant in working towards a reconciliation under the banner of democracy and peace." MGA also clarifies that amnesty erases the question of guilt on the part of the "offender" which is different from a "pardon" in which an element of guilt remains on the individual.

The CAMD/PSN has aligned with MGA's positions and is popularizing the issue in North America. Geline Avila, CAMD/PSN national coordinator said that previous amnesty decrees by the Marcos government "have always excluded the leaders and members of what they define as subversive or revolutionary organizations. . . we are campaigning for amnesty which does not discriminate against political ideology."

Avila further noted that amnesty must be unconditional, meaning that political detainees should not have to "forcibly admit guilt or be humiliated into denouncing their political beliefs."

## REPEAL REPRESSIVE LAWS

The CAMD/PSN campaign also calls

for political reforms starting with the repeal of repressive laws, decrees and practices such as the suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus in cases involving alleged violations of national security and public order laws under Proclamation 2045 and 2045A.

Marcos also continues to have the legal power to jail people through the Preventive Detention Action granted by Presidential Decrees 1877 and 1877A.

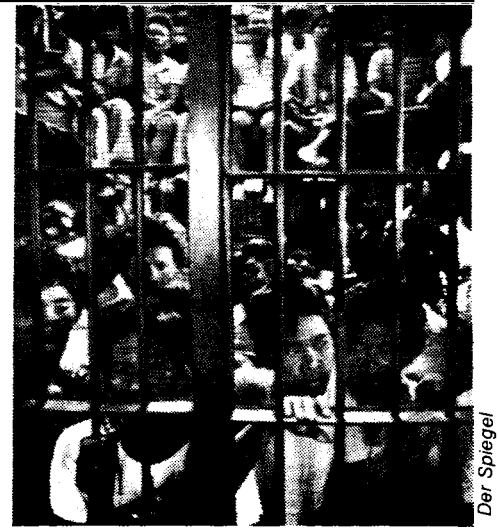
Family members of detainees do not escape punishment because PD 1835 authorizes the confiscation of property of alleged enemies of the regime.

Another feature to CAMD/PSN's efforts is the adoption of political prisoners by support groups in different cities. These groups lobby for the adopted prisoners' release as well as raise funds for their families.

## ADOPTION GROUPS

Among those already adopted are Isagani Serrano, a former leader in the Student Christian Movement and Tondo urban poor organizer. He was arrested in 1973, released in 1976 and re-arrested in 1982. He is charged with rebellion and is currently detained at Camp Crame. He had been tortured and it is feared that he may be imprisoned indefinitely since this is his second arrest.

Horacio "Boy" Morales has also been adopted. He was a former high-ranking government functionary who defected in 1977 to the National Democratic Front. He joined the underground movement and was arrested in 1982. He was subjected to



Prisoners in Mindanao.

electric shock and the "water cure."

Meanwhile, in cities where there are CAMD/PSN chapters, a petition campaign directed to Marcos is drawing attention to the case of Judy Taguiwalo, a social worker, who gave birth to a baby girl in Camp Crame last May. Both are forced to live in unsanitary conditions and the child is constantly kept under a mosquito net. Taguiwalo was first arrested in 1973 and was severely tortured while in custody of the Provincial Commander of Antique. She was rearrested last January in Angeles City. (See story on page 8.)

Already, 1,300 signatures have been gathered and Senator Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) and Rep. Seiberling (D-Ohio) have asked the U.S. Embassy in Manila to examine Taguiwalo's case. Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass) has also communicated with the U.S. State Department and the Philippine Embassy in Washington, D.C. about her.

CAMD/PSN is encouraging as many people to join the amnesty campaign and challenge the Marcos government to open the way for genuine normalization. □

## Profiles . . .

Continued from page 8

February 10, 1982, she pleaded guilty to the charge of subversion before Judge Rodolfo Ortiz of the Quezon City Court of First Instance. Doris was meted a four-month prison term but having overserved her sentence (she had already been detained for 15 months by then), she was considered free.

Two weeks later, Gen. Hamilton Dimaya, Judge Advocate General, and Col. Julian Alzaga of the Philippine Constabulary (PC) Metrocom's Judge Advocate filed a complaint with the Pasay City Fiscal against Doris for "multiple frustrated murder with damage to public building through the use of illegally possessed explosives" for the same act for which she had already been convicted.

In protest over such action, Doris' defense lawyers led by Atty. Joker Arroyo walked out of the courtroom. Pasay City Fiscal Ernesto Bernabe took the walkout to mean that Doris' lawyers had rested their case.

### 'VICTIM OF A "DOUBLE-CROSS"'

From the filing of the information of Doris on January 8, 1982 up to the arraignment and plea on February 10, 1982, negotiations were held between the military-civilian prosecution task force and the defense lawyers. The military officers asked whether Doris would agree to enter a plea of guilty. Doris agreed to negotiate and on February 8, 1982 talks were held in the chambers of Judge Ortiz. The conferees were Cols. Balbino Diego of the Presidential Security Command, Ramon Montano, City Fiscals Apostol and Flaminiano assisted by Assistant City Fiscals Angeles, Wasan and Atienza. Doris was represented by seven lawyers led by Atty. Joker Arroyo.

In exchange for Doris' plea of guilty, the military agreed to release Doris within two weeks from the reading of the sentence and not to charge her with the same offense or any other offense.

The military later denied their second commitment of not charging Doris anew. But they did not deny that they promised freedom to Doris two weeks from the time she entered a plea of guilty.

Doris filed for double jeopardy. In the habeas corpus petition submitted by Doris' lawyers to the Supreme Court on October 18, 1982, they said that the "State cannot prosecute Baffrey on these new charges because they were the very same acts for which she had already been convicted." They argued that the State had found Doris already guilty of subversion. Since, however, the charges of frustrated murder and the illegal possession of explosives—although both common crimes—were committed to achieve a political purpose, i.e. subversion, these charges were absorbed in, and by, the political offense.

The defense lawyers' efforts proved futile. Doris says that the "Supreme Court justices admitted that their hands were tied and that they did not want to make a decision over such a controversial figure 'kasi alaga ni Boss'" (because it's all in the hands of Mr. Marcos).

On April 17, 1982, seven of Doris' co-accused who also pleaded guilty were released by the military—not because they had court orders to be freed as early as February 19, 1982 but because of a collective prison protest fast and hunger strike.

Of those who pleaded guilty, it is Doris who still remains under detention.

### LOSS OF DIGNITY

Behind bars Doris writes: "In a nutshell, the worst experience a political prisoner goes through is the loss of his/her dignity as a human being—getting treated like an animal by that species which refuses to be human—the military. . . . The loss of human dignity is a continuing process in prison—the mocking smiles of fatigue-clad men are usually more telling than their guns. It's more I think as a woman because the taunting doesn't cease—and neither does the sexual harassment from arrest through detention. . . ."



Doris Baffrey

The experiences of mental torture, harassment and intimidation throughout a two-week period immediately after arrest are perhaps forever etched on Doris' mind and heart.

Torture instruments were shown to scare Doris, her life and that of her friends were threatened and even an older sister was held hostage in Manila for several months and barred from leaving for the United States until Doris cooperated. Sexual advances and threats of rape were fended off by Doris physically and verbally.

She has tested isolation in Fort Bonifacio. She has known the company of women common crime violators (CCVs) having been dumped in cells together with them. She has known the trauma of being nearly raped by male CCVs in the stockade that houses both political detainees and CCVs.

On December 1980, investigations were started anew by a team of Americans who identified themselves

variously as members of the Anti-Terrorism Unit of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Customs Service and which included a legal attache of the United States Embassy. Doris called them "FBI-CIA agents" and said she was offered "a change of identity, a new place/job to live/work if I agreed to go with them to the U.S. to pinpoint my 'U.S. counterparts' and get them indicted."

The attractive offers left Doris unmoved. The greatest pain inflicted on Doris, more than anything else, was when she was asked by the American team if there was anything that would make her yield. Two seconds passed and Doris replied that there was nothing they could do.

"Little feet, little hands?" cooed one of the agents and Doris felt the heat rising in her eyes.

"Little feet, little hands. . . . Mama, Mama. . . ." echoed another voice that smacked of sadistic delight.

Not wanting to give the agents the satisfaction they wanted, Doris stood up and ran out of the room—but not before she hurled out all the expletives she could muster at the three Americans. Only then did she burst into tears.

### LONGING FOR FREEDOM

"These past years have been taxing both physically and mentally. While others have made solitude their aim in life, for me, it has become a lot and sentence. The loneliness at times becomes almost unbearable; the separation from loved ones unendurable," writes Doris inside the Philippine Constabulary/Integrated National Police jail of Camp Crame.

Like any other prisoner, Doris catches the prison disease called *buryong*—"especially at night when depression bears down on almost everyone."

It is not one's self that Doris thinks of when she dreams of life outside prison. It is her son Dagul who longs for her freedom more than anyone else. Trying to comprehend his mama's situation, he asked once why people were so mad at Mr. Marcos. When told that he had been in power for so long, for 18 years, the little boy, in all the wisdom his little mind could bring together, asked anew, "Well, couldn't they just get used to him?"

Perhaps Dagul would get to understand that people lose their dignity and sovereignty when they stop fighting for their rights and "get used" to the state of things. Then perhaps Dagul would understand why his mama had to be so different from other mamas.

Doris tries hard to be able to bear. And to be able to endure. In a message she issued on October 28, 1983 (her third year anniversary in jail) addressed to fellow women in the movement, she sums up the things that have happened to her thus:

"We all have to pay a price for what we believe in. Ninoy paid with his life. I am now paying mine. And to this day, all I have to say is I did what I had to do; and it has been worth it." □

# August 21 in the U.S. and Canada

By VICKY PEREZ

Inspired by press reports of the huge August 21 anti-Marcos demonstration in Manila and of the build-up protests that were violently dispersed by troops, Filipinos in the U.S. and Canada turned out in big numbers for events marking the first anniversary of the Aquino assassination.

Issuing the call for nationwide protests, 17 representatives of various opposition groups signed a joint statement demanding "Justice for Aquino, justice for all victims of repression," the ouster of Marcos, an end to U.S. aid and the restoration of democracy.

Several events marked the day in the San Francisco Bay Area. A group of activists held banners in front of the Philippine consulate on Sutter Street at noon to draw the lunchtime crowd's attention to Aquino's death anniversary. Later, a noisy motorcade of 30 banner-clad cars snaked through the downtown area with bullhorns blaring: "No U.S. aid to the Marcos regime" and "Marcos Resign!"

## 1,000 AT MASS

The motorcade ended at St. Andrews Church in Daly City, 13 miles south of

present a protest letter to be sent to Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos. The letter decried increasing repression and demanded justice for Aquino and "all those who have suffered under the Marcos dictatorship."

Embassy officials stoically stood by as the letter was read to them verbatim before the cameras. The delegation included John Cavanaugh of the Institute for Policy Studies; Odette Taverna, CAMD/PSN Congress Task Force director; Nicky Morales, Committee for Philippine Concerns; Walden Bello, Philippine Support Committee; Glen Alcalay, Nuclear Free Pacific; and Marvin Wingfield.

Meanwhile, a hundred people rallied at the Dupont Circle, hoisting a life-size figure of Reagan holding Marcos as a puppet. The protesters were members and sympathizers of the Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines, Friends of the Filipino People, CAMD/PSN, PSC, and CPC. Previously, on August 19, the CCHRP held a mass at Georgetown University drawing 100 people.

## NOT SCARED ANYMORE

Filipinos in Toronto, Canada, gathered at St. Basil's Church August 20 for a



Emil De Guzman

A colorful motorcade through San Francisco marked the anniversary of Aquino's assassination.

Now people are demonstrating, they aren't scared anymore."

A CAMD/PSN skit dramatized the execution of dissidents while "Ang Bayan Ko" was sung in the background.

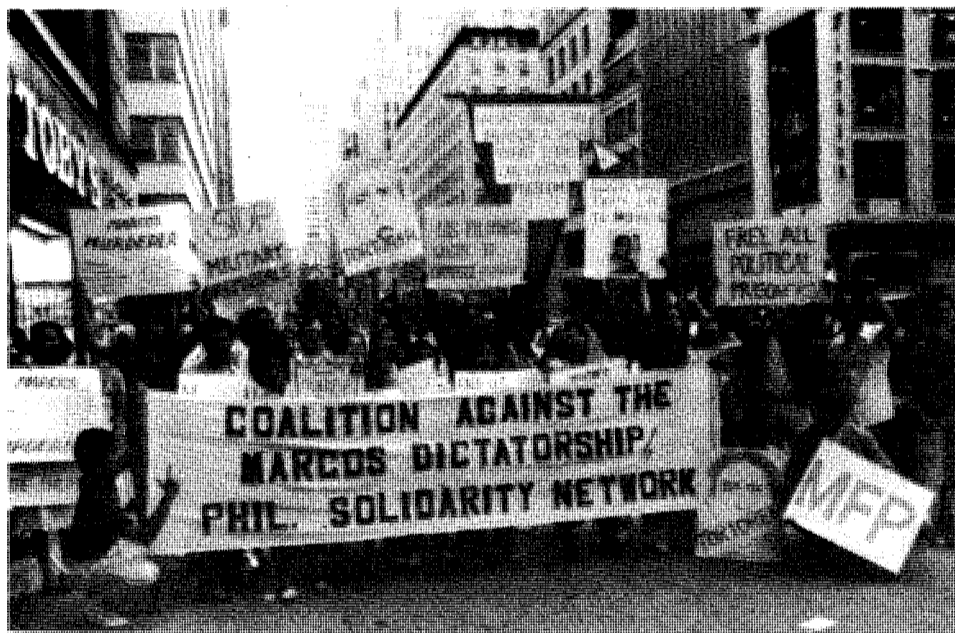
In New York, an "informational demonstration" drew 200 people August 20 in front of the Philippine consulate on Fifth Avenue. The joint effort by the MFP, CAMD/PSN, endorses NAM and JAJA-North America drew support from on-lookers who joined in shouting "Down With Marcos" and made small donations.

Willie Cornello, MFP; Sonny Alvarez, NAM; Armin Alforque, CAMD/PSN; and a member of the Black United Front, addressed the protesters. Cecile Guidote of the Alliance of Concerned Artists for Human Rights read poems, while CAMD

In Los Angeles, NAM, CAMD/PSN, Kapatirang Rizal, MFP, and the Social Democrats of the Philippines sponsored a "Freedom March" which began with a rally at the Wilshire Blvd. consulate office and ended with a memorial program at the Filipino-American Community Center of Los Angeles.

## PLAQUE

The 180 people at the march swelled to 300 at the memorial. Militant and colorful, the Freedom March covered two miles and featured banners reflecting the group's four points of unity: Justice for Aquino and all victims of Marcos' repression; Oust the Marcos dictatorship; Stop Reagan's support to Marcos; and Restore democracy in the Philippines.



Protestors converge near the Philippine Consulate in New York.

San Francisco where a memorial mass sponsored by the Ninoy Aquino Movement capped the day's events.

Close to 1,000 Filipinos heard a mass officiated by Rev. Ives Aniban. The "Prayer of the Faithful" paid tribute to all the victims of Philippine government repression. It cited Cosme and Emerita Engoc, Fr. Zacarias Agatep, Dr. Johnny Escandor, Edgar Jopson, and a few other victims as "freedom fighters."

Senator Alan Cranston, Daly City mayor Michael Nevin and state Assemblyman Art Agnos eulogized Aquino.

"It's not a matter of 'if' the Marcos government will fall," Cranston said, "It's only a matter of 'when?'"

In Washington, D.C., seven oppositionists, accompanied by TV crewmen, entered the Philippine Embassy August 21 to

memorial mass sponsored by the Ninoy Aquino Memorial Institute and the Movement for a Free Philippines, in coordination with the CAMD/PSN. Its theme: "The Philippine Struggle Continues, Ninoy's Spirit Lives On!"

On August 21, 200 people rallied at Nathan Phillips Square in front of Toronto's City Hall.

Cora Baron of the NAMI, Ramon Soledilla of the MFP, Charlie Avila of PDP/Laban, Marta Ocampo of CAMD/PSN, and speakers from Canada's New Democratic Party and progressive conservatives addressed the crowd.

Surprise guest speaker from the Philippines, Lourdes Pimentel of PDP/Laban said "A few years before Aquino died, Filipinos were very scared and intimidated.



Andy Siegal

Opposition delegation confronts Philippine Embassy official in Washington, D.C.

members presented a skit directed by Melvie Pakubas depicting the experiences of a political prisoner.

## SIGNOS

A noontime memorial mass in Tacoma, Washington, and a picket before the Philippine Consulate were followed by an evening get-together hosted by the Seattle opposition movement.

"We read about what is happening in the Philippines daily and feel the need to forge unity here," said Joe Pascual of Sandiwa who emceed the event.

Jessie Ang of NAM paid tribute to Aquino while CAMD's Esther Simpson explained the alternative coalition government being proposed by the Coalition of Organizations for the Restoration of Democracy in the Philippines.

"Signos," a videotaped documentary of opposition activities in the Philippines drew warm reception. "Signos" was produced with the aid of top director Lino Brocka. Simpson said Filipinos are much more ready this year to lend their support. "A lot of people approached us to sign petition for political prisoners and to volunteer their support."

After the memorial service officiated by Romy del Rosario, candles were lit in honor of Aquino. A framed plaque was presented to FACLA as the last place Aquino spoke in before his fateful return to the Philippines.

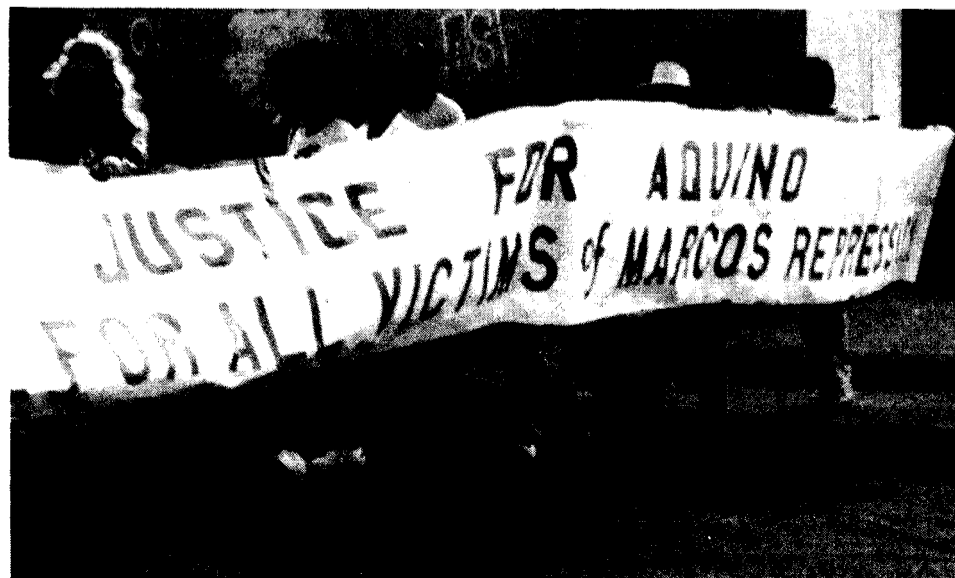
The Consulate tried unsuccessfully to prevent the group from using the FACLA building and setting the plaque in the community center.

Former senator Jovito Salonga and speakers from NAM, MFP, CAMD/PSN called for an end to U.S. aid to Marcos which Salonga described as the dictator's lifeblood.

Girlie Pascual's rendition of "Kalyaan" and Dandin Ranillo's "Ang Bayan Ko" were received enthusiastically.

"This is a crowd we haven't seen in previous years," CAMD/PSN's Tic Bunag said. "People are asking 'What can I do?' They're signing petitions. It's a new spirit I think that will be around a long time," added Greg Santillan, the group's local coordinator.

More activities in the same cities in the U.S. and Canada are being planned by opposition groups for September 21, the anniversary of martial law. □



Los Angeles "Freedom March" on its way to Filipino community center.

# NY Hospital Workers End Bitter Strike

When District 1199, the health care arm of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, went on strike July 13, it put the entire labor sector on red alert, not only in the state of New York, but also throughout the country.

Indeed, the focus on District 1199 was not ill-placed. It has established a reputation as a progressive union and its strike comes at a time when labor as a whole is faced with crippling attacks. In addition, 80% of its 90,000 members are minorities, 60% are women, and not surprisingly, 1199 represents the lowest paid sectors in the health care industry. One thousand of these members are Filipino nationals or Filipino-Americans.

The strike involved 52,000 workers in 33 voluntary hospitals and 15 nursing homes in New York City and Long Island. It dragged on for six weeks until the hospital managements finally came through with an acceptable offer: a 5% wage increase for each year of the two-year contracts (the union originally demanded a 9% wage increase), and a guarantee of

every other weekend off. The union considers the settlement a breakthrough in labor negotiations in the health care industry.

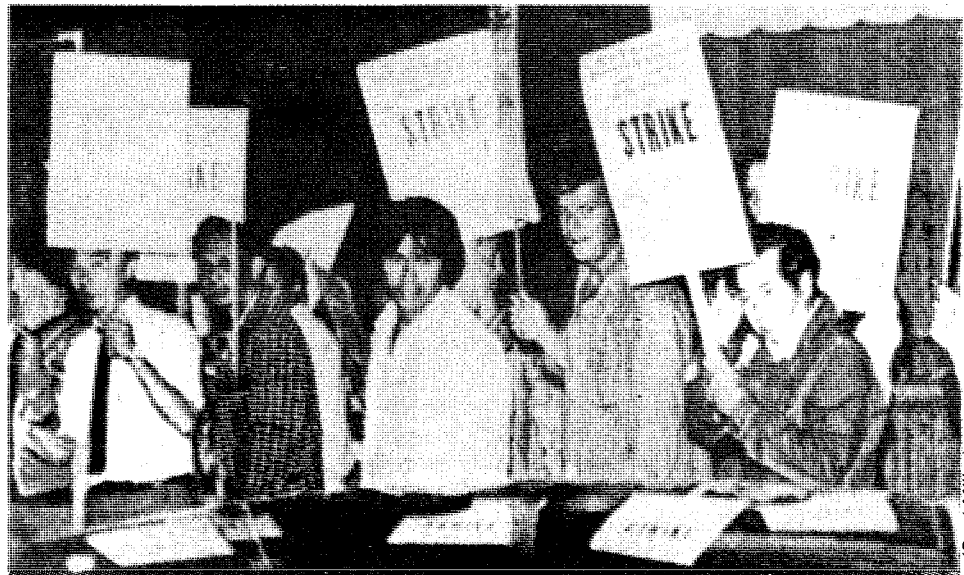
But after the long and bitter fight involving sacrifices of lost wages and the loss of several hundred jobs, no one has stated full satisfaction with the settlement.

Robert Carroll, spokesman of 1199 prefers to characterize the contract as "acceptable," a description shared by the membership.

A more important gain for 1199 was its ability to thwart the League of Voluntary Hospitals and Homes' attempt to chip away at the gains achieved by workers over the past few decades.

"These are very difficult times for labor in the United States," explains Carroll. "Ever since President Reagan zapped PATCO (the air traffic controllers union) labor has come upon real hard times.

"Some of the largest, most powerful unions have had to settle contracts with layoffs, givebacks, deduction, you name it. For 1199 to come up and settle this contract as it did is remarkable." □



Restaurant workers picket San Francisco eating establishment.

# Restaurant Workers Start Walking Out

Negotiations between the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union Local 2 and the Golden Gate Restaurant Association in San Francisco collapsed September 2 expanding a restaurant strike in this city.

Charles Lamb, Local 2 president, said his 3,000-member group was preparing to strike the 56 establishments represented by the Golden Gate group.

Negotiations broke down over major issues such as annual raises, health benefits, holidays, overtime and job classifications.

A strike against a separate group of 17 restaurants began two days before, closing down five top restaurants. This group is represented by local attorney Mark Montobbio.

The union asked for an 18% raise over three years but the employers were offering only four to six percent increases. The expiring three-year contract had given workers a 36% increase. On health benefits, the employers want complete medical coverage only for established, full-time workers.

"If we see movement at the table, we would be foolish to go out on strike," said

Lamb who described the employers' terms as "take-aways."

Combined with hotel workers, Local 2 has a total membership of 17,000, making it the largest union in the San Francisco Bay Area. Fifty percent are minority with an estimated 25% to 30% Asian, according to a union spokesperson.

In a clear attempt to discredit it, a major San Francisco newspaper linked the union's past with the mafia, but the same report admitted there was no specific mafia activity in the union under the present leadership.

On the strike lines at Fishermen's Wharf, Scoma restaurant employees described their working conditions tolerable at best and miserable at worst. All cooks and pantrymen in the restaurant are Filipinos.

"We get no breaks and we are served salmon heads and bones for meals, which is a violation of our union contract," said a Filipino cook.

The union claims that Scoma's fiscal sales alone for 1984 amount to \$8,726,164. One percent of their sales would cover the benefits of the workers under a new contract. □



Victorious Local 1199 strikers.

(Andy Siegal)

# Local 37 Wins Contract

In a period of union busting, wage cuts, layoffs, and shop closures, the three-year contract won recently by Local 37 of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union from the cannery industry was quite an achievement.

After 90 days of intensive negotiations, the final contract, while forcing concessions from both sides, upheld some of the gains the union fought for and won over the years.

At issue in the negotiations were the union's demands for wage increase, retention of the security clause for preference workers, current health and welfare benefits, 61-day seasonal guarantee, premium paid to workers handling shellfish during the salmon season, and the removal of the 90% wage rate for first year workers.

All demands were granted except some concessions on the wage increase which was pared down from 10% to 3% and the reduction, for the Bristol area only, of the 61-day seasonal guarantee to 45 days.

This victory is all the more significant considering the relative decline of the union's strength as the industry draws new workers from employment referral agencies, Alaska residents, and transient workers.

The contract was crucial as the industry was prepared to operate without one, which would have been fatal for the union. That these concessions were granted is attributed by the leadership to the fact that despite its waning influence, Local 37 is still the most reliable workforce in the canneries. More importantly, union leaders cite the unity of the rank-and-file as the key to their strength during the negotiations with the industry.

Meanwhile, Local 6 of the Service Employees International Union has launched an organizing drive at the Swedish Hospital in Seattle.

"The wages are really low and the hospital, being the biggest in the Pacific Northwest, sets the standard for the entire hospital and health care industry," says

a Local 6 organizer explaining why Swedish Hospital is the current focus of organizing.

The drive, according to one union organizer, is a challenge in view of the difficulty posed by an August 16 ruling of the National Labor Relations Board which imposes severe limitations on separate bargaining by any specific sector in a firm. Despite the difficulty, however, the hospital workers, most of whom are minority, are responding positively to the organizing drive, according to a union spokesperson. □

## Loose Word . . .

Continued from page 2

his head (first figuratively, later literally) for nothing. If you're familiar as I am with Marxism you'll agree that if it comes down to a choice between the Great Ilocano and the reds, we should opt for the former. At least he likes the Americans and opposes the common ownership of toothbrushes and other private properties. Listen fellows, I bumped into my good friend Karl Marx in a London pub once and he said *he* was not a Marxist. (He had to whisper because his partner Fred Engels was at the next table.)

I would actually like to criticize Marcos now but I have no more space. As Albert Einstein (whose cousin had a housemaid who was a good friend of a Harvard professor who liked the *adobo* of a Boston Filipina who happened to be my wife's second cousin) said about space, sometimes you just don't have the time for it or  $E = mc^2$ . □

(Three aspirins and we have not beaten this unbearable headache. Inidoro will definitely be back next issue—Ed.)

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KDP Mourns Death of Senior Activist

# Mario Hermoso, June 16, 1902-August 21, 1984

the California valleys.

An unskilled worker all his life, Mario worked in restaurants, Alaskan canneries, and became a live-in house servant. Everywhere he worked, he joined unions. He learned gardening in Texas, a passion he continued until total blindness forced him to give it up.

## POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

His first exposure to radical politics was during the depression in the '30s when he attended a rally of socialists in Oakland. He was deeply embittered by the conditions of working people under capitalism.

Subsequently, Mario was recruited into the U.S. Communist Party. He was assigned to their West Coast newspaper, *People's World*, and received praise as a top subscription salesman. Mario once jokingly remarked that the real reason for his joining the Party was "to meet some women." At that time, anti-miscegenation laws barred interracial marriages.

From the '30s through the '50s, Mario was also a trade unionist. He was dispatched as a labor organizer by various unions to organize in the Alaskan canneries as well as the agricultural industry. One Filipino old-timer remembered Mario as an effective leader in union drives and strikes.

Mario also wrote and published the ILWU Local 37 Alaskan cannery workers union newsletter. His other colleagues were popular Filipino-American leaders such as Chris Mensalvez, Ernesto Mangaoang, and Pablo Valdez—socialists all.

As leaders, they were in the forefront of building support for Philippine trade unionists and for the Huk revolutionary movement. They were also deeply involved in political and trade union struggles here.

On the other hand, starting with the town level, there is a greater variety of organized political parties and both the middle classes and industrialists will have greater participation and representation.

But even at the barrio level, we can already observe one feature that the coalition government will introduce into the Filipino people's political experience—the interplay between the coalition government and the various people's organizations.

How will the coalition government gain control of political power?

Most probably through a combination of armed and non-armed struggle, with the former playing a bigger role the longer the process takes, and with the latter playing a bigger role in case of a shorter process.

Constant to either form of struggle is the need for solid organizations that can mobilize broad popular support.

Other factors that would help the coalition government's victory would be defections from the military and bureaucracy, or at least their neutralization, and some restraints to U.S. intervention.

**'The most useful references are three recently successful struggles—Vietnam, Iran and Nicaragua. The Philippine struggle shares some parallel elements with all three.'**

It would be interesting to find out if revolutionary forces see future elections, especially the 1987 elections (presuming Marcos is still around), as offering more realistic chances for political gains compared to the forthcoming Batasan elections.

What are the foreseen retaliatory measures of the present regime and how can the coalition of opposition forces react to these?

If we talk of repressive actions by the present regime against a coalition of opposition forces, there are quite a few lessons from the years since the imposition of martial law. Some opposition forces started to build an underground network including armed organizations for defense; others tried to rebuild and expand legal organizations. I think these are essentially the main options open to any opposition in the face of repression. Of course, specific tactics and methods can be very varied and creative.

There is also the possibility of shifting the majority of the open leadership abroad, as part of a government-in-exile, should repression constrict the space for open political opposition.

Supporters are searching for a leader, a central figure who will symbolize their sentiments and demands. How will the leadership issue evolve or be resolved, what with the front-runners of protest being either too old, too young, imprisoned or underground?

In the mid-1970s, Mario joined the *Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino* and became active in its San Francisco chapter. Even at his late age, he worked side-by-side with younger activists selling *Ang Katipunan* in Filipino neighborhoods and churches. He became a core member of many anti-discrimination campaigns and alliances such as Narciso-Perez, AMLC 7, and the Hermie Aquino police abuse case. Mario also organized for Far West Conventions, Philippine National Days, immigrant rights campaigns and the activities of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network.

Because of his contributions, the KDP gave Mario a testimonial dinner in 1980 honoring his dedication to the progressive movement.

Mario loved children dearly. A bachelor all his life, he was a grandfather to children of activists, rewarding them with sweets and little gifts as they tried to answer his tricky riddles.

He was well known in the San Francisco senior citizens community for being militantly outspoken on the issues of transportation and housing for elderly and disabled. Younger activists were inspired by his familiarity with revolutionary and Marxist theoretical works.

Mario's class stand and commitment to the interests of working people illustrate how ordinary workers who became class conscious can be decisive in leading the struggle for social and economic justice.

Mario Hermoso educated himself in order to educate others. His whole life was a struggle but that was precisely when he derived its meaning from. Mario had nowhere else to go, and *wanted to be in no other place* than the people's struggle for peace, prosperity and freedom. The KDP salutes our dear comrade. □

By the very nature of a coalition government, leadership would have to be more collective and one essential figure need not play as crucial a role as it seems to play in the current legal political experience of Filipinos.

Actually there is already quite a mixture of old and young, secret and open leaders that have been produced by both the clandestine and open struggle. This is truer of course at the local and intermediate levels (barrio to region); national leaders tend to emerge only with the existence of national organizations and nationwide political activities.

It is more realistic to start with such a collection of leaders at various levels and from various sectors and from there to look for individuals who will serve as "leaders of leaders" rather than await or worry about key leaders who would need to come first to attract and develop others.

Part of the problem has been the relative underdevelopment of open opposition parties; with the current upsurge of open popular protest, more names will be projected faster from among those who have been tempered through a combination of solid and sweeping political work.

Can you cite historical parallels/differences with the experiences of other nations?

The most useful references are three recently successful struggles—Vietnam, Iran, Nicaragua. The Philippine struggle shares some parallel elements with all three.

Vietnam poses the possibility of forming a provisional coalition government, even before the final downfall of the dictatorship and the need for flexible combination of armed, legal and diplomatic struggle.

The mass popular protests in Iran, coupled with workers' strikes in key industries and relatively lower levels of armed struggle could also offer a possible scenario here. Obviously, there is no parallel to Khomeini's role despite the one-time clash between Perez and Sin on who's the Filipino shah.

Nicaragua is an attractive example to many middle class Christians about the possibilities of a coalition with Marxists. Some revolutionary groups have in fact referred to Nicaragua when posing the possibility of popular insurrection in alliance with a section of the oppositionist elite.

There are no strict parallels, however, and the specific participants and balance of forces within the coalition can only be determined by actual political practice in the Philippines. The three examples also teach us that a coalition can take a variety of forms—from a relatively loose one as in Iran (with an individual leader playing a key role) to a much tighter coalition led by a Marxist party as in Vietnam.

We can also learn quite a few lessons from the current situation in El Salvador, where even legal opposition parties except one were driven by repression to join a revolutionary coalition (the FDR) and where the stalemate in the military struggle has given a lot of importance to diplomatic maneuvers toward a political solution. □

**A**worn blue beret cap and his long red and white blind man's cane were his trademarks. This short, frail man was a Marxist who was active in the American progressive movement for over half a century. That was how his friends knew him and how they will remember him.

On August 21, Manong Mario Hermoso passed away in his tenement hotel room, alone, at the age of 82. Steadily declining in health for several years, he died of natural causes while bathing in his tub. The hotel management discovered Mario's body in the early morning when water from his room leaked to the floors below.

## HIS EARLY HISTORY

Kasamang Mario's parents were sakada sugar workers from Negros Occidental in the Philippines. Orphaned at the age of six, he started to be self-supporting at nine. In the early '20s, he immigrated to the United States to escape the impoverishment and misery of his homeland.

With neither formal education nor knowledge of the English language, he learned much about his new home through ceaseless travelling. He rode freight trains to the Midwest, the East Coast and through the South. Like the majority of First Wave Filipinos, he became a migrant farmworker, harvesting fruits and vegetables in

# Morales . . .

Continued from page 7

the middle class professions. In addition, there is the problem of reflecting the existence of a revolutionary opposition in what is a legal committee.

The idea of a consultative conference on the eve of the final overthrow of the regime is another possible mechanism.

It is difficult to be too rigid about mechanisms and time frames, given the possibility of various ways the coalition will come to power.

Can a coalition government be established without necessitating a state of war?

Like most Filipinos, I prefer a path to power that is as peaceful as possible. Of course the possibility of a peaceful change of political leadership does not depend only on the intentions of the opposition forces. The reactions and plans of the Marcos camp, particularly of the armed forces and the degree and direction of U.S. intervention are as important.

The question cannot be answered in purely theoretical or hypothetical terms anymore. Whether we like it or not, there is already an armed revolutionary opposition in existence, just as there is a fast growing non-armed but also non-traditional legal opposition. Unless the armed opposition either surrenders or suffers decisive defeat, any coalition that would include representatives of the revolutionary forces in effect accepts the need for a less than purely peaceful path to power.

My impression is that the thinking and discussion that is going on among the opposition forces tend to avoid purist choices, i.e., purely peaceful or purely armed. Instead, the concern is to find the proper mix, preferably with peaceful aspects as dominant. This is true even of the revolutionary forces although understandably they are more skeptical about the chances of a mainly peaceful strategy.

What is the organizational status of democratic governments at the local level, said to be the "seeds" of the national coalition government?

I have been told that the NDF forces have been experimenting for a while now with coalition government at the barrio level, through the clandestine Barrio Revolutionary Committee. However, the character of the coalition at the barrio is not necessarily the same as that at the town and provincial level, much less at the central government level. In this sense it is not accurate to talk of the barrio coalition as the "seed" of the national coalition; we should call it rather as the "base."

One of the key differences is that the BRC, while representing various classes in the barrio, naturally tends to have no organized political party representatives other than those belonging to the NDF. Also, the industrial workers and middle classes are too few and the industrialist almost absent.

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# Voices



Al Robles has been a popular figure in the San Francisco Bay Area's artists' circles since the late 1960s. His poetry has appeared in a number of nationally distributed books and periodicals. Describing his age as somewhere between being a "manong" and a "lolo," Robles is employed as a community worker with elderly Filipinos in San Francisco's Chinatown.

## Soon the white snow will melt

Soon the white snow  
will melt

And the black  
brown  
yellow  
red earth  
will come to life

Soon the white snow  
will melt

And underneath  
the blazing sun  
will come  
bursting out

And the green, green grass  
will grow soft  
underneath children's feet

A million flowers will bloom  
and bamboo reeds  
will shoot up high  
into the clouds

And thousands  
of chirping birds  
will fill the vast sky

Soon the white snow  
will melt

in vietnam, delano, watts, fillmore, chinatown,  
nihonmachi & wounded knee

And the black, brown, yellow, red  
children will run freely  
on the sandy beaches  
along the pounding streams  
into the wind  
into the clouds  
into twenty thousand autumn leaves  
thru five thousand seasons.

Women will sing thru  
the whole day —  
until night  
the moon will hang still

A cool breeze will settle  
in their bones

Soon the white snow  
will melt  
And the cold dark nightmares  
will disappear

And bellies will be full  
And the mind will be clear  
like a winter stream  
And we will find our peace together

Soon the white snow  
will melt

And the black, brown, yellow, red earth  
will come to life.

Al Robles  
San Francisco

### Book Review:

## Sison's 'Prison and Beyond'

By CONRADO SANDIKO

Jose Maria Sison, or "Joma" as he is called by those who believe in him, continues his fight against oppression. He is fighting, in solitary confinement, with his never-shaken revolutionary ideas. Joma has often been compared to Rizal and Recto in their stubborn nationalism. He fights, as they have fought, with ideas. Cecilio Apostol, poet of Rizal and country, in an apostrophe on the hero, exclaimed that the bullet which blew out his great brain also blew away the power of Spain. Sison's brains are continually spawning thoughts that inspire his followers to go on. Listen to:

#### THE GUERRILLA IS LIKE A POET

"The guerilla is like a poet  
Keen to the rustle of leaves  
The break of twigs  
The ripples of the river  
The smell of fire  
And the ashes of departure"

"The guerilla is like a poet.  
He has merged with the trees,  
The bushes and the rocks  
Ambiguous but precise  
Well-versed on the law of motion  
And master of myriad images.

"The guerilla is like a poet.  
Enrhymed with nature  
The subtile rhythm of the greenery  
The inner silence, the outer innocence  
The steel tensile in-grace  
That ensnares the enemy.

"The guerilla is like a poet.  
He moves with the green brown multitude  
In bush burning with red flowers  
That crown and hearten all  
Swarming the terrain as a flood  
Marching at last against the stronghold."

The strong political message is felt in the nature-woven poetry whose images take on both the colors of forest and darkness, whose caution is in the whisper of leaves and breeze and in the whiff of fire and smoke.

The metaphors are vivid and moving. What they evoke is the picture of the furtive life of the guerilla fleeing from bush to tree-trunk, hiding in the tall grass and rushes, his strongest weapons, courage and the iron will for revolution. The poem is still romantic, inspite of careful removal of what could be an excessive burden of modifiers with which, according to critics, he used to

load his poems before. Bienvenido Lumbea says that in "The Guerilla is Like a Poet," he has "purged his lines of their former load of self-conscious imagery . . . The resulting transparency and impact of the poet's language . . . marked the beginning of Sison's break-away from the tradition of English writing to which his training . . . had pegged his poetry."

He knew, he felt that his work was to be clearly understood by the people who would follow his ideas. Aesthetics when needed to do so, must bow to the urgencies of revolution. If necessary, Sison pares them to the barest, as he talked directly to the farmer, the worker, and the soldier in language that tears the heart open and bursts the eardrums with tales of cruelties of the revolutionary's martyrdom.

Joma tells how he is caught:

"I am surrounded by armed demons  
Prancing and manacing me  
I am wrenched from my beloved  
And carried on frenzied wheels  
Through the strange cold night . . .

"I am brought to the center of hell  
To the Devil and his high demons  
For a ritual of flashbulbs . . .

"I am blindfolded and moved in circles  
A series of boxes swallow me;

"I remove the blindfold and find  
Myself in a musty tomb.  
I abhor the absence of windows.  
The sickly green and muteness  
Of the walls and the ceiling."

Then he is tortured:

"Once more I am blindfolded  
As more demons suddenly swarm  
Into the dark stifling cell.  
Both my hands and both my feet  
Are tightly shackled to the cot  
With sharp-edged cuffs  
Whenever I make the slightest move . . ."

Then he continues the story of his torment:

"A small towel is put across my eyes  
And mouth, and strong hands hold  
My head and grasp my mouth . . .

"The cuffs slash my wrists and ankles  
As I strain for air again and again  
Against the stinging rush of water.  
I suffer for so many persons, groups,  
Addresses, villages, mountains  
That I do not know or do not want  
To tell or confirm to the demons . . ."



He is ready to give more:

"I belittle my pain and suffering  
As I hope to give more to the struggle."

Joma speaks of how he spends his life in thinking "I become my own companion"; then he turns to composing poetry to "expressing my desire to be free," and to feeling that his thoughts are blending with the people's own desire to be free.

Every so often (and this must be often), he thinks of home and beloved, home and children. In his poems they become real, each cherished object, each cherished being, a clear image. He cheers himself with thoughts of them, but even here is direct, not maudlin.

But he says to the people who look up to him for emulation in his "What Makes a Hero?"

"It's not the manner of death  
That makes a hero,  
It is the meaning drawn  
From the struggles against the foe.

"Whatever is the manner of death,  
There is a common denominator.  
A hero serves the people  
To his very last breath."

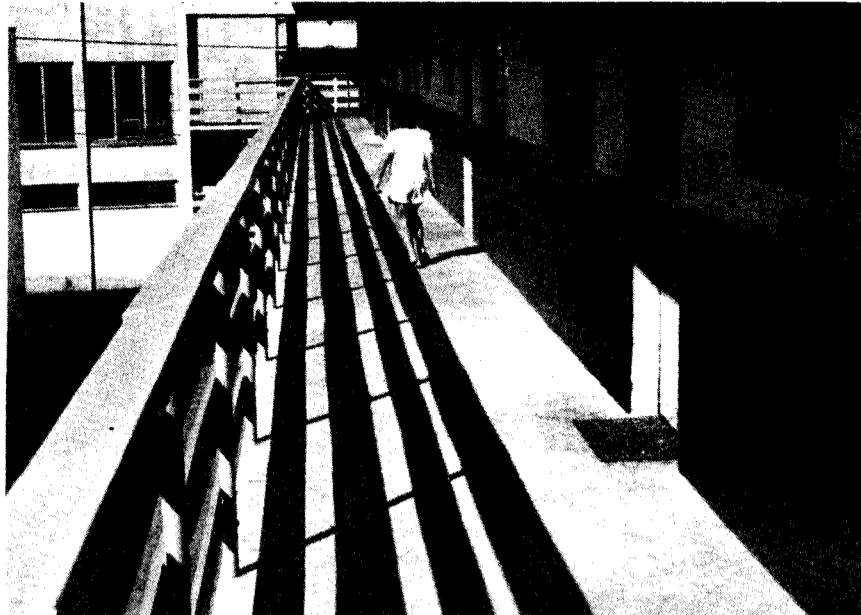
He says to you and me: "You can be a hero!" □

(Conrado Sandiko is a poet and a frequent contributor to "Voices." He lives and works in Washington, D.C.)

PRISON AND BEYOND, Selected Poems, 1958-1983 by Jose Ma. Sison, with critical essays by E. San Juan Jr., Alfredo Navarro Salanga, Bienvenido Lumbea, and Petronilo Bn. Daroy

# Hawaii's Filipinos

TOTOY ROCAMORA is a freelance photographer whose works have appeared regularly in the AK for the past several years. While on visit to Hawaii, Rocamora's creative eye candidly captured Filipino life at home and at work. Filipinos are the largest ethnic group in Hawaii, comprising roughly 15% of its working population. Most Filipinos are low-paid, unskilled agricultural workers and service workers in tourist hotels and restaurants.



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

# Caribbean and Central American Anti-Imperialists Confer in Havana

[The following is the declaration of the First Consultative Meeting of Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America, which was held in Havana June 11-13. It was signed by delegations from 28 organizations in 21 countries of the region. The text is taken from the July 1 issue of the English-language Granma Weekly Review published in Havana.]

\* \* \*

The First Consultative Meeting of Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America was held in Havana June 11-13, 1984, providing a framework for an exchange of opinions on the seriousness of the present historic moment for the region due to the Reagan Administration's warmongering policy in the region as part of the anticommunist crusade that the United States is promoting throughout the world, threatening world peace, the peoples' political and social achievements, and the very future of mankind. In conclusion, the First Consultative Meeting issued the following declaration:

Central America and the Caribbean have been linked since before the discovery of the New World. With the conquest, however, they were chained to different metropolises. Thus, we have long been separated by colonialism, and this separation was reinforced by U.S. imperialism in the last few decades; by the permanent plundering of each people in the region; and by the lack of communication, the political repression, and the disinformation imposed throughout the Caribbean and Central America, which only the peoples' struggle has managed to overcome, little by little—the struggle in which we recognize one another and affirm our nationalities, in the defense of our wealth and in the search for a political regime that guarantees our countries' freedom and socioeconomic development.

Above all, we recognize that we are brothers because we are confronting the same enemy, which oppresses and exploits us.

Now, faced with U.S. imperialism's aggressive policy, the people of the Caribbean and Central America need close unity, diverse means of rapid communication, mutual support, encouragement, and shared criticism in order to survive, struggle, and win.

We need ongoing exchanges in order to effectively coordinate our own resistance—coordination based on all that unites us and which enables us, as brothers and comrades, to tackle the differences and matters that separate us.

## THE U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE REGION

In drawing up its strategic plans for the region, the Reagan Administration is aware of the indissoluble relationship between Central America and the Caribbean and guarantees its imperialist interests through a political, economic, and military plan aimed at crushing the anticolonialist and anti-imperialist people's movement, wiping out socialism in Cuba by means of military aggression, overthrowing the Sandinista people's Revolution, and choking the Salvadoran and Guatemalan rebellions.

The Caribbean Basin Initiative is a policy of neocolonization and annexation that functions like a Trojan horse to guarantee its penetration and rule in the Caribbean, increasing the military forces of the puppet dictatorships at its service and, through the International Monetary Fund, controlling the impoverished economies in the region.

The Consultative Meeting observed with great concern the unfavorable effects of the authoritarian pressures that the U.S. imperialists in particular have brought to bear on all our peoples, and it especially denounced the Armed Forces of the United States' continual holding of military maneuvers in the Central American and Caribbean area, as they constitute a great threat to peace and to the independence and security of the peoples in the region.

Collectively, all have been adversely affected by the disastrous consequences of the prolonged general crisis of capitalism, which is now aggravated by the imperialist policy of economic and financial restrictions—especially by the high interest rates and the onerous, unjust conditions which are imposed concerning the foreign debt.

Some of these states—Cuba, Nicaragua, and Surinam, in particular—are being subjected to uninterrupted attacks aimed at destabilizing their economies, governments, and societies. In the case of Guyana, pressures are being exerted on the Government to reverse the processes aimed at achieving real economic independence.

Other governments, such as those of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica, which collaborate with the U.S. policy in the region, impose even worse levels of poverty and dispossession on their exploited

peoples, causing legitimate anger among them—as was expressed recently in Santo Domingo and Haiti.

The socioeconomic privations of broad sectors of the working class have become chronic in such societies. Recent events have shown clearly and unquestionably that the poor and oppressed neither want to remain silent nor can do so while their oppressors come to terms with imperialism and continue to fatten off them.

## INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

The meeting confirmed the interdependence that exist between our peoples' struggles and the international situation, which we should examine, viewing our battle against imperialism in this larger framework and thus uniting the broad world movement for guaranteeing peace and defeating the Reagan Administration's aggressive policy.

In this regard, the participants in the meeting denounce the active participation of some of U.S. imperialism's European allies in its plans, opposing the peoples' right to self-determination by keeping some peoples in the region subjected to their direct colonial domination, and also intervening in the internal affairs of sovereign states in the area, from their colonial bases there.

The Consultative Meeting affirmed that the complete liberation of the territories that are still colonized was an indispensable condition for achieving equilibrium

**'... the people of the Caribbean and Central America need close unity, diverse means of rapid communication, mutual support, shared criticism in order to survive, struggle and win.'**



and peace in the Caribbean and Central America.

The meeting likewise examined the present situation in Grenada, denouncing the continued, illegal occupation of that island by U.S. and Caribbean military forces after the unjustified and oppressive invasion of that country, and it urged that the resolution approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Conference of Heads of Government of the British Commonwealth which was held in India in November 1983, calling for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal, be complied with.

The meeting recognized and reaffirmed the need to defend the human rights of all the Grenadian people, including the right to work, to freedom of expression and to freedom of association, and the right of all persons who are accused of crimes to select their legal representative and to have a free and just trial—all of which have been violated by the illegal, servile puppet regime and its U.S. masters.

Stating that the defeat of the Grenadian Revolution constituted a serious setback for the Caribbean and international revolutions, the participants in the meeting denounced the execution of Maurice Bishop and other revolutionaries and expressed their conviction that, sooner rather than later, the people of Grenada would once more take up the torch of national and social freedom given them by their beloved leader and martyr, Maurice Bishop.

The First Consultative Meeting of Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America

denounced U.S. imperialism's criminal policy throughout the region and especially the prolonged blockade against the heroic people of Cuba and the growing threats of military attack on the Revolution. The participants also expressed their gratitude to the Communist Party of Cuba for having sponsored this meeting and for having provided the excellent working conditions that contributed to its success.

The Consultative Meeting denounced the United States' multiple acts of military intervention in Central America; its attacks on the heroic Sandinista people's Revolution in Nicaragua; its occupation of Honduras; and the military, political, and economic aid it has given to the genocidal dictatorship of El Salvador, which is vainly trying to defeat the revolutionary people's war that the Salvadoran people are waging successfully.

The First Consultative Meeting expressed its support for the heroic Guatemalan people in their struggle to install a political regime that respects human rights and guarantees the socioeconomic development of their nation.

The meeting also called for independence for Puerto Rico and denounced imperialism's use of that island's territory for mounting military attacks on the other peoples in the area.

The meeting denounced the plans for the establishment of a military force in the eastern Caribbean under U.S. control, which would constitute a tool of intervention and a threat to the independence and sovereignty of those countries.

The participants expressed solidarity with all the peoples of the world struggling for peace, democracy, social justice, and national liberation and against colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism.

## THE CARIBBEAN AS A ZONE OF PEACE

The meeting expressed its conviction that the struggle for peace was inseparable from the struggle for our peoples' independence, economic development, and social progress.

In this regard, the participants in the meeting declared that the following objectives should be achieved in order to make the Caribbean a zone of peace:

- the dismantling of all the foreign military bases that exist in the region, a ban on setting up new ones, and the elimination of nuclear weapons;
- the stopping of all acts of economic, political and military aggression against the countries in the region through economic blockades or the manipulation of international credit agencies and the halting of both direct and indirect actions aimed at destabilizing governments;
- a ban on the use of mercenaries in acts of aggression and the prohibition of recruiting and training mercenaries in this territory;
- an end to the colonial and foreign domination to which some territories in the region are subjected;
- noninterference and nonintervention in the internal affairs of the states in the region, and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity;
- the stopping of military maneuvers in the region that are against the peoples' interests; and
- an end to bilateral and multilateral military treaties between countries in the area and other countries.

The First Consultative Meeting of Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America concluded by calling on all the peoples in the region to be firmly united and to redouble the struggle without quarter for true independence, freedom, peace, and social progress.

## ORGANIZATIONS AND PARTIES THAT APPROVE THIS DOCUMENT

Workers Party of Jamaica (Jamaica); Sandinista National Liberation Front (Nicaragua); Puerto Rican Socialist Party (Puerto Rico); Movement for National Unity (St. Vincent); United People's Movement (St. Vincent); Progressive Labour Party (St. Lucia); Communist Party of Martinique (Martinique); United Delegation of the Left of the Dominican Republic—Socialist Bloc, Dominican Communist Party, Dominican Workers' Party, Anti-Imperialist Patriotic Union (Dominican Republic); Workers Revolutionary Movement (St. Lucia); February 18th Movement (Trinidad and Tobago); United Dominica Labour Party (Dominica); Dominica Liberation Movement (Dominica); Curaçao Socialist Movement (Curaçao); Guianese Socialist Party (Cayenne); Movement for National Liberation (Barbados); Vanguard Nationalist and Socialist Party of the Bahamas (Bahamas); Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement (Antigua); Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (El Salvador); Revolutionary Democratic Front (El Salvador); People's Popular Movement (Trinidad and Tobago); United Party of Haitian Communists (Haiti); People's National Congress (Guyana); Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (Guatemala); Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (Grenada); People's Progressive Party (Guyana); Communist Party of Guadeloupe (Guadeloupe); Communist Party of Cuba (Cuba). □

## Republican Convention

## A Neo-Fascist Revival in Dallas

The message from the recent Republican National Convention in Dallas reverberated loud and clear. Not only are the Republicans gunning for a massacre of the Democrats in November, they eventually want the sole franchise on the U.S. government.

As Reagan unabashedly proclaimed, "We will be America's party!"

Reagan's declaration came after his party had adopted a platform that some of its own rightwing ideologues consider to be the most conservative in Republican history.

Going one step further than the 1980 platform, the present document promises a "qualitative superiority over the Soviet Union" in nuclear arms, an arrogant rejection of the popular plea for a nuclear freeze.

While describing the Salvadoran people's struggle for national liberation as the "use of force for conquest" it praises *contra* activities in Nicaragua as "the use of force for liberation." It also hails the invasion of Grenada.

On the domestic front, the platform wants a constitutional amendment to ban abortions and urges the appointment of federal judges who oppose abortion. In line with Reagan's appeal to religious fervor, the party wants to promote prayer in schools.

The Republicans deliberately refused any mention of the Equal Rights Amendment, despite Maureen Reagan's lobbying. To compensate for this complete disregard for women's concerns, convention planners

took extra efforts to display and showcase party women on the podium, as a leading moderate Republican woman said, "like baubles on a Christmas tree."

Platform drafters made it a point to promise no tax increases despite the widening budget deficit being incurred by Reagan's military program. This was in direct response to Mondale's charges that Reagan will raise taxes if he wins but is keeping it a secret before the elections.

The cuts being proposed target the Department of Education and among others, federal funds to cities that retain rent control. Included in the platform is the call for a sub-minimum youth wage.

## RIGHTWING TAKEOVER

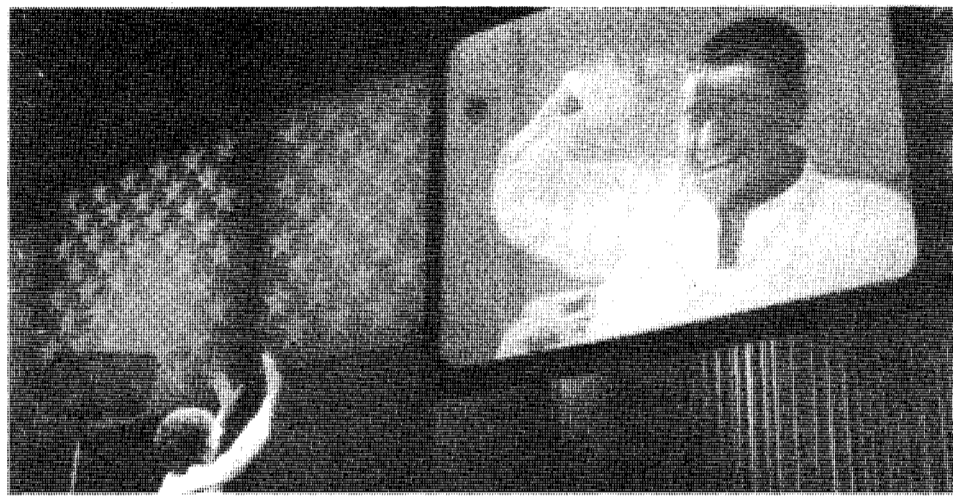
Primary credit for the Republican platform goes to the party's far right conserva-

tives led by Congressman Jack Kemp of New York, Newt Gingrich of Georgia, and platform committee chairman Trent Lott of Mississippi.

After losing every battle to tone down the abrasive platform language, the Republican moderates—who comprised a mere three of the 106-member committee—conceded that the platform reflects the current mood in the party. Complained Sen. Lowell Weicker of Connecticut, "The far Right controls the Republican Party."

The four-day convention was more of a New Right revival. There was of course, no fight over the nominee and all platform debates were kept off the convention floor.

Reagan's initial appearance before the gathering on the huge video screen smacked



of Big Brother checking in on an event admittedly scripted to the last detail. All speeches were edited by Reagan's writers, which explains the like-sounding rhetoric. Unrestrained patriotism and national chauvinism blared forth from the GOP cast which is 97% white with an average annual family income of \$60,000.

## HALLELUJAH CHORUS

No one is more responsible for the ascendancy of the far right within the Republican Party than Reagan himself.

The first rightwing ideologue to capture the presidency since World War II, Reagan succeeded where the faded Barry Goldwater failed. He gained the approval of the Eastern Establishment powerbrokers while maintaining the backing of his ultra-conservative political base by pragmatically assuring the former of his ultimate allegiance to their interests.

In doing so, Reagan guaranteed his political ascendancy and at the same time catapulted neo-fascist "fringe elements" to high positions in the party structure.

The rightwingers were so confident of their hold on the GOP and self-assured about their success in changing the political climate to the right that they made use of very bold symbols.

In a tribute to Goldwater's contributions to forging party doctrine, the aging ideologue was brought before the convention to proudly resurrect this discredited 1964 presidential campaign rallying cry: "Extremism in the defense of freedom is no vice."

While they privately shook their heads at the far-right takeover, so-called GOP moderates like Gerald Ford and George Bush nevertheless joined the hallelujah chorus. □ WG

## New Questions on U.S. Role in KAL 007

By WICKS GEAGA

One year after the Soviet downing of a Korean Air Lines Flight 007 in the eastern Soviet Union, new data have emerged indicating that the plane was indeed on a spy mission for the U.S. Separately raising new questions were a Yale scholar, a conservative British military magazine and a former U.S. envoy to the Soviet Union.

The KAL 007 incident triggered an unprecedented U.S. slander campaign against the Soviet Union and precipitated the worst relations in decades between the two countries.

On the eve of the anniversary, the State Department issued a statement still expressing its "continuing sense of outrage at the brutal attack."

However, in an article in *The Nation* magazine, David Pearson, a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at Yale University throws a cloud of doubt over the Reagan administration's version of the tragedy.

## U.S. ROLE

Analyzing new, complex and technical evidence now in the public record, Pearson concludes that "the official U.S. accounts of the event are neither complete nor credible."

He adds that it has been difficult to "definitively" confirm the Soviet charge that KAL 007 was on a spy mission "largely because the Reagan administration has remained silent on so many crucial issues."

Pearson, whose doctoral dissertation focuses on the Defense Department's highly classified World Wide Military Command and Control System (WWMCCS or WIMEX), spent a year investigating a story for which he initially had little interest. His conclusions are similar to the charges made last month by the British *Defense Attache*, a conservative publication.

Based on his research, Pearson enumerates the following "virtual certainties":

• Various U.S. military and intelligence agencies, including the Air Force, the National Security Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency, the North American Aerospace Defense Command and the National Military Command Center at the Pentagon, had to have known that Flight 007 was well off course prior to the attack over Sakhalin.

• Those agencies had to have known that Flight 007 was heading toward Soviet territory while a major Soviet missile test was in the making there, and that the airliner was thus in grave danger.

• The agencies had the time and means to communicate with KAL 007 and correct its course, but not one of them did so.

• It seems probable that Soviet radar systems were jammed (by the U.S.) at least on Kamchatka Peninsula and perhaps on Sakhalin Island.

• Finally, given the capability of U.S. intelligence and communications systems, it can be presumed that the White House and the Secretary of Defense also knew of the events as they transpired, well in advance of the shootdown. They had plenty of time to issue instructions to civilian air-traffic control authorities to correct the jetliner's course, but did not do so."

## PROFOUNDLY DISTURBING

Based on these certainties, Pearson arrives at "profoundly disturbing" implications. According to him it is highly improbable "that U.S. military and intelligence agencies suffered an extraordinary series of human and technical failures which allowed the airliner to proceed on its deviant course."

Pearson also deduces that "a more likely and frightening possibility is that a conscious policy decision was made by the U.S. government—at what level it is not clear—to risk the lives of 269 innocent people on the assumptions that an extraordinary opportunity for gleaning intelligence information should not be missed and that the Soviets would not dare shoot down a civilian airliner."

## ANOMALIES

Similarly, *Defense Attache* believes KAL 007 was on an intelligence mission coordinated with the U.S. RC-135, a Ferret D satellite and the space shuttle Challenger. *Defense Attache* concludes that "the Soviet electronic activity provoked by Flight 007's intrusion provided Western intelligence with its biggest coup in many years."

In unfolding his two-part argument, Pearson first exposes the inconsistencies and discrepancies in official U.S. accounts. Then he establishes evidence corroborating the Soviet explanation of the event.

Among the anomalies Pearson probed and the questions he raises are the following:

KAL 007 was delayed in its departure from Anchorage 40 minutes, a delay that has never been adequately explained; its pilot falsified his fuel and position reports; it added 9,800 pounds of additional fuel which was not necessary for a normal flight to Seoul, Korea; KAL 007 apparently rendezvoused with another KAL Flight, 015, before its intrusion and then KAL 015 relayed falsified reports for KAL 007 to Anchorage air-traffic controllers, even when KAL 007's radio was fully operational.

A U.S. RC-135 reconnaissance plane was determined to be closer to KAL 007 than U.S. officials implied, and most probably flew in close proximity to KAL 007 for several minutes.

Given its sophisticated intelligence capabilities and its primary activity of intelligence gathering, the RC-135 could not possibly have been unaware of KAL 007's position prior to intrusion and its gross deviation from its correct path.

Since Defense officials have acknowledged that the RC-135 in question was part of the reconnaissance program activated to monitor the expected Soviet missile test, U.S. military and intelligence services at a number of stations in the Far East were unquestionably fixed on the exact place where KAL 007 first intruded into Soviet territory at precisely the time it was closest to the RC-135.

## SOVIET ACCOUNTS

As for the events immediately preceding the KAL 007's destruction, Pearson's examination confirms Soviet accounts on the following points:

Contrary to initial U.S. reports, no indication exists that Soviet Air Defense personnel knew KAL 007 was a commercial airliner prior to the attack. This fact has since been confirmed by U.S. intelligence reports.

Pearson attributes the apparent deficiency and confusion in the Soviet detection system to widespread electronic interference or "jamming" of Soviet radar systems by the U.S.

Not only did the Soviets make several attempts to contact KAL 007 before shooting it down, but the airliner's pilot deliberately ignored them and took evasive action, such as changing the plane's course and altitude and keeping its lights turned off.

Pearson also traces the long history of U.S.-Soviet intrusions into each other's airspace and concludes that Soviet interception of intruding aircraft consistently and rigidly complied with the internationally established procedures for such emergencies.

This contradicts widely held opinion in the Western press that the Soviets place the highest priority not on human lives but on preventing penetration of their airspace. According to Duncan Campbell in the *New Statesman*, at least 27 U.S. aircraft have been forced or shot down and 60 others attacked while on reconnaissance missions since 1950, with at least 139 servicemen losing their lives in the process. In Pearson's view, "the United States, at least in its intelligence-gathering activities, places a very high priority on penetrating Soviet airspace, sometimes at the expense of human life."

In a separate development, John Keppel, a former U.S. diplomat assigned to the Soviet Union concluded from a personal investigation that the plane was on a spy mission, that the pilot knew about it and that the plane exploded 49 seconds after being hit by a Soviet missile, probably because of an explosive device hidden on board. From this revelation, the Soviets speculated that the bomb was triggered by remote control to cover up a failed spy mission and "to prevent the remnants of the aircraft from getting into someone else's hands, Pearson urges a full scale Congressional investigation to address the serious questions raised by his inquiry. □