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Folder ID Number: 13693-006

Folder Title:

Arrival Statement for President Aquino of Philippines 11/9/89 [OA 6270]

Stack:

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Row:

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Section:

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Position:

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Vietnam?
Did you
war -

GB
 for prints

10-30-44 - 44 - 44
 1st mission since last ship 2 hours

11/6/44

1.6 hours

11/7/

3.3 hours

11/12

4.7 hours

11/13

landing on pop. shipping
 Mink Bay

3.1 hours

11/14

3.3 hours

11/18

3.2 hours

11/19

3.7 hours

11/29

DC-8 LA - to NY

12/22

Minneapolis, MN

11/42

11/23/44

16 -

Chicoe Va.

74 - Olive
 75 -

Avonon

granville

1st day from home

fruit central
 sweet pickle
 chicken soup
 turkey
 home
 golden
 sweet
 potatoes
 cranberry sauce
 mince pie, pumpkin
 pie

516-921-2023

Joe Rickert

Syracuse NY

619-789-6085

Lee Madson - gunner

SB2C

flew wing

hand signals

big 2-man
dive bomber
Curtis hell-diver

**PRESIDENT AQUINO ARRIVAL / SOUTH LAWN / THE WHITE HOUSE
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1989**

**MRS. PRESIDENT, WELCOME BACK TO THE UNITED STATES.
AND WELCOME BACK TO THE WHITE HOUSE. **

**YOU LAST VISITED OUR COUNTRY JUST MONTHS AFTER THE
MIRACLE OF "PEOPLE POWER."**

**THE CHANGES IN YOUR COUNTRY SINCE THAT TIME ARE
TRULY EXCITING. YOUR LEADERSHIP HAS MADE THE
PHILIPPINES A BEACON FOR DEMOCRACY, WORTHY OF IMITATION
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.**

- 2 -

**YOUR ECONOMY IS GROWING TOWARDS FULL RECOVERY. WE
SALUTE YOU -- AND WE SALUTE THE PHILIPPINE PEOPLE --
FOR VISION, PERSEVERANCE AND THE SUCCESSES YOU HAVE
ACHIEVED.**

**WE'RE LOOKING FORWARD TO THIS OPPORTUNITY TO GET
BETTER ACQUAINTED, AND TO CONSULT CLOSELY ON THE BROAD
RANGE OF ISSUES AND CONCERNS WE SHARE.**

- 3 -

HIGH AMONG THESE CONCERNS, I KNOW, IS THE PROMOTION OF PRIVATE INVESTMENT AND TRADE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES -- THE KEY TO BALANCED, LONG-TERM GROWTH.

THREE YEARS AGO, WHEN YOU RANG THE BELL OF FREEDOM IN MANILA, AMERICA CHEERED AND ROSE IN AWE. WHEN YOUR WORDS RANG FROM THE RAFTERS OF CONGRESS, OUR LEADERS STOOD AND GAVE YOU THE MOST THUNDEROUS RECEPTION GIVEN ANY FOREIGN LEADER IN MORE THAN A GENERATION. AND JUST YESTERDAY, WHEN YOU RANG THE BELL ON THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE, THE MARKET CLIMBED 26 POINTS. \\

- 4 -

THE MESSAGE IS SIMPLE. FROM MAIN STREET TO WALL STREET, AMERICA LOVES THE PHILIPPINES. AND AMERICA LOVES CORY AQUINO. \\

YOU DESERVE OUR HELP. AND YOU WILL GET IT. I PLEDGE OUR CONTINUING ASSISTANCE TO YOUR GOVERNMENT. THAT MEANS SECURITY ASSISTANCE, AS WELL AS AID TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. AND IT MEANS COOPERATING IN YOUR IMPORTANT DEBT REDUCTION PROGRAM.

**YOUR PRIORITIES ARE OUR PRIORITIES. **

**REFORM -- ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC. \\
NEW INVESTMENT, ENCOURAGED BY SOUND INFRASTRUCTURE AND
SOUND POLICIES. \\
RENEWAL -- HELP WITH ALLEVIATING
POVERTY AND PRESERVING THE ENVIRONMENT. \\
RESISTANCE -- TO THE MURDEROUS ANTI-DEMOCRATIC FORCES
OF THE COMMUNIST INSURGENCY.**

**EARLIER THIS YEAR, AMERICA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY
MARKED THE SUCCESSFUL LAUNCH OF THE MULTILATERAL
ASSISTANCE INITIATIVE. THIS UNIQUE PROGRAM --
DEVELOPED WITH JAPAN, THE WORLD BANK, THE INTERNATIONAL
MONETARY FUND AND OTHER DONORS -- BOLSTERS YOUR EFFORTS
TO REFUEL AND RESTRUCTURE THE PHILIPPINE ECONOMY.**

**TODAY, CONGRESS STANDS READY TO PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR
THE FIRST YEAR OF AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THIS
INITIATIVE.**

AND MY APPOINTMENT OF ONE OF AMERICA'S PRE-EMINENT STATESMEN, AMBASSADOR ELLIOT RICHARDSON, AS MY PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE INITIATIVE, SHOWS THE PRIORITY WE ACCORD TO ITS SUCCESS. WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT'S CONTINUED DEDICATION TO ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM, EFFECTIVE PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION AND ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING, THE PROMISE OF THIS INITIATIVE WILL BE FULFILLED.

IT IS FITTING, MRS. PRESIDENT, THAT YOU SHOULD VISIT AS WE APPROACH A VETERANS DAY WEEKEND. IN THE DARKEST NIGHT OF THIS DEMOCRACY, IN THE DAYS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING PEARL HARBOR, AMERICANS AND FILIPINOS FOUGHT AND DIED TOGETHER. HALLOWED NAMES LIKE BATAAN AND CORREGIDOR WILL ALWAYS BIND US TOGETHER IN PRIDE AS WELL AS SORROW.

- 9 -

IT WAS BECAUSE SO MANY PHILIPPINE CITIZENS SACRIFICED THEIR LIVES THAT GENERAL MACARTHUR WAS ABLE TO WADE ASHORE AT LEYTE [LAY-TEE] GULF WITH PHILIPPINE PRESIDENT OSMENA [OS-MAIN-YA]. MACARTHUR HAD RETURNED AND, FIGHTING SIDE-BY-SIDE WITH YOUR COUNTRYMEN, VICTORY WAS ACHIEVED.

AND 45 YEARS AGO, ALMOST TO THE VERY DAY, I WAS A 20 YEAR-OLD KID, PILOTING A TORPEDO PLANE ON A RAID AGAINST ENEMY SHIPS IN MANILA BAY. \\\

- 10 -

PRESIDENT AQUINO HAS OFTEN SPOKEN OF HER BELIEF THAT GOD HAS A PLAN. AND I DON'T DOUBT IT. FOR LOOKING BACK TODAY, I REALIZE THAT -- AS I SAFELY FLEW BACK TO MY SHIP ON THAT NOVEMBER DAY, 1944 -- SOMEWHERE FAR BELOW WAS THE TOWN OF SAN MATEO, WHERE AN 11 YEAR-OLD GIRL, A CONVENT STUDENT, WAITED WITH HER FAMILY. SHE WAS A REMARKABLE CHILD, DEVOTED TO HER STUDIES AND TO HER FAITH, FIERCELY PROUD OF HER FAMILY AND HER PEOPLE. \\\

- 11 -

AND TODAY, IT IS A PRIVILEGE AND AN HONOR FOR THAT AMERICAN PILOT TO WELCOME HER TO THE WHITE HOUSE -- THE ELECTED LEADER OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES -- PRESIDENT CORAZON AQUINO. \\\

PRESIDENT AQUINO, IN 1986, AS IN WORLD WAR II, YOUR NATION FACED A MOMENT OF TRUTH. AND ONCE AGAIN THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINES PROVED THEIR COURAGE TO THE WORLD.

- 12 -

DOWN THROUGH THE DECADES, OUR TWO PEOPLES HAVE SHARED A STRONG COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY, PEACE AND STABILITY -- FOR THE PHILIPPINES, FOR AMERICA, AND FOR THE PACIFIC REGION.

YOU NOTED HERE THREE YEARS AGO THAT THE RECOVERY OF DEMOCRACY BROUGHT WITH IT THE ABILITY TO DEAL WITH YOUR MAJOR ALLY ON AN EQUAL FOOTING -- THE ONLY BASIS FOR A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FRIENDS.

- 13 -

IT IS IN THAT SPIRIT THAT WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE DISCUSSIONS WE HAVE ALREADY AGREED WILL BEGIN IN DECEMBER -- DISCUSSIONS WHICH, WE ARE CONFIDENT, WILL MOLD A NEW, MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL, LONG-TERM SECURITY PARTNERSHIP FOR THE FUTURE. \\\

WELCOME BACK, MRS. PRESIDENT. GOD BLESS YOU. GOD BLESS THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINES. AND GOD BLESS THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS. THANK YOU.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 8, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *AA for CW*

FROM: EDWARD McNALLY *EM*

SUBJECT: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR PRESIDENT CORAZON AQUINO

I. SUMMARY

Attached for your consideration and review are draft remarks for tomorrow morning's arrival statement, welcoming Philippine President Corazon Aquino to the White House.

II. DISCUSSION

At 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, November 9, 1989, you are scheduled to go to the South Lawn of the White House to greet Philippine President Corazon Aquino, and to make a brief arrival statement. An audience of approximately 1,000 is expected.

The attached remarks note the exciting progress the Philippines have made since the miracle of "People Power" -- stressing your belief in the power of free elections and free markets to bring about national prosperity for any country.

Of course, from the American perspective, the most important challenge in U.S.-Philippine relations is securing a long-term commitment for our regional bases. The remarks emphasize the long, shared tradition of Americans and Filipinos fighting side by side to preserve freedom, peace and stability in the Philippines and in the Pacific region. The importance of this tradition is emphasized by a telling bit of research uncovered by Bob Simon -- that while 20-year-old Lt. George Bush was flying his final missions of the war against enemy shipping in Manila Bay, 11-year-old Corazon Aquino was praying in safety with her family down below.

We've included this anecdote not to emphasize your war record -- but rather, to underscore your personal, long-term commitment to the freedom and security of the Philippines.

McNally/Simon
November 8, 1989
Draft Seven (B:CORY.AR)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR PRESIDENT AQUINO
THE SOUTH LAWN, THE WHITE HOUSE
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1989

**Mrs. President, welcome back to the United States. And
welcome back to the White House. **

You last visited our country just months after the miracle of "people power."

The changes in your country since that time are truly exciting. After years of authoritarian rule, your leadership has made the Philippines a beacon for democracy, worthy of imitation throughout the world. Your economy is growing towards full recovery. We salute you -- and we salute the Philippine people -- for vision, perseverance and the successes you have achieved.

We're looking forward to this opportunity to get better acquainted, and to consult closely on the broad range of issues and concerns we share. High among these concerns, I know, is the promotion of private investment and trade between our two countries -- the key to balanced, long-term growth.

Three years ago, when you rang the bell of freedom in Manila, America cheered and rose in awe. When your words rang from the rafters of Congress, our leaders stood and gave you the most thunderous reception given any foreign leader in more than a generation. And just yesterday, when you rang the bell on the New York Stock Exchange, the market climbed ____ points. \\

The message is simple. From Main Street to Wall Street, America loves the Philippines. And America loves Cory Aquino. \\\

You deserve our help. And you will get it. I pledge our continuing assistance to your government. That means security assistance, as well as aid to economic development. And it means cooperating in your important debt reduction program.

Your priorities are our priorities. \\\ Reform -- administrative and economic. \\\ Recovery -- new investment, encouraged by sound infrastructure and sound policies. \\\ Renewal -- help with alleviating poverty and preserving the environment. \\\ Resistance -- to the murderous anti-democratic forces of the Communist insurgency.

Earlier this year, America's Independence Day marked the successful launch of the Multilateral Assistance Initiative. This unique program -- developed with Japan, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other donors -- bolsters your efforts to refuel and restructure the Philippine economy.

Today, Congress stands ready to provide support for the first year of America's contribution to this Initiative. And my appointment of one of America's pre-eminent statesmen, Ambassador Elliot Richardson, as my personal representative for the Initiative, shows the priority we accord to its success. With your government's continued dedication to administrative reform, effective project implementation and economic restructuring, the promise of this Initiative will be fulfilled.

It is fitting, Mrs. President, that you should visit as we approach a Veterans Day weekend. In the darkest night of this democracy, in the days immediately following Pearl Harbor, Americans and Filipinos fought and died together. Hallowed names like Bataan and Corregidor will always bind us together in pride as well as sorrow.

It was because so many Philippine citizens sacrificed their lives that General MacArthur was able to wade ashore at Leyte [LAY-tee] Gulf with Philippine President Osmena [os-MAIN-ya]. MacArthur had returned and, fighting side-by-side with your countrymen, victory was achieved.

And 45 years ago, almost to the day, I, too, was proud to play a part in the fight to bring peace and freedom to the Philippines. The skies over Luzon were thick with puffs of anti-aircraft fire, black and menacing. I was a 20 year-old kid, piloting a T.B.M. Avenger on a daylight raid against enemy warships, borne up by the winds of Manila Bay and the prayers of the Philippine people. \\\

President Aquino has often spoken of her belief that God has a plan. And I don't doubt it. For looking back today, I realize that -- as I safely flew back to my ship on that November day, 1944 -- somewhere far below was the town of San Mateo, where an 11 year-old girl, a convent student, waited in safety with her family. She was a remarkable child, devoted to her studies and to her faith, fiercely proud of her family and her people. \\\

And today, it is a privilege and an honor for that American pilot to welcome her to the White House -- the elected leader of the Republic of the Philippines -- President Corazon Aquino. \\\

President Aquino, in 1986, as in World War II, your nation faced a moment of truth. And once again the people of the Philippines proved their courage to the world.

Down through the decades, our two peoples have shared a strong commitment to freedom, democracy, peace and stability -- for the Philippines, for America, and for the Pacific region.

You noted here three years ago that the recovery of democracy brought with it the ability to deal with your major ally on an equal footing -- the only basis for a relationship between friends. It is in that spirit that we look forward to the discussions we have already agreed will begin in December -- discussions which, we are confident, will mold a new, mutually beneficial, long-term security partnership for the future. \\\

Welcome back, Mrs. President. God bless you. God bless the people of the Philippines. And God bless the friendship between our two nations. Thank you.

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Staffed
McNally/Simon
November 6, 1989
Draft Six (B:CORY.AR)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR PRESIDENT AQUINO
THE SOUTH LAWN, THE WHITE HOUSE
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1989

**Mrs. President, welcome back to the United States. And
welcome back to the White House. **

You last visited our country just months after the miracle of "people power," when -- as you so powerfully put it -- "all the world wondered as they witnessed...a people lift themselves from humiliation to the greatest pride."

The changes in your country since that time are truly exciting. After years of authoritarian rule, your leadership has made the Philippines a beacon for democracy, worthy of imitation throughout the world. Your economy is growing towards full recovery. We salute you -- and we salute the Philippine people -- for vision, perseverance and the successes you have achieved.

We're looking forward to this opportunity to get better acquainted, and to consult closely on the broad range of issues and concerns we share. High among these concerns, I know, is the promotion of private investment and trade between our two countries -- the key to balanced, long-term growth.

Part of your mission here is to spread the word to American business of the opportunity, warm welcome, and superb field conditions awaiting them in the Philippines.

Three years ago, when you rang the bell of freedom in Manila, America cheered and rose in awe. When your words rang

from the rafters of Congress, our leaders stood and gave you the most thunderous reception given any foreign leader in more than a generation. And just yesterday, when you rang the bell on the New York Stock Exchange, the market climbed ____ points. \\

**The message is simple. From Main Street to Wall Street, America loves the Philippines. And America loves Cory Aquino. **

You deserve our help. And you will get it. I pledge our continuing assistance to your government. That means security assistance. Economic development. And it means debt reduction.

Your priorities are our priorities. \\ Reform -- administrative and economic. \\ Recovery -- new investment, encouraged by sound infrastructure and sound policies. \\ And renewal -- help for the suffering in your streets, and help for your suffering environment.

Earlier this year, America's Independence Day marked the successful launch of the Multilateral Assistance Initiative. Developed with Japan, the World Bank, I.M.F. and other donors, this unique program bolsters your efforts to refuel and restructure the Philippine economy.

Today, Congress stands ready to provide \$160 million for the first year of this Initiative. [[And my appointment of one of America's pre-eminent statesmen, Ambassador Elliot Richardson, as my personal representative for the Initiative, shows the priority we accord to its success.]]

It is fitting, Mrs. President, that you should visit as we approach a Veterans Day weekend that will bring me to Texas to

dedicate their Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Of course, Vietnam was not the first time soldiers from our two lands dug in together to fight for democracy. 45 years ago this fall, an American hero clenched a corn-cob pipe in his teeth and waded ashore at Leyte [[LAY-tee]] Gulf -- shoulder to shoulder with Philippine President Sergio Osmena [[Os-MAIN-ya]]. MacArthur had returned. The liberation of the Philippines was at hand. \\

And 45 years ago, almost to the day, I, too, was fighting to bring peace and freedom to the Philippines. The skies over Luzon were thick with puffs of anti-aircraft fire, black and menacing. I was a 20 year-old kid, piloting a T.B.M. Avenger on a daylight raid against enemy warships, borne up by the winds of Manila Bay and the prayers of the Philippine people. \\

President Aquino has often spoken of her belief that God has a plan. And I don't doubt it. For looking back today, I realize that -- as I safely flew back to my ship on that November day, 1944 -- somewhere far below was the town of San Mateo, where an 11 year-old girl, a convent student, waited in safety with her family. She was a remarkable child, devoted to her studies and to her faith, fiercely proud of her family and her people. \

And today, it is a privilege and an honor for that American pilot to welcome her to the White House -- the elected leader of the Republic of the Philippines -- President Cory Aquino. \\

President Aquino, in 1986, as in World War II, your nation once again faced a moment of truth. And once again the people of the Philippines proved their courage to the world, and to

themselves. And when you triumphed -- when democracy triumphed -- it vindicated the sacrifice of all the brave Filipino and American soldiers who gave their lives so long ago, side by side in the common cause of freedom.

Down through the decades, our two peoples have shared a strong commitment to freedom, democracy, peace and stability -- for the Philippines, for America, and for the Pacific region.

That's why we fought for the Philippines in 1944. That's why America was proud to serve as a refuge for the Aquino family when Ninoy's courageous voice was stilled at home. And that's why our shared values became shared bonds -- bonds that continue to underpin our shared commitment to security today.

You noted here three years ago that the recovery of democracy brought with it the ability to deal with your major ally on an equal footing -- the only basis for a relationship between friends. It is in that spirit that we look forward to the discussions we have already agreed will begin in December -- discussions which, we are confident, will mold a new, mutually beneficial security partnership for the future. \\\

We welcome you amid dramatic times. We welcome you amid a feeling of great hope in both our lands. And we welcome you amid a spirit of understanding and cooperation, looking forward to our conversations as close friends and allies.

Welcome back, Mrs. President. God bless you. God bless the people of the Philippines. And God bless the friendship between our two nations. Thank you.

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McNally/Simon
November 4, 1989
Draft Five (B:CORY.AR)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR PRESIDENT AQUINO
THE SOUTH LAWN, THE WHITE HOUSE
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1989

Mrs. President, welcome back to the United States. And

welcome back to the White House. //

*Simpson's
contemporang
p. 1* You last visited our country just months after the miracle
of "people power," when -- as you so powerfully put it -- "all
the world wondered as they witnessed...a people lift themselves
from humiliation to the greatest pride."

The changes in your country since that time are truly
exciting. After years of authoritarian rule, your leadership has
made the Philippines a beacon for democracy, worthy of imitation
throughout the world. Your economy is growing towards full
recovery. We salute you -- and we salute the Philippine people
-- for vision, perseverance and the successes you have achieved.

*State
Dept.
draft* We're looking forward to this opportunity to get better
acquainted, and to consult closely on the broad range of issues
and concerns we share. High among these concerns, I know, is the
promotion of private investment and trade between our two
countries -- the key to balanced, long-term growth.

Part of your mission here is to spread the word to American
business of the opportunity, warm welcome, and superb field
conditions awaiting them in the Philippines.

*election on 2/7/86
inaugural on
2-25-86* Three years ago, when you rang the bell of freedom in
Manila, America cheered and rose in awe. When your words rang

+ TIME 1-5-87
P. 29

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agony
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Laurie Nadel
P. 97-8
NYSE
212-656-3000

from the rafters of Congress, our leaders stood and gave you the most thunderous reception given any foreign leader in more than a generation. And just yesterday, when you rang the bell on the New York Stock Exchange, the market climbed 26 points. //

Headline
News

The message is simple. From Main Street to Wall Street, America loves the Philippines. And America loves Cory Aquino. //

State
Dept.
draft

You deserve our help. And you will get it. I pledge our continuing assistance to your government. That means security assistance. Economic development. And it means debt reduction.

Your priorities are our priorities. // Reform -- administrative and economic. // Recovery -- new investment, encouraged by sound infrastructure and sound policies. // And renewal -- help for the suffering in your streets, and help for your suffering environment.

X
St. Dept.
draft

Earlier this year, America's Independence Day marked the successful launch of the Multilateral Assistance Initiative. Developed with Japan, the World Bank, I.M.F. and other donors, this unique program bolsters your efforts to refuel and restructure the Philippine economy.

Today, Congress stands ready to provide \$160 million for the first year of this Initiative. [[And my appointment of one of America's pre-eminent statesmen, Ambassador Elliot Richardson, as my personal representative for the Initiative, shows the priority we accord to its success.]]

It is fitting, Mrs. President, that you should visit as we approach our Veterans Day observances. ~~We'll both be traveling~~

We both begin trips to Dallas tomorrow,

3

~~to Dallas later this week,~~ and on Saturday I will have the honor of attending the dedication of the Texas Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

Of course, Vietnam was not the first time that soldiers from our two nations dug in together to fight for democracy. 45 years ago this fall, an American hero clenched a corn-cob pipe in his teeth and waded ashore at Leyte Gulf. ~~shoulder to shoulder with Philippine President Sergio Osmena.~~ MacArthur had returned. The liberation of the Philippines was at hand. ///

And 45 years ago, almost to the day, I, too, was fighting to bring peace and freedom to the Philippines. The skies over Luzon were thick with puffs of anti-aircraft fire, black and menacing. I was a 20 year-old kid, piloting a T.B.M. Avenger on a daylight raid against enemy warships, borne up by the winds of Manila Bay and the prayers of the Philippine people. ///

President Aquino has often spoken of her belief that God has a plan. And I don't doubt it. For looking back today, I realize that -- as I safely flew back to my ship on that November day, 1944 -- somewhere far below was the town of San Mateo, where an 11 year-old girl, a convent student, waited in safety with her family. She was a remarkable child, devoted to her studies and to her faith, fiercely proud of her family and her people. //

And today, it is a privilege and an honor for that American pilot to welcome her to the White House -- the elected leader of the Republic of the Philippines -- President Cory Aquino. ////

President Aquino, in 1986, as in World War II, your nation once again faced a moment of truth. And once again the people of

the Philippines proved their courage to the world, and to themselves. And when you triumphed -- when democracy triumphed -- it vindicated the sacrifice of all the brave Filipino and American soldiers who gave their lives so long ago, side by side in the common cause of freedom.

Down through the decades, our two peoples have shared a strong commitment to freedom, democracy, peace and stability -- for the Philippines, for America, and for the Pacific region.

*current
biography
see file* 1986 That's why we fought for the Philippines in 1944. That's why America was proud to serve as a refuge for the Aquino family when Ninoy's courageous voice was stilled at home. And that's why our shared values became shared bonds -- bonds that continue to underpin our shared commitment to security today. Because as events this year have so tragically proven, sometimes when the innocent kneel before tanks, the tanks do not retreat. ///

*pres. documents
1986
p. 1198* You noted here three years ago that the recovery of democracy brought with it the ability to deal with your major ally on an equal footing -- the only basis for a relationship between friends. It is in that spirit that we look forward to the discussions we have already agreed will begin in December -- discussions which, we are confident, will mold a new, mutually beneficial security partnership for the future. //

*State
Dept.
draft* *TIME
1-5-87
p. 27* Mrs. President, not long after entering office you declared: "I am not embarrassed to tell you that I believe in miracles."

Your powerful faith, and the miracle of democracy's triumph in your Pacific homeland, reminds me of another miracle, and a man

who shares your abiding faith and formidable courage -- the electrician from Gdansk, Lech Welesa. X

In just a few days, America will follow your visit by welcoming Lech Welesa to the White House. It is a propitious coincidence. For in many ways, Lech Welesa and Cory Aquino have come to personify the new breeze that's sweeping the world East and West, spiritual godparents of a new generation of democracy. X

His example, and the example of the Polish people, has inspired hope and change in Hungary, East Germany, and all of Europe. Your example, and the example of the Filipino people, was mirrored across Asia when "People Power" became a chant in Pakistan, and South Korea, and yes, even in Tianamen Square.

We welcome you amid dramatic times. We welcome you amid a feeling of great hope in both our lands. And we welcome you amid a spirit of understanding and cooperation, looking forward to our conversations as close friends and allies.

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McNally/Simon
November 4, 1989
Draft Four (B:ARRIVAL.AQ)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR PRESIDENT AQUINO
THE SOUTH LAWN, THE WHITE HOUSE
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1989

**Mrs. President, welcome back to the United States. And
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The changes in your country since that time are truly exciting. After years of authoritarian rule, your leadership has made the Philippines a beacon for democracy, worthy of imitation throughout the world. Your economy is growing towards full recovery. We salute you -- and we salute the Philippine people -- for vision, perseverance and the successes you have achieved.

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In November 1944, I, too, was in the Philippines. A 20 year old kid, 45 years ago this week I piloted a T.B.M. Avenger on a daylight raid against enemy warships, borne up by the winds of Manila Bay and the prayers of the Philippine people.

And on that November day, somewhere far below, an 11 year old girl, a convent student, waited in safety with her family in nearby San Mateo. Even then she was seen as a remarkable child, devoted to her studies and to her faith, fiercely proud of her family and her people.

That young convent student grew up to become President Cory Aquino -- one of democracy's greatest champions. And today, it is a privilege and an honor for that American pilot to welcome her to the White House -- one of democracy's greatest citadels.

President Aquino, in 1986, as in World War II, your nation once again faced a moment of truth. And once again the people of the Philippines proved their courage to the world, and to themselves. And when you triumphed -- when democracy triumphed -- it vindicated the sacrifice of all the brave Filipino and

American soldiers who gave their lives, side by side, in the common cause of freedom.

Down through the decades, our two peoples have shared a strong commitment to freedom, democracy, peace and stability -- for the Philippines, for America, and for the Pacific region.

That's why we fought for the Philippines in 1944. That's why America was proud to serve as a refuge for the Aquino family when Ninoy's courageous voice was stilled at home. And that's why our shared values became shared bonds -- bonds that continue to underpin our shared commitment to security today. Because as events this year have so tragically proven, sometimes when the innocent kneel before tanks, the tanks do not retreat.

You noted here three years ago that the recovery of democracy brought with it the ability to deal with your major ally on an equal footing -- the only basis for a relationship between friends. It is in that spirit that we look forward to the discussions we have already agreed will begin in December -- discussions which, we are confident, will mold a new, mutually beneficial security partnership for the future.

Mrs. President, not long after entering office you declared: "I am not embarrassed to tell you that I believe in miracles." Your powerful faith, and the miracle of democracy's triumph in your Pacific homeland, reminds me of another miracle, and a man who shares your abiding faith and formidable courage -- the electrician from Gdansk, Lech Welesa.

In just a few days, America will follow your visit by

welcoming Lech Welesa to the White House. It is a propitious coincidence. For in many ways, Lech Welesa and Cory Aquino have come to personify the new breeze that's sweeping the world East and West, spiritual godparents of a new generation of democracy.

His example, and the example of the Polish people, has inspired hope and change in Hungary, East Germany, and all of Europe. Your example, and the example of the Filipino people, was mirrored across Asia when "People Power" became a chant in Pakistan, and South Korea, and yes, even in Tianamen Square.

We welcome you amid dramatic times. We welcome you amid a feeling of great hope in both our lands. And we welcome you amid a spirit of understanding and cooperation, looking forward to our conversations as close friends and allies.

Welcome back, Mrs. President. God bless you. God bless the people of the Philippines. And God bless the friendship between our two nations. Thank you.

#

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

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DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), August 28, 1997

By RMC NARA, Date 10/13/04

November 1, 1989

Ed -
Here you go -
Let's roll!
K

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: G. PHILIP HUGHES *W*

SUBJECT: Statements for the Aquino Visit, November 9, 1989

Attached are materials for the arrival statement and the toast for the State dinner for President Aquino.

Karl Jackson has made some changes to the arrival statement. Depending on how rapidly Richardson's appointment (p. 2) is processed, we may or may not be able to announce it.

For the toast, State has provided themes. However, the most important thing the President could do is to emphasize how important Mrs. Aquino is, his personal relationship with her and her contributions to the spread of democracy worldwide.

It is requested that you work the present drafts and return them to me for final clearance.

Attachments

Tab A Arrival Statement
Tab B Themes for Toast

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

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S/S 8925046
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

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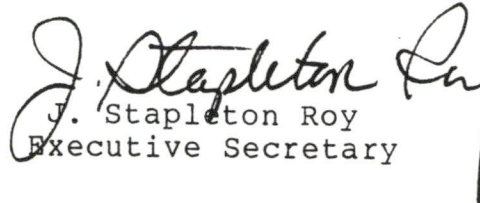
October 27, 1989

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Arrival Statement for State Visit of Philippine
President Corazon Aquino, November 9, 1989

Attached is a draft statement for the arrival ceremony of
Philippine President Corazon Aquino's State Visit, November 9,
1989, 10:00 a.m. Themes for the State Dinner Toast will be
transmitted separately.


J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

Attachment. As stated.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL:OADR

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By RM NARA, Date 10/13/04

ARRIVAL STATEMENT
on the occasion of the State Visit of
Philippine President Corazon Aquino

Welcome, Mrs. President, to the United States and to the White House. You last visited our country three years ago -- just months after the "miracle of EDSA" when renewed democracy and economic growth for the Philippines were still dreams. The changes in your country since that time have been remarkable. *After years of authoritarian rule, under your leadership the Republic of the Philippines stands today as a tribute to the power of* ~~The Philippines stands today as a tribute to the power of~~ *democracy.* ^{significant} ~~great~~ Your economy is growing strongly and has made ~~great~~ progress toward full ~~sustainable~~ recovery. We salute you and your government for vision, perseverance and the successes you have achieved.

*Philippines
a beacon for democracy & worthy
of imitation throughout the world.*

I particularly value this opportunity to get better acquainted and consult closely with you on the broad range of issues and concerns we share. High among those concerns, I know, is the promotion of private sector investment and trade -- which, we agree, is the key to balanced, long-term growth. Part of your mission here is to spread the word to American business of the economic opportunity, hospitable environment and warm welcome awaiting them in the Philippines. I trust they are listening. Three years ago, President Reagan noted we were "bullish" on the Philippines. How right he was. I pledge our continuing assistance to your government ~~in any way we can~~ ^{with security assistance as well as our} ~~can~~ in its economic and development program. We also stand ready to support your important program of debt reduction developed in cooperation with your commercial creditors.

I am pleased to note the successful launching July 4 of the Multilateral Assistance Initiative, which we, in concert with the Government of Japan, worked hard to develop and promote. We conceived this unique program with the World Bank, IMF and other donors to support your government's efforts to revitalize and restructure the Philippine economy. Your priorities are our priorities -- ^{administrative and economic reform,} the encouragement of investment through ^{correct} appropriate infrastructure and ~~right~~ policies, the alleviation of poverty, and aggressive efforts to restore the environment.

Our Congress is ready to provide \$160 million for the first year of the Multilateral Assistance Initiative out of an extremely tight budget. My appointment of one of our pre-eminent statesmen, Ambassador Elliot Richardson, as my personal representative for the Initiative shows the priority we accord to its success. With your government's continued dedication to effective project implementation and economic restructuring, the promise of the MAI will be fulfilled.

It is fitting, Mrs. President, that you should visit our country as we approach our Veterans Day observances. This is a time when we, and our countrymen, can solemnly remember the brave Filipino and American soldiers who sacrificed their lives, side by side, in the common cause of democracy and freedom. Veterans Day symbolizes the strong values that we have shared for decades -- bonds that also

underpin our important security ties. You noted here three years ago that the recovery of democracy brought with it the ability to deal with your major ally on an equal footing -- the only basis for a relationship between friends. It is in that spirit that we look forward to the discussions we have already agreed will begin in December -- discussions which, we are confident, will mold a new, mutually beneficial security partnership for the future.

Again, welcome Mrs. President. I look forward to our conversations in a spirit of understanding and cooperation as close friends and allies. On behalf of the American people, Mabuhay (Ma-boo-hi)!

land's airfield had fallen into y June 18, but not until July a last-ditch fanatical counter- 3,000 Japanese still surviv- nized resistance end. Ameri- on Saipan were 3,126 killed, ded, and 326 missing. Japa- vere some 27,000 killed—in- dreds of Japanese civilians ed suicide by jumping off the about 2,000 were made pris- General Saito and Admiral mitted suicide.

Slow progress of the 27th nitted June 19) particularly ing Mad" Smith's ire. He re- general Ralph C. Smith from e 24), precipitating an Army- versy to this day undecided, ed radical difference between my doctrine in assault tactics.

ceiving word of the assault red the Fifth Fleet under iles west of Tinian. Ozawa y and 2 light cruisers, and ; Amphibious Force, num- y and 13 light cruisers, and ie Japanese 473; however,) additional Japanese land- anese planes had longer

y daybreak (June 19), 300 l 500 miles from his main Mitscher's carriers some 90 Saipan in 4 carrier groups the same time, land-based with heavy loss. Following covering the first attacking ers aloft to keep his flight

S. submarines following his an's carriers, and *Shokaku*, hem both. Mitscher's inter- those who did get through at Marianas Turkey Shoot" ere but 30 planes and some omb which found its target. Rota, neutralizing the air- ra had hauled off. Mitscher ternoon next day. Mitscher 2 oil tankers and seriously

damaged several other vessels. Twenty U.S. planes were lost, and Ozawa lost 65 more of his surviving aircraft. Homeward bound in the dark, the U.S. planes fell into major difficulties despite the fact that Mitscher boldly lighted up his ships to guide his birds home. Some 80 planes out of gas either ditched or crash-landed. Mitscher moved west, his destroyers combing the area to pick up 50-odd flyers float- ing in the water, reducing U.S. personnel losses that day to 16 pilots and 33 crew- men. Ozawa's crippled fleet made its getaway. The Fifth Fleet returned to Saipan.

COMMENT. *Ozawa's desperate attack in the face of formidable odds cost Japanese naval air power mortal injury. Aside from the material damage suffered in ship and plane losses, the death of more than 460 trained combat pilots was irreplaceable.*

1944, July 21–August 10. Guam. Guam fell to the 3rd Marine and 77th Army divi- sions and 1st Marine Brigade (August 10) after a tough struggle costing more than 1,400 killed and 5,600 more U.S. person- nel wounded. Of the Japanese defenders, some 10,000 were killed during the opera- tion, and several hundred more died rather than surrender during the long mopping-up that followed.

1944, July 25–August 2. Tinian. The island was invaded by the 2nd and 4th Marine divisions, and taken after the usual heavy resistance. U.S. losses were 389 killed and 1,816 wounded.

COMMENT. *Capture of the Marianas and the Battle of the Philippine Sea doomed Japan to defeat. The Tojo cabinet resigned (July 18).*

Return to the Philippines, July–December, 1944

STRATEGIC AND OPERATIONAL BACKGROUND

Strategy of the next move of the war was settled in principle at a conference at Pearl Harbor in July. President Roosevelt weighed 2 different concepts of ap- proach to the final objective: an assault on Japan itself. Admiral Nimitz favored intermediate moves on Formosa or China; General MacArthur insisted on assault first to free the Philippines (for both military and political reasons), then on to Japan. Roosevelt accepted MacArthur's plan. Army and Navy staffs, in close co-op- eration, plotted progressive moves: MacArthur on Mindanao, Nimitz on Yap, and a joint assault on Leyte. While MacArthur would then invade Luzon, Nimitz would take Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

As soon as the Marianas operation ended, Nimitz set Spruance and his Fifth Fleet staff to planning the future Iwo Jima and Okinawa operations, while Halsey and Third Fleet staff were allotted the immediate task against Yap. Actually, this was a shift in commanders and staffs only; the ships and men were unchanged. What had been the Fifth Fleet was now the Third; Mitscher's Fast Carrier Task Force, TF 58, became TF 38; V Amphibious Force became III Amphibious Force; etc.

PRELIMINARIES

1944, September 15. Morotai and Pelelieu. MacArthur landed troops on Morotai to establish a forward air base; opposition was negligible. Nimitz, in a co-ordinated move, struck Pelelieu in the Palau Islands. Marines of Major General Roy S. Geiger's III Amphibious Corps (part of Vice Ad- miral Theodore S. Wilkinson's III Am- phibious Force) there met tough resist- ance from tenacious defenders under Gen-

eral Sadal Inone (September 15–October 13). Simultaneously Wilkinson, using Army troops, assaulted and captured Angaur (September 17–20) and occupied, unopposed, Ulithi Atoll, about 100 miles west of Yap (September 23). Ulithi's magnificent harbor became a fleet base for the Halsey-Mitscher Third Fleet team. Mopping up of scattered resistance con- tinued in the Palaus for several weeks (November 25).

1944, September 15. Change of Plan. In

support of the Morotai-Pelelieu operations, Halsey's Third Fleet carriers had struck Yap, Ulithi, and the Palaus to neutralize nearby Japanese bases and soften the defenses (September 6). They had then swept the Philippine coast (September 9-13). Encountering slight resistance, Halsey sent a message to Nimitz, recommending cancellation of the proposed intermediate landings on Mindanao and Yap, which seemed unnecessary, and urging that the Leyte assault be mounted as soon as possible. Nimitz, agreeing, queried the Joint Chiefs of Staff, then attending the Quebec Conference. Nimitz offered to "loan" MacArthur his III Amphibious Force and his Army XXIV Corps. MacArthur, queried by the JCS if he could step up his Leyte landings to October 20 instead of December 20, as originally planned, immediately agreed (September 15). Accordingly, a directive was issued that day.

COMMENT. *Never had American military men better displayed flexibility and initiative than did Halsey, Nimitz, MacArthur, and the JCS. MacArthur's decision to advance by 2 months the timetable of a full-scale amphibious assault was audacious in light of the monumental logistical problems involved.*

1944, October 7-16. Prelude to Invasion.

The Third Fleet moved to paralyze the remnants of Japanese air power. While

Army land-based planes—the Fifth AF from New Guinea and the Seventh from the Marianas—attacked all enemy bases within range, long-range B-29's of XX Bomber Command bombed Formosa from bases in China (October 10). Meanwhile, Halsey hit shipping and shore installations in and around Okinawa, then turned south toward Formosa and Luzon (October 11).

1944, October 13-16. The Battle off Formosa.

The Japanese air units on Formosa struck back fiercely; 2 cruisers were severely damaged, other vessels hit. Misled by fires on these ships and the flames of many shot-down Japanese planes, Japanese radio reports claimed a great naval victory. Halsey, hoping to decoy the Combined Fleet to action, left 1 carrier group to escort his cripples and took the rest of the Third Fleet east into the Philippine Sea (October 14-15). Toyoda, taking the bait, sent 600 of his carrier planes from Japan to Formosa airfields to complete the "destruction" of the American fleet. Halsey, returning toward Formosa, in 2 days destroyed about half these planes (October 15-16). The total score in these operations was more than 650 Japanese planes destroyed, many others crippled, and numerous shore installations smashed. Most serious was the wrecking of the rebuilt Japanese carrier air squadrons. U.S. losses were 2 cruisers badly damaged, several others hit, and 75 planes lost.

VISAYAS CAMPAIGN

The Philippines were defended by approximately 350,000 Japanese under the command of General Yamashita, conqueror of Malaya and Singapore. General Sosaku Suzuki's Thirty-fifth Army defended the southern and central Philippines.

1944, October 14-19. Approach to Leyte.

A vast amphibious armada was closing on the Leyte coast, some 700 vessels, carrying 200,000 men of General Krueger's U.S. Sixth Army, in Admiral Kinkaid's Seventh Fleet. Wilkinson's III and Barbey's VII Amphibious Forces were supported by Rear Admiral J. B. Oldendorf's gunfire-support group—6 battleships (reconditioned survivors of Pearl Harbor), 5 heavy cruisers (including H.M.A.S. *Shropshire*) and 4 light cruisers, and 66 destroyers (including convoy escorts). The air-support group (Rear Admiral Thomas

L. Sprague) consisted of 16 escort carriers, 9 destroyers, and 11 destroyer escorts. Far in the offing (now neutralizing Luzon air bases and guarding San Bernardino and Surigao straits) was Halsey's Third Fleet, with Mitscher's fast carrier TF 38 its nucleus: 8 heavy and 8 light carriers, 6 fast new battleships, 6 heavy and 9 light cruisers, and 58 destroyers. Mitscher's planes numbered more than 1,000. Four American submarines were engaged.

COMMENT. *One operational blemish marred this magnificent amphibious array:*

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command was joint, instead of being unified. MacArthur commanded the ground forces and Kinkaid's Seventh Fleet, while Halsey, still under Nimitz' direction, had a dual mission: first, to destroy the Japanese fleet should it put to sea; and second, to give all possible assistance to Kinkaid and the landings. The Americans had no reason to believe that these 2 missions could be contradictory, but the Japanese had a plan which the Americans had not foreseen.

The "Sho" Plan. Japan, feeling the effect of continuous air and submarine attacks against her shipping, had long realized that American seizure of the Philippines, Formosa, or the Ryukyus would spilt the empire in two; separate the Southern Resources Area, reservoir for fuel oil and gasoline, from the homeland. Accordingly, the "Sho" (Victory) Plan had been devised as a last-ditch gamble by the Combined Fleet. In principle it embodied use of a portion of the now scattered elements of the fleet to decoy the American carrier force, while the remainder, converging on any new landing area, would overwhelm the amphibious support and isolate the troops ashore. The plan, good in principle, had one major flaw. Without adequate air power it would not work, and the Battle off Formosa had ruined most of Japan's carefully reconstituted naval air strength. Toyoda hoped, however, that land-based air units in the Philippines might make up for this serious deficiency.

1944, October 20-22. Leyte Landings. Following intensive reconnaissance and a heavy naval bombardment, Sixth Army's X Corps (Major General **Franklin C. Sibert**) and Lieutenant General **John R. Hodge's** XXIV Corps began landing. The Japanese 16th Division (General **Tomo-chika**), 16,000 strong, garrisoning the island, gave but little initial opposition. By midnight, 132,400 men and nearly 200,000 tons of supply and equipment were landed, and Kinkaid's combat ships were hurrying south to Surigao Strait to meet a Japanese naval threat. General MacArthur, accompanied by Philippine President **Sergio Osmeña**, came ashore, broadcasting his return (October 22).

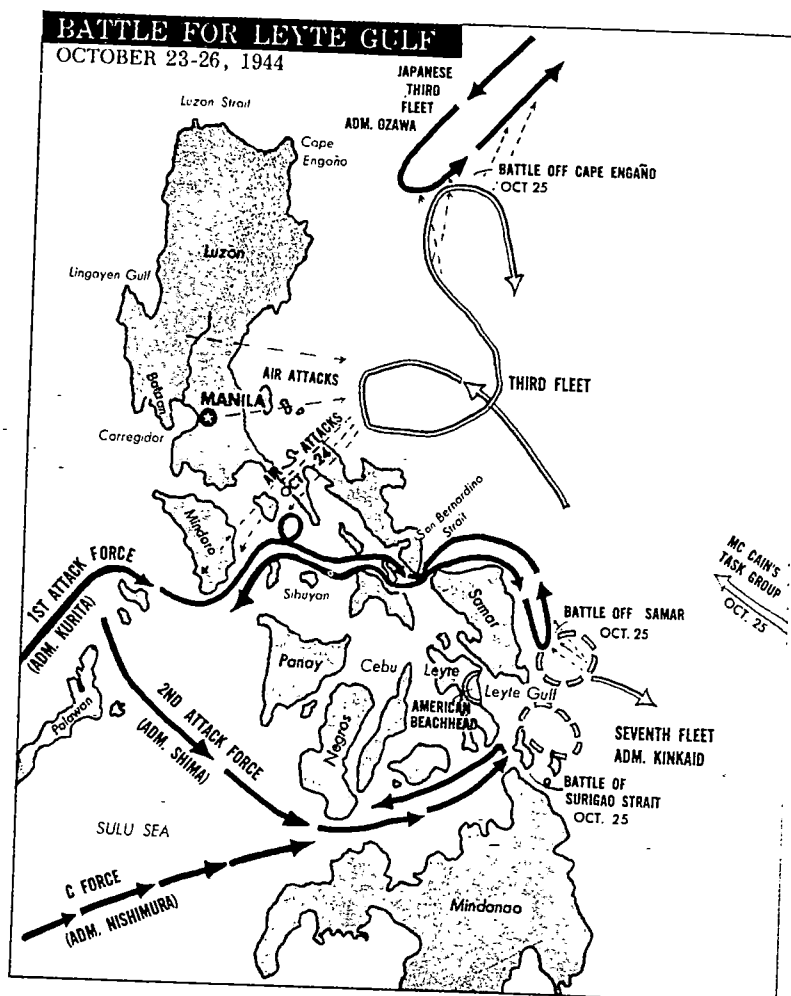
The Battle for Leyte Gulf

1944, October 17-23. The Preliminaries. Warned of American intentions, disclosed by the Leyte reconnaissance (October 17),

Japan put the **Sho Plan** into immediate effect. The Combined Fleet moved from widely scattered bases. Ozawa's Northern Force (or Third Fleet)—the 4 remaining carriers, 2 battleships, 3 cruisers, and 8 destroyers—steamed from Japan toward Luzon to lure the U.S. Third Fleet away from the landing area; the carriers were phantoms of naval air power, carrying only 116 planes with half-trained pilots. Kurita's Center Force (or First Attack Force)—2 superbattleships, 3 other battleships, 12 cruisers, and 15 destroyers—moving northeast from Malaya, Borneo, and the China Sea, was to traverse the San Bernardino Strait. The Southern Force (or C Force) of Vice Admiral **Shoji Nishimura's** 2 battleships, 1 heavy cruiser, and 4 destroyers (from Malaya and Borneo), backed up by Vice Admiral **Kiyohide Shima's** Second Attack Force of 2 heavy and 1 light cruisers and 4 destroyers (from the Ryukyus), moved southeast and east to pass through the Surigao Strait between Mindanao and Leyte. These Center-Southern Force pincers were to destroy all U.S. amphibious forces in Leyte Gulf by a concerted attack, marooning the troops ashore.

1944, October 23-24. Battle of the Sibuyan Sea. U.S. submarines *Darter* and *Dace* discovered Kurita's Center Force as it entered Palawan Passage from the South China Sea. Flashing word to Halsey, the subs sank 2 heavy cruisers and damaged a third. Kurita, continuing into the Sibuyan Sea, was attacked by Mitscher's TF 38. The superbattleship *Musashi* was sunk after 2 days of incessant bombardment and several other vessels damaged. Kurita turned around and headed westward again (late October 24). Halsey assumed he was retreating. Meanwhile, Japanese land-based planes harassed a division of TF 38. Most were shot down, but U.S.S. *Princeton* (light carrier) was sunk and U.S.S. *Birmingham* (cruiser) severely damaged. Unknown to Halsey, after dark Kurita changed course again and headed doggedly for San Bernardino Strait.

1944, October 24-25. Battle of Surigao Strait. Warned of the approach of the Japanese Southern Force, Kinkaid placed Oldendorf's gun-support ships to intercept it. Reconnoitering PT boats picked



up Nishimura's force that night, moving in single line ahead. Two converging destroyer attacks torpedoed the battleship *Fuso* and 4 destroyers. Nishimura's crippled line then ran into Oldendorf's main force, which crossed his "T." American gunfire and torpedoes sank all except 1 destroyer; Nishimura went down with his flagship, *Yamashiro*. Shima's force, bringing up the rear, now ran the gantlet of PT-boat attack, which crippled 1 light cruiser. Attempting now to retire, Shima's flagship collided with one of Nishimura's mortally wounded vessels. Oldendorf pursued through the strait. Between his fire and planes from Admiral Thomas L. Sprague's escort carriers and land-based Army planes, another Japanese cruiser was sunk. The rest of Shima's force escaped as Oldendorf—his mission

accomplished, and knowing he might have to fight another battle immediately—turned back.

1944, October 25, Dawn. San Bernardino Strait. Kurita, hoping still to join Nishimura in Leyte Gulf, debouched unopposed from San Bernardino Strait and turned south. Halsey, with his entire force, was rushing after Ozawa's decoy carrier force, which had been sighted to the far north. Word received of Kurita's retirement in the Sibuyan Sea the previous afternoon, combined with overenthusiastic reports from his flyers, led Halsey to believe Kurita was permanently out of the fight. So—his dual mission in mind—Halsey was rushing northward with all available elements of the Third Fleet to destroy the Japanese carrier force. He failed to inform Kinkaid.

1944, October 25, Early A.M. Battle off Samar.

Kurita's southward advance completely surprised Rear Admiral Clifton A. F. Sprague, commanding an escort carrier group of Kinkaid's amphibious force, supporting land operations. Sprague, with 6 escort carriers, 3 destroyers, and 4 destroyer escorts, armed only with 5-in. guns, found himself giving battle to 4 battleships, 6 heavy cruisers, and about 10 destroyers. In an amazing running fight, during which his aircraft, armed with relatively harmless fragmentation bombs (for support of land operations), harassed the heavily gunned Japanese ships, while his destroyers nipped boldly at them, Sprague and his escort flattops fought off disaster. One carrier—U.S.S. *Gambier Bay*—was sunk, 2 destroyers and 1 destroyer escort went down, and Kurita's ships were closing in. But planes from other escort-carrier groups—all fleeing south to rejoin Kinkaid's Seventh Fleet—were now attacking Center Force. Kurita, with victory in his hands, hauled off, thinking he was being attacked by TF 38, his decision bolstered by reports that Nishimura's Southern Force had been demolished. At first Kurita thought to reinforce Ozawa, then gave that up and retreated through San Bernardino Strait. He was now harried by American reinforcements—planes from Rear Admiral John S. McCain's task group of Halsey's fleet—rushing back in response to Seventh Fleet calls for help. Meanwhile, Admiral Thomas L. Sprague's escort carriers and Oldendorf's force, returning from the Surigao Strait fight, were assailed by land-based planes—including the first Japanese kamikaze attacks, which sank U.S.S. *St. Lô* and damaged several other ships.

1944, October 25. Battle off Cape Engaño.

Halsey's headlong northward rush to catch the Japanese carrier force bore fruit at 2:20 A.M., when Mitscher's search planes picked it up. With dawn came the first of 3 successive plane strikes. Ozawa, who had put nearly all his small force of planes ashore to operate from land bases, had only antiaircraft fire to oppose the U.S. planes and it was not enough. By nightfall, all 4 Japanese carriers were sunk as well as 5 other of the remaining ships. Two battleships, 2 light cruisers, and 6 destroyers escaped. Halsey, infuriated by

a query from Nimitz at Pearl Harbor, demanding explanation of his "failure" to help Kinkaid, went steaming southward at "flank speed" (full speed) with most of his fleet.

COMMENT. The 4-phased naval Battle of Leyte Gulf ended the Japanese fleet as an organized fighting force. Four carriers, 3 battleships, 6 heavy and 4 light cruisers, 11 destroyers, and a submarine were sunk; nearly every other ship engaged was damaged. About 500 planes were lost; some 10,500 Japanese sailors and airmen were dead. American losses were 1 light carrier, 2 escort carriers, 2 destroyers, 1 destroyer escort, and more than 200 aircraft. About 2,800 Americans had been killed, some 1,000 additional wounded. In this, the greatest naval battle ever joined, 282 vessels were involved: 216 U.S.N., 2 R.A.N., 64 Japanese. Estimated man-power strengths were 143,668 U.S.N. and R.A.N., 42,800 Japanese.

Both Halsey and Kurita may be criticized, the one for abandoning the Leyte Gulf area to chase Ozawa, the other for his timidity in retreating at the moment of victory. In mitigation, one notes that Halsey was on the horns of his dual-mission dilemma; he had no way of knowing that Ozawa's carrier force was only a decoy. As for Kurita, he was bewildered by conflicting reports and already shaken by 2 previous severe joltings. For all he knew, he might be throwing the only Japanese naval strength that remained afloat into the jaws of the overwhelming force of the entire U.S. Navy. So he limped away, victim of an overly complicated plan and of his own fears.

Struggle for Leyte

1944, October 21–December 31. General Yamashita, Japanese commander in the Philippines, recovering from the strategic surprise of the landings, decided to fight for Leyte. While the veteran 16th Division carried on a skillful delaying action, reinforcements were hurried from Luzon and the Visayas to build up the Thirty-fifth Army. Between October 23 and December 11, some 45,000 men and 10,000 tons of supply arrived in small increments, carried mostly by fast-running destroyer transports. U.S. Navy and long-range Army planes then dried up the supply routes, despite fierce Japanese land-based air strikes which only expended a great

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part of the remaining Japanese air power. Toward the end, only a trickle of sailing craft traversed the Leyte waters. Meanwhile, U.S. Sixth Army made slow progress against desperately defended delaying positions in the central mountain ridge. Progress was further impeded by tropical storms which turned the few dirt roads into quagmires. On the right, X Corps, by overland and amphibious movements, was approaching Limon, the northern anchor of Suzuki's defense line (November 7). On the left, XXIV Corps hammered at the precipitous heights protecting Ormoc, the southern Japanese key point and principal port. An amphibious lift (December 7) threatened Suzuki's southern flank, while at the same time a desperate but ineffective Japanese air drop farther east was repelled. Krueger, reinforced, launched a double envelopment (December 7-8), taking both Limon and Ormoc (December 10). The 77th Division from the south and 1st Cavalry and 24th divisions from the north then met (December 20) at Libungao, surrounding Suzuki's combat elements and cutting him off from his last remaining port, Palompom. All organized resistance collapsed Christmas Day. The Japanese had suffered over 70,000 casualties in the campaign; American losses were 15,584. Meanwhile, a foothold had been gained on adjoining Samar (late October).

1944, December 15. Seizure of Mindoro.

A bold amphibious operation put a task force of approximately brigade strength ashore on Mindoro in the northern Visayas, just south of Luzon, to establish an advance air base for MacArthur's coming assault on Luzon.

COMMENT. *Japan's election to force a decision in the Leyte area had cost her a fatally crippled fleet and air force, and a serious reduction in ground-force strength in the Philippines. As the year ended, Japan had lost the war. Her communications with the Southern Resources Area were severed, her merchant fleet reduced from a tonnage of 6 million in 1941 to 2.5 (60 per cent of this loss caused by U.S. submarines). Approximately 135,000 of her soldiers were marooned, helpless, behind the American advance. But as yet Japan would not admit defeat.*

The Strategic Air Offensive

OPERATIONS FROM INDIA AND CHINA

1944, April-May. B-29's to India. With the agreement of Britain and China, new American B-29 "Superfortress" bombers began to arrive at bases near Calcutta. These planes of the XX Bomber Command were to undertake long-range strategic bombardment from India, and were also to strike industrial targets in Manchuria and southern Japan itself from bases in China. These powerful, heavily



B-29 Superfortresses

The World

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

Heads of State

KONRAD ADENAUER, Chancellor of West Germany

- 1 The rare case where the conquered is very satisfied with the conqueror.

On Allied occupation of West Berlin. *NY Times* 21 Mar 60

- 2 Only the stupidest calves choose their own butcher.

On Western wheat shipments to the USSR. *NY Herald Tribune* 6 Oct 63

IDI AMIN, President of Uganda

- 3 I am the hero of Africa.

Newsweek 12 Mar 73

CORAZON C AQUINO, President of the Philippines

- 4 They came out in the millions to show their dogged support for the woman the dictatorship claimed it had defeated in the election.

As victor in election ending Ferdinand E Marcos's 20-year regime. *NY Times* 27 Feb 86

- 5 All the world wondered as they witnessed . . . a people lift themselves from humiliation to the greatest pride.

ib

- 6 The nation was awakened by that deafening shot.

Dedicating a marker at Manila Airport where her husband Benigno was assassinated on August 21, 1983. *US News & World Report* 1 Sep 86

- 7 You have spent many lives and much treasure to bring freedom to many lands that were reluctant to receive it. And here you have a people who won it by themselves and need only the help to preserve it.

To US Congress. *Time* 29 Sep 86

- 8 It is not I who have been consigned to the bedroom of history.

Alluding to remark by Ferdinand E Marcos that a woman's place was in the bedroom. *NY Times* 1 Dec 86

CLEMENT ATTLEE, Prime Minister of Great Britain

- 9 Few thought he was even a starter. There were many who thought themselves smarter. But he ended PM, CH and OM. An earl and a Knight of the Garter.

On his political career. news summaries 8 Apr 56

VINCENT AURIOL, President of France

- 10 The work was killing me; they called me out of bed at all hours of the night to receive resignations of prime ministers.

On leaving office. news summaries 1 Feb 54

BENJAMIN NNAMDI AZIKIWE, President of Nigeria

- 11 It is better we disintegrate in peace and not in pieces.

Newsweek 8 Aug 66

BEATRIX, Queen of the Netherlands

- 12 I realize that much will be asked of me, yet I am resolved to accept it as a great and splendid task.

On succeeding to the throne. *NY Times* 1 May 80

- 13 Nature is under control but not disturbed.

On opening a new Dutch sea barrier. *ib* 5 Oct 86

MENACHEM BEGIN, Prime Minister of Israel

- 14 Israel is still the only country in the world against which there is a written document to the effect that it must disappear.

On PLO charter. statement to the press. Washington DC, 22 Mar 78

DAVID BEN GURION, Prime Minister of Israel

- 15 In Israel, in order to be a realist you must believe in miracles.

CBS TV 5 Oct 56

- 16 The trebling of the population in this small and impoverished country, flowing with milk and honey but not with sufficient water, rich in rocks and sand dunes but poor in natural resources and vital raw materials, has been no easy task: Indeed, practical men, with their eyes fixed upon things as they are, regarded it as an empty and insubstantial utopian dream.

NY Herald Tribune 28 Apr 63

- 17 Israel has created a new image of the Jew in the world—the image of a working and an intellectual people, of a people that can fight with heroism.

Time 9 Jun 67

- 18 Ours is a country built more on people than on territory. The Jews will come from everywhere: from France, from Russia, from America, from Yemen. . . . Their faith is their passport.

Recalled by Shimon Peres on 100th anniversary of Ben Gurion's birth. *NY Times* 5 Oct 86

ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO, President of Pakistan

- 19 Pakistan was once called the most allied ally of the United States. We are now the most nonallied.

NY Times 6 Jul 73

P W BOTHA, President of South Africa

- 20 Not only will we survive [sanctions], we will emerge stronger on the other side.

NY Times 28 Sep 86

LEONID I BREZHNEV, Soviet Premier

- 21 God will not forgive us if we fail.

To President Jimmy Carter at June 1979 summit meeting. recalled when Mikhail S Gorbachev also invoked the deity. *NY Times* 2 Sep 85

KOFI BUSIA, Prime Minister of Ghana

- 22 I don't like hypocrisy—even in international relations.

Interview 2 Feb 70

November 3, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR ED McNALLY

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: AQUINO AND 11/44

I called Ken Kashiwahara (415/954-7911). He in turn called Aquino's oldest brother.

According to him, Corazon was indeed in school in Manila in November, 1944. However, when the bombing of Manila began that month, the family evacuated to nearby San Mateo.

He also said none of her immediate family fought the Japanese. Her brothers were too young, and her father was too old.

September 1944

The *Finback* stayed on its war patrol in Japanese waters, and I, along with two other rescued pilots and two crewmen, spent the next 30 days standing watch and counting my blessings. We got depth-charged by Japanese ships. The submariners in the *Finback* didn't seem too concerned about that, but Jim Beckman, Tom Keene and I, the rescued pilots, didn't like that a bit. *Finback's* skipper won a Silver Star for sinking Japanese ships.

October 1944

Back in Pearl Harbor for a week at a "rest home," then after some essential refresher flying. I hitchhiked back to the fleet—Task Force 38 under Admiral William "Bull" Halsey off the Philippines. I wondered at the tremendous naval power in and around Pearl Harbor and at Ulithi Atoll. You could feel things moving our way. We were shown pictures of Japanese atrocities. It was Hirohito's fault. Hitler was beginning to get kicked hard in Europe, but for us there was one unifying symbol—Hirohito and the evil he represented. I wanted badly to rejoin my squadron—to fly more, to do my part.

November 1944

I flew my final mission, the 58th, over the Luzon area, November 29. Puffs of antiaircraft fire, black and menacing, were nothing like the concentrated fire over Chichi Jima. Still you wonder. There was a sense of exhilaration in our ready room. We were going home. We'd probably make it for Christmas. Several of our VT-51 Squadron mates had been killed, but that was accepted. In a sense, the ferocity of

the battle helped heal the hurt. It was our duty, our honor. We were fighting for the U.S.A. against tyranny. The country was united. We, on a carrier, were a part of something great and good. At times we were scared, but there were never any doubts.



After duty in the Pacific Bush returned home and on January 6, 1945, married Barbara Pierce at the Presbyterian Church in Rye, N.Y.

Christmas Eve 1944

I arrive home. I stop at the Rye (N.Y.) station on the way to Greenwich. There my fiancée, Barbara, climbs on the train. We go the 10 minutes to Greenwich. My mother and dad meet us. I was glad to be home for Christmas Day. I counted my blessings. I was glad to be surrounded by love. At church the next day, Christmas, I thanked God I was home—and in the quiet of our church I thought about Jim Wykes, Dick Houle, Tom Waters, Ted White, John Delaney and the others who would never come home for Christmas.

I asked "Why?" but there was not any agony about the cause. There were no divisions about the war. We were right. God was on our side. We had suffered a surprise attack and now, three years later, we were winning; and I, a 20-year-old lieutenant (j.g.), was part of the greatest fighting force in the world. I had grown up. I had flown with the best off a great carrier that flew the Texas flag into battle. I was part of a team. We cared about each other in our squadron. We understood each other's fears and loves. We played together, sang together, flew together. We bitched about our squadron commander—too tough, too demanding, too serious. But we loved to fly on his wing—we respected Don Melvin.

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Winston

WINNING

Shortly before that hour the SWPA chief, observed a correspondent, "appeared on deck in fresh, smooth-pressed suntans, bebraided hat, and sun glasses . . . looking all the time a picture of composure and dignified good humor" as he and his American entourage descended a ladder into the *Nashville's* motor whaler. MacArthur remarked with a broad smile to Sutherland, "Well, believe it or not, we're here." After stopping at the transport *John Land* to get the Filipinos, they continued on the two-mile trip to the beach. MacArthur took a position atop the engine house in the stern with photographer Faillace just behind him; seated beside the SWPA chief was Sutherland, while to the front were Kenney, Akin, Stivers, Egeberg, Lehrbas, Wheeler, Osmeña, Valdes, Romulo, and several other officers.

The SWPA commander chose to make his first trip ashore to Red Beach, just north of Palo, where the 24th Division was encountering the stiffest resistance any of the landing forces met on A-day. Over half of all American and Japanese casualties that day occurred on Red Beach. At the time of MacArthur's landing, Irving's troops had penetrated inland less than a half mile in that area and mortar and small-arms fire could be heard frequently in the direction of Highway 1 and Hill 522. "Four of the big landing craft, beached where we went in," said Kenney, "had been hit by Jap mortar fire and one was burning nicely when we landed. One light landing craft had just been sunk. There seemed to be a lot of Nip snipers firing all around the place."

Having changed into a fresh uniform for the occasion and being accompanied by the Philippine president, MacArthur had no intention of wading through knee-deep water. When one of the general's aides learned that the beach shelved too little for the whaler to get to dry land, he telephoned the beachmaster for a small landing craft to which the SWPA chief and his group could transfer. At the moment the beachmaster was overwhelmed with the unloading of supplies and equipment. Ac-

ording to Lockwood, whose account is confirmed by several participants, "Hundreds of small landing craft were squeezed onto the beach, ramps down, and bulldozers were unloading them. Everywhere was bustle and confusion. Bullets fired by snipers hidden on the thickly wooded slope [of Hill 522] whizzed by like angry bees. It was no time to disturb an overburdened beachmaster. Angrily, he told the lieutenant to 'let 'em walk.' " Perhaps some of MacArthur's wading episodes at later landings were deliberately staged, especially after he saw the worldwide publicity received by the photographs of his A-day walk ashore, but his plans for the drama at Red Beach certainly did not include stepping off in knee-deep water. Indeed, his grim expression on that occasion may have simply reflected his discomfort and disgruntlement rather than the contrived "sense of destiny" look described by his detractors.

At the beach MacArthur was met by Sibert and Irving, who had rushed ashore by separate craft just ahead of the dignitaries. For nearly an hour MacArthur wandered about chatting with officers, enlisted men, and one old local Filipino who addressed him as "Sir Field Marshal"; he inspected the cluttered beach and strolled inland about 200 yards, as usual, to get "the feel of the fighting."²⁶ Although MacArthur and most other high-ranking commanders from the beginning of warfare have been convinced of the great morale-boosting value of their visits to the front, the sentiments of Jan Valtin, who served as both rifleman and combat reporter with the 24th Division, probably reflected those of the typical combat soldier on Red Beach:

The fighting moves inland in tortuous eddies. You note by the sun that it is early afternoon. The first self-propelled guns and the first jeeps have cleared the beach to join the pioneering bulldozer men. You watch them go and you feel the sun's heat strike through your helmet in liquid hammerblows. You feel it even in the erratic shade of the broken palms. You have become indifferent to things. You are too

The Years of MacArthur 1941-45
 by D. Clayton James



Headed for the beachhead at Leyte, October 20, 1944. From left to right: General Kenney, General Sutherland, President Osmeña, Colonel Lehrbas, General MacArthur, Colonel Egeberg, and General Romulo.



Right. Wading ashore at Leyte, October 20, 1944. Inscription written by MacArthur.

General MacArthur and President Osmeña shortly after arriving at the Leyte beachhead, October 20, 1944.



PHILIPPINES

1932 - 1933

Theodore Roosevelt (b. Oyster Bay, New York, 13 Sep 1887; d. Normandy 12 Jul 1944)

1933 - 13 Nov 1935

Frank Murphy (b. Harbor Beach, Michigan, 13 Apr 1890; d. Detroit 19 Jul 1949)

American High Commissioners

15 Nov 1935 - 1937

Frank Murphy (see American Governors-General)

1937 - 1939

Paul Vories McNutt (for 1st time) (b. Franklin, Indiana, 19 Jul 1891; d. Springfield, Illinois, 24 Oct 1957)

1939 - 24 Dec 1941

Francis Bowes Sayre (b. South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 30 Sep 1885; d. 29 Mar 1972)

Dec 1941 - Feb 1945

Japanese occupation

7 Sep 1942 - 4 Jul 1946

Paul Vories McNutt (for 2nd time) remained until 1948 as Ambassador to the Philippines

Presidents

17 Sep 1935 - Dec 1941

Manuel Luis Quesón y Molina (b. 9 Sep 1878; d. 1 Aug 1944)

14 Oct 1943 - Apr 1945

José Paciano Laurel (b. 1891; d. 6 Nov 1959)

Apr(Sep) 1945 - May 1946

Sergio Osmeña (b. Cebu 9 Sep 1878; d. Manila 19 Oct 1961) in exile since 1 Aug 1944

27 May 1946

Manuel Roxas (b. 1892(?); d. 16 Apr 1948)

16 Apr 1948

Elpidio Quirino (b. 16 Nov 1880; d. Novaliches 29 Feb 1956)

12 Nov 1953

Ramón Magsaysay (b. Subic Bay 31 Aug 1907; d. (in air crash) Bago Mountain, Cebu, 17 Mar 1957)

17 Mar 1957

Carlos P. García (b. Prov. Bohol 4 Nov 1896; d. Manila 14 Jun 1971)

30 Dec 1961

Diosdado Macapagal (b. Lubao 28 Sep 1910)

30 Dec 1965

Ferdinand Edralin Marcos (b. Sarrat 11 Sep 1917)

MEMBER OF GOVERNMENT

Foreign Minister

from 1968

Carlos P. Rómulo (b. 14 Jan 1899)

PRODUCT LIABILITY REFORM ACT

CORRECTION OF THE RECORD

NOTE.—In the RECORD of yesterday, September 17, 1986, at page S12751, Mr. KASTEN moved to proceed to S. 2760, the Product Liability Reform Act. Thereafter, the RECORD incorrectly states that the motion was agreed to. The permanent RECORD will be corrected to eliminate the statement that the motion was agreed to.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

RECESS UNTIL 10:30 A.M.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 9:30 having arrived, the Senate will now stand in recess until the hour of 10:30 a.m.

Thereupon, at 9:30 a.m., the Senate recessed until 10:30 a.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. PRESSLER).

□ 1030

OMNIBUS BUDGET RECONCILIATION ACT, 1987

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the pending business. The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2706) to provide for reconciliation pursuant to section 2 of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1987 (S. Con. Res. 120, Ninety-ninth Congress).

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

(Remarks of Mr. BENTSEN at this point relating to terrorism are printed earlier in the RECORD.)

□ 1040

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator suggest the absence of a quorum?

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the time to be equally divided?

Mr. BENTSEN. I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the time consumed in the rollcall will be equally divided.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

□ 1050

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The minority leader is recognized for 1 minute.

ADDRESS OF HER EXCELLENCY CORAZON C. AQUINO, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES TO THE JOINT MEETING OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, both Houses have jointly sat and listened to an excellent address, most eloquent address, a very courageous address, by Her Excellency Corazon C. Aquino, President of the Republic of the Philippines.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this great speech by President Aquino delivered to the joint meeting of the U.S. Congress be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF HER EXCELLENCY CORAZON C. AQUINO, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES TO THE JOINT MEETING OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President pro tempore, three years ago, I left America in grief to bury my husband, Ninoy Aquino. I thought I had left it also to lay to rest his restless dream of Philippine freedom. Today, I have returned as the President of a free people.

In burying Ninoy, a whole nation honored him. By that brave and selfless act of giving honor, a nation in shame recovered its own. A country that had lost faith in its future found it in a faithless and brazen act of murder. So in giving, we receive, in losing we find; and out of defeat, we snatched our victory.

For the nation, Ninoy became the pleasing sacrifice that answered their prayers for freedom. For myself and our children, Ninoy was a loving husband and father. His loss, three times in our lives, was always a deep and painful one.

Fourteen years ago this month was the first time we lost him. A President turned dictator, and traitor to his oath, suspended the Constitution and shut down the Congress that was much like this one before which I am honored to speak. He detained my husband along with thousands of other—Senators, publishers and anyone who had spoken up for the democracy as its end drew near. But for Ninoy, a long and cruel ordeal was reserved. The dictator already knew that Ninoy was not a body merely to be imprisoned but a spirit he must break. For even as the dictatorship demolished one by one the institutions of democracy—the press, the Congress, the independence of the judiciary, the protection of the bill of rights—Ninoy kept their spirit alive in himself.

The Government sought to break him by indignities and terror. They locked him up in a tiny, nearly airless cell in a military camp in the north. They stripped him naked and held the threat of sudden midnight execution over his head. Ninoy held up manfully under all of it. I barely did as well. For 43 days, the authorities would not tell me what had happened to him. This was the first time my children and I felt we had lost him.

When that didn't work, they put him on trial for subversion, murder, and a host of other crimes before a military commission. Ninoy challenged its authority and went on a fast. If he survived it, then, he felt, God

intended him for another fate. We had lost him again. For nothing would hold him back from his determination to see his fast through to the end. He stopped only when it dawned on him that the Government would keep his body alive after the fast had destroyed his brain. And so, with barely any life in his body, he called off the fast on the fortieth day. God meant him for other things, he felt. He did not know that an early death would still be his fate, that only the timing was wrong.

At any time during his long ordeal, Ninoy could have made a separate peace with the dictatorship, as so many of his countrymen had done. But the spirit of democracy that inheres in our race and animates this Chamber could not be allowed to die. He held out, in the loneliness of his cell and the frustration of exile, the democratic alternative to the insatiable greed and mindless cruelty of the right and the purging holocaust of the left.

And then, we lost him irrevocably and more painfully than in the past. The news came to us in Boston. It had to be after the 3 happiest years of our lives together. But his death was my country's resurrection in the courage and faith by which alone they could be free again. The dictator had called him a nobody. Two million people threw aside their passivity and fear and escorted him to his grave. And so began the revolution that has brought me to democracy's most famous home, the Congress of the United States.

The task had fallen on my shoulders to continue offering the democratic alternative to our people.

Archibald MacLeish had said that democracy must be defended by arms when it is attacked by arms and by truth when it is attacked by lies. He failed to say how it shall be won.

I held fast to Ninoy's conviction that it must be by the ways of democracy. I held out for participation in the 1984 election the dictatorship called even if I knew it would be rigged. I was warned by the lawyers of the opposition that I ran the grave risk of legitimizing the foregone results of elections that were clearly going to be fraudulent. But I was not fighting for lawyers but for the people in whose intelligence I had implicit faith. By the exercise of democracy, even in a dictatorship, they would be prepared for democracy when it came. And then, also, it was the only way I knew by which we could measure our power even in the terms dictated by the dictatorship.

The people vindicated me in an election shamefully marked by Government thuggery and fraud. The opposition swept the elections, garnering a clear majority of the votes, even if they ended up, thanks to a corrupt Commission on Elections, with barely a third of the seats in Parliament. Now, I knew our power.

Last year, in excess of arrogance, the dictatorship called for its doom in a snap election. The people obliged with over a million signatures, they drafted me to challenge the dictatorship. And I obliged them. The rest is the history that dramatically unfolded on your television screens and across the front pages of your newspapers.

You saw a nation, armed with courage and integrity, stand fast by democracy against threats and corruption. You saw women poll watchers break out in tears as armed goons crashed the polling places to steal the ballots, but just the same, they tied themselves to the ballot boxes. You saw a people committed to the ways of democracy that they were prepared to give their lives for its pale imitation. At the end of the day, before an-

other wave of fraud could distort the results, I announced the people's victory.

The distinguished cochairman of the U.S. observer team in his report to your President described that victory:

"I was witness to an extraordinary manifestation of democracy on the part of the Filipino people. The ultimate result was the election of Mrs. Corazon C. Aquino as President and Mr. Salvador Laurel as Vice President of the Philippines."

Many of you here today played a part in changing the policy of your country towards us. We Filipinos thank each of you for what you did: For balancing America's strategic interest against human concerns, illuminates the American vision of the world.

When a subservient Parliament announced my opponent's victory, the people turned out in the streets and proclaimed me President. And true to their word, when a handful of military leaders declared themselves against the dictatorship, the people rallied to their protection. Surely, the people take care of their own. It is on that faith and the obligation it entails that I assumed the Presidency.

As I came to power peacefully, so shall I keep it. That is my contract with my people and my commitment to God. He had willed that the blood drawn with the lash shall not, in my country, be paid by blood drawn by the sword but by the tearful joy of reconciliation.

We have swept away absolute power by a limited revolution that respected the life and freedom of every Filipino. Now, we are restoring full constitutional Government. Again, as we restored democracy by the ways of democracy, so are we completing the constitutional structures of our new democracy under a constitution that already gives full respect to the bill of rights. A jealously independent Constitutional Commission is completing its draft which will be submitted later this year to a popular referendum. When it is approved, there will be congressional elections. So within about a year from a peaceful but national upheaval that overturned a dictatorship, we shall have returned to full constitutional Government. Given the polarization and breakdown we inherited, this is no small achievement.

My predecessor set aside democracy to save it from a Communist insurgency that numbered less than 500. Unhindered by respect for human rights, he went at it with hammer and tongs. By the time he fled, that insurgency had grown to more than 16,000. I think there is a lesson here to be learned about trying to stifle a thing with the means by which it grows.

I don't think anybody, in or outside our country, concerned for a democracy and open Philippines, doubts what must be done. Through political initiatives and local reintegration programs, we must seek to bring the insurgents down from the hills, and by economic progress and justice, show them that for which the best intentioned among them fight.

As President, I will not betray the cause of peace by which I came to power. Yet equally, and again no friend of Filipino democracy will challenge this. I will not stand by and allow an insurgent leadership to spurn our offer of peace and kill our young soldiers, and threaten our new freedom.

Yet, I must explore the path of peace to the utmost, for at its end, whatever disappointment I meet there, is the moral basis for laying down the olive branch of peace and taking up the sword of war. Still, should it come to that, I will not waver from the course laid down by your great liberator:

"With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and for his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Like Lincoln, I understand that force may be necessary before mercy. Like Lincoln, I don't relish it. Yet, I will do whatever it takes to defend the integrity and freedom of my country.

Finally, may I turn to that other slavery: Our \$26 billion foreign debt. I have said that we shall honor it. Yet must the means by which we shall be able to do be kept from us? Many conditions imposed on the previous Government that stole this debt continue to be imposed on us who never benefited from it. And no assistance or liberality commensurate with the calamity that was visited on us has been extended. Yet ours must have been the cheapest revolution ever. With little help from others, we Filipinos fulfilled the first and most difficult condition of the debt negotiation: The full restoration of democracy and responsible Government. Elsewhere, and in other times of more stringent world economic conditions, Marshall plans and their like were felt to be necessary companions of returning democracy.

When I met with President Reagan yesterday, we began an important dialog about cooperation and the strengthening of the friendship between our two countries. That meeting was both a confirmation and a new beginning and should lead to positive results in all areas of common concern.

Today, we face the aspirations of a people who had known so much poverty and massive unemployment for the past 14 years and yet offered their lives for the abstraction of democracy. Wherever I went in the campaign, slum area or impoverished village, they came to me with one cry: Democracy! Not food, although they clearly needed it, but democracy not work, although they surely wanted it, but democracy. Not money, for they gave what little they had to my campaign. They didn't expect me to work a miracle that would instantly put food into their mouths, clothes on their back, education in their children, and work that will put dignity in their lives. But I feel the pressing obligation to respond quickly as the leader of a people so deserving of all these things.

We face a Communist insurgency that feeds on economic deterioration, even as we carry a great share of the free world defenses in the Pacific. These are only two of the many burdens my people carry even as they try to build a worthy and enduring house for their new democracy, that may serve as well as a redoubt for freedom in Asia. Yet, no sooner is one stone laid than two are taken away. Half our export earnings, \$2 billion out of \$4 billion, which was all we could earn in the restrictive markets of the world, went to pay just the interest on a debt whose benefit the Filipino people never received.

Still we fought for honor, and, if only for honor, we shall pay. And yet, should we have to wring the payments from the sweat of our men's faces and sink all the wealth piled up by the bondsman's 250 years of unrequited toil?

Yet to all Americans, as the leader of a proud and free people, I address this question: Has there been a greater test of national commitment to the ideals you hold dear than that my people have gone through? You have spent many lives and much treasure to bring freedom to many

lands that were reluctant to receive it. And here you have a people who won it by themselves and need only the help to preserve it.

Three years ago, I said, thank you, America, for the haven from oppression, and the home you gave Ninoy, myself and our children, and for the 3 happiest years of our lives together. Today, I say, join us, America, as we build a new home for democracy, another haven for the oppressed, so it may stand as a shining testament of our two nations' commitment to freedom.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that as to the quorum which I am about to make a point of order with respect to the lack thereof the time charged be equally divided between both sides. But I have not yet made that suggestion.

Mr. President, I shall not suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DIXON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as if in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

SUPPORT OF THE SMALL BUSINESS INNOVATION RESEARCH PROGRAM EXTENSION

Mr. DIXON. Mr. President, I rise today in support of legislation which provides continuation of the Small Business Innovation Research Program through fiscal year 1993.

This program is strongly supported by the small business community, which is confident of its ability to make a major contribution to the Nation's \$50 billion research and development effort.

Small businesses constitute 99 percent of all business establishments in this country; employ the majority of our Nation's work force; generate about 45 percent of the gross national product; and are acknowledged as leading innovators.

However, prior to enactment of this act in 1982, small business was virtually shut out from Federal research and development efforts. This statement is supported by facts which reflect that, prior to 1982, small business received only 2.5 to 3 percent of the total Federal research and development budget. Moreover, regrettably, that share was steadily declining.

Four years later, it appears that our reliance on the program has been totally justified. There are early indications that the Small Business Innovation Research Program has stopped the steady decline of the percentage of the Federal research and development budget received by small business. Happily, we are beginning to see a reverse to that trend.

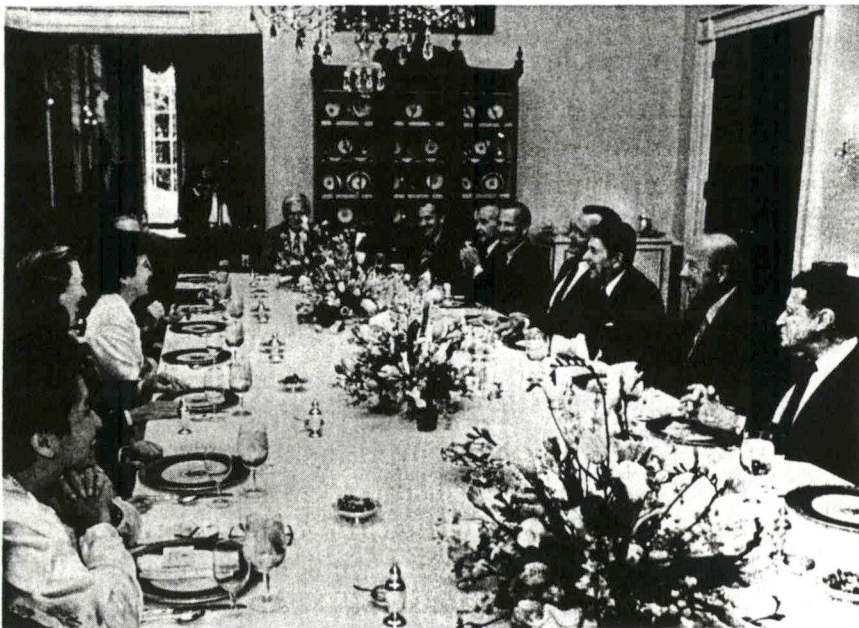
This program has served to convince Government procurement officials that small firms can perform effectively in the research and development arena. Their product is not only of high quality but also is equal in every

by *Hamie Nadel*

White House aides thought they had. If the goal of President Aquino's visit was to forge a strong personal rapport between the two heads of state, then the White House meeting "had certainly achieved that," said one official.

Corazon Aquino stopped the show on Capitol Hill the following day when she addressed a joint session of Congress. Although members of Congress usually wear drab blues and grays, on that day, September 18, the chamber was alive with flashes of yellow as the senators and representatives sported yellow ties, vests, and blouses. Congressman Jim Wright, the House majority leader, had

President Corazon Aquino at White House luncheon. To the left of President Reagan sits Vice President George Bush. To the right of President Reagan sit Secretary of State George Shultz and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. September 17, 1986.



President Corazon Aquino addresses United Nations General Assembly. September 22, 1986.

ordered two hundred yellow rosebuds for the legislators to wear in their lapels. And the familiar chant, "Co-ry! Co-ry!" rang forth from the gallery.

Looking bright and confident in a yellow suit, President Aquino received a standing ovation that lasted more than a minute. She was interrupted by applause eleven times, and many members were close to tears as she delivered a speech that some hailed as "the best ever delivered in Congress."

"Three years ago, I left America in grief to bury my husband," President Aquino began. "Today I have returned as president of a free people." She described the tumultuous election and thanked Congress for "balancing America's strategic interest against human concerns." Declaring that "ours must have been the cheapest revolution ever," President Aquino promised that "as I came to power peacefully, so shall I keep it." And she said that although she did not want to resort to "the sword of war . . . I will not stand by and allow an insurgent leadership to spurn our offer of peace and threaten our new freedom."

She received another standing ovation as members of Congress rushed forward to shake her hand.

"The entire presentation had a magic to it that was really extraordinary," said Senator Richard Lugar, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. "It was one of the highest moments I've ever seen in the chamber."

Republicans and Democrats agreed. "She captured the hearts of a lot of people in that room" said Republican Senator Paul Laxalt. "She touched all the right heartstrings," echoed Democratic Congressman Larry Smith.

As he was escorting her out, Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole told President Aquino, "You hit a home run."

"I hope the bases were loaded," she replied.

They certainly were. Later that day, the House voted 203 to 197 to grant \$200 million in emergency aid to the Philippines. (The aid package was later approved by the Senate.) One congressman,

Republican Toby Roth, objected, saying, "Yes, President Aquino gave a very excellent speech today, but is it worth a quarter-billion-dollar honorarium?"

President Aquino also fared well with the financiers of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, securing a \$300 million loan from the World Bank and \$500 million from the International Monetary Fund. She then arranged for further talks to reschedule payments on her country's mountainous foreign debt.

"There are no more Marcos cronies with their hands in the till," President Aquino explained. "There are opportunities that are ready to be started with fresh capital and fresh management." She pointed out that a climate of political freedom was healthier for economic growth.

All across the United States, President Aquino made one triumphant stop after another. In New York City, she told alumnae and students at her alma mater, the College of Mount Saint Vincent, "I would never have believed that I could face the thousands and the millions of people and give them my message. Most of my classmates remember me as a shy girl." At the United Nations headquarters, she told the General Assembly, "The rights we fought for are universally sought . . . enshrined, not entombed, in the U.N. conventions."

In New Jersey, a check for \$300,000 and the papers to a \$1 million estate were turned over to President Aquino by U.S. lawyers who had found property belonging to the Marcoses. A United

details in all three areas. In addition, Secretary Shultz is prepared to discuss these issues—along with our human rights, regional, and bilateral concerns—with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. These discussions can help to lay the groundwork for a second summit meeting between Mr. Gorbachev and myself in the United States later this year, as agreed at our first summit meeting in Geneva.

I want to emphasize, however, that the Soviet treatment of American journalist Nicholas Daniloff continues to limit severely what is achievable in our bilateral relations.

I therefore urge the Soviet Union to resolve this case promptly before it does even more damage to the relationship between our two countries.

The time has come for practical achievements in *all* areas of our relations. As far as the Geneva negotiations are concerned, the United States has demonstrated that we are doing *our* part to bring about meaningful arms reductions. This round should tell us whether the Soviet Union is similarly dedicated. If the Soviets do share our commitment, there can be real progress on nuclear arms reductions, and it can begin soon.

Statement on Receiving the Report of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution

September 17, 1986

I was privileged to receive today, from Chief Justice Warren E. Burger in his capacity as Chairman, the second report of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution. Since this is the 199th anniversary of the signing of the Constitution, the Commission's report is particularly timely.

In keeping with the significance of the Constitution to the continuing life of our country, the Commission was chosen to celebrate the Constitution's bicentennial as a 3-year lesson for all of us in our history and government. I am particularly pleased by the Commission's cosponsorship of a high school essay contest. The topic, "The Constitution: How Does the Separation of Powers Help Make It Work?," is a challenging exercise that will focus the attention of

our young citizens on the essence of our constitutional heritage. I urge students and teachers in the Nation's high schools to make this contest an important element of the year's curriculum.

The Commission's report demonstrates considerable progress thus far, and much of the credit must go to Chief Justice Burger for his special, personal commitment to the Commission's important work. In retiring as Chief Justice of the United States and dedicating himself to serve as the Commission's Chairman, he has ensured that the Constitution will be honored on its bicentennial in a manner the Nation deserves. I expect to take an active role in the celebration of our Constitution's bicentennial as it proceeds, and I call upon all Americans to support the Commission's work.

Remarks Following Discussions With President Corazon C. Aquino of the Philippines

September 17, 1986

President Reagan. It was truly a pleasure to welcome and meet today with Philippine President Corazon Aquino. Her courage

and her commitment to democracy, mirroring those same qualities in the Filipino people, have inspired the world, and it's

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been an honor to have her as our guest. President Aquino and I discussed her strenuous efforts to bolster the democratic institutions of her country and to ensure its security and strengthen its economy. And I assured her that all America wants the Philippine democracy to succeed and to prosper and that we'll do what we can to help.

These have been trying times in the Philippines. President Aquino has been overseeing an historic transition. In the coming months a new constitution will be submitted which will pave the way for strong, democratically elected local and national governments. In the meantime, President Aquino has been doing her level best to unite her richly diverse people under a banner of freedom and opportunity. Her efforts to reconcile all elements of her society and bring them into the democratic process are applauded here. I might add that her personal bravery in this heroic endeavor to diffuse conflict has won the hearts and imagination of the people everywhere.

Despite President Aquino's efforts, however, well-armed Communist guerrillas remain a threat to democracy in the Philippines. President Aquino and I discussed her strategy to meet this challenge. It includes attacking the root political, economic, and social problems that feed insurgencies. The second half of the formula is building the Philippine military into a professional, properly armed and trained force that is capable of dealing with any threat. The United States stands ready to assist President Aquino in her quest to create a stable and secure land as well as in her commitment to invigorate the Philippine economy.

During our discussion today, President Aquino reaffirmed her belief that free enterprise is the surest path to development, the surest method of opening the door of opportunity and advancement to all her people. Her government stands for free trade and is encouraging private investment. She knows in the long run nothing would better serve the Filipino people than unleashing the entrepreneurial spirit and putting the creative and economy-building power of the marketplace to work. As one might surmise, after hearing this, I'm bullish on the Philippines. I would hope American as well as foreign investors take notice

of this incredible opportunity to help build a country. For our part, we will mold our efforts to encourage development in the Philippines. Today, for example, we discussed the idea of increasing Philippine exports to the United States, including improved treatment under our generalized system of preferences.

We also considered ways in which the Philippines can provide a larger share of the goods and services consumed by the U.S. military facilities within that country. And just a side note, when talking about those bases, our two countries share common interests in the peace and stability of the Pacific region. I'm confident that we will continue to enjoy a strong mutual defense relationship for the foreseeable future. President Aquino reaffirmed today that the military bases agreement will be respected through its current term. I understand and am comfortable with her position. The next review of our defense relations is scheduled in 1988, and that gives us and the people of the Philippines plenty of time to think about it.

In the meantime, I will continue to ask Congress for appropriate levels of economic and military assistance above and beyond existing U.S. base-related commitments. The latest installment of our current aid effort—a \$100 million grant of economic support funds, which I'm pleased to announce will be signed by our respective Cabinet members in a few moments, a \$50 million grant of military assistance, along with a \$20 million package of medical supplies and services—has been approved. In the future, to the largest extent possible, future U.S. aid will be designed to provide the greatest benefit without exacerbating the country's debt burden.

And one last thought: Today governments, businesses, financial institutions, and individuals are dealing with a new kind of government in the Philippines. We're dealing with a noble and honest people—people with ideals, people we can trust. And we place a high value on character and hope everyone appreciates this and takes it into account. A great Filipino hero, Dr. José Rizal, once wrote, "God is justice: He cannot abandon His cause, the cause of lib-

erty, without which no justice is possible." Well, José Rizal, like President Aquino's husband, died for freedom and inspired his nation.

President Aquino and I reaffirmed the commitment of our two peoples to the ideals which so many Americans and Filipinos have given their lives, and we also reaffirm the bonds of friendship and affection between the United States and the Philippines. It was truly an honor to have her here. Thank you, and God bless you.

President Aquino. Thank you, President Reagan. This has been an opportunity to get to know each other, to explore common issues together. Above all, though, I can say that for my part the most important aspect has been the chance to meet each other.

We are both politicians who set great store on face-to-face encounters. Government-to-government contacts have their proper place, yet when the leadership of a country changes in such a dramatic fashion, as happened in the Philippines, it is only right that the Presidents of two such close allies meet and get to know each other. Issues do not generate of their own accord the decisions that will resolve them. In the end, decisions will be made by the people who have the responsibility to make them.

From this meeting today both our governments will go out with a clear sense of priorities, with a recognition that we must both work hard to strengthen the bonds between us. I hope we have set the tone and direction for a new relationship. By recovering our democracy, we Filipinos have recovered our self-confidence and pride and hence our ability to deal with our major ally on an equal footing. This is the only basis for a relationship between friends, and I think we were able to start on that agenda today. I was able to explain to President Reagan the problems we have inherited, all of them rooted in a devastated

economy. I was also able to outline to him what we are doing to set things right. I am gratified that President Reagan understands and supports what we are trying to do.

As you know, we have placed our faith in the private sector as the stimulus of growth. I also briefed the President on the wide range of reforms we have embarked on to resolve our difficulties. A new constitution is in the final stages of drafting. There will be a referendum on it followed by elections early next year. We are carrying out a long-overdue program of military reform. Within this context of an economic reconstruction, political rebuilding, and military reform, we can combat our remaining problem: the insurgency. As you know, we are pursuing a political approach, but this is backed by the military option. In all these areas of rebuilding, I hope we can count on American support and understanding.

But most important, reform is being done in a new environment of freedom, human rights, and democracy. So, as today's discussions showed, we have a lot of values in common again. We admire freedom and hard work in just the way you do. For two countries who have a faith in God, in freedom, in the family, and in democratic values, we should allow nothing to come in the way of an ever-growing friendship. Today was a good beginning, and I thank you all for it.

Note: President Reagan spoke at 1:35 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House. Earlier, the two Presidents met in the Oval Office and then attended a luncheon in the Residence. Following the Presidents' remarks, Secretary of the Treasury James A. Baker III and Philippine Minister of Finance Jaime Ongpin signed an agreement providing for \$100 million in U.S. economic assistance to the Philippines.

Nomination of Air Force September 17, 1986

The President took action to nominate James H. Doolittle as Under Secretary of Defense to succeed Edward C. Tamm.

Since 1982 Mr. Doolittle has been director and chief of the Joint Committee on Armed Forces and the Air Force Committee on Armed Forces. He was general counsel of the committee on Armed Forces and the Air Force. He is an attorney with the law firm of

Nomination of Representative Organization September 17, 1986

The President took action to nominate James H. Doolittle as Representative of the Executive Board of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. He was previously

Since July 1984 Doolittle has been director and chief of the Joint Committee on Armed Forces and the Air Force. He was general counsel of the committee on Armed Forces and the Air Force. He is an attorney with the law firm of

DRAFT

10/25/89

10:00 am

THE STATE VISIT
TO
THE UNITED STATES
OF
HER EXCELLENCY
CORAZON AQUINO
PRESIDENT
OF
THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES

NOVEMBER 7 TO 11, 1989

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

TUESDAY
NOVEMBER 7

*drafts due
10/31*

11:15 pm Her Excellency Corazon Aquino,
President of the Republic of the
Philippines, arrives John F.
Kennedy International Airport,
New York, New York, via Canadian
Government Aircraft from Ottawa,
Canada.

Welcoming Committee.

11:55 pm Arrive the Peninsula Hotel via
motorcade.

Overnight: Peninsula Hotel.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY
NOVEMBER 8

8:00 am- Meeting in the President's
8:15 am Office at the New York Stock
Exchange with Mr. John J.
Phelan, Jr., President and Chief
Executive Officer.

8:20 am- Breakfast in the Board Room
9:15 am at the New York Stock Exchange
offered by the Board of
Directors in honor of
President Aquino.

9:20 am- Open trading of Philippine Fund
9:45 am shares on the Floor of the New
York Stock Exchange.

10:15 am- Meeting in Room _____ at the
11:00 am Forbes Building with
Mr. Malcolm Forbes, Chairman,
Forbes, Inc., and
Editor-in-Chief, Forbes
Magazine, and invited American
business leaders.

*opening
ring bell*

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY
NOVEMBER 8

12:00 pm- Reception in the Gold Room at
12:15 pm the Pierre Hotel offered by the
United States Chamber of
Commerce and the United
States-Philippine Business
Committee in honor of President
Aquino.

12:15 pm- Luncheon in the Grand Ballroom
1:30 pm at the Pierre Hotel offered by
the United States Chamber of
Commerce and the United
States-Philippine Business
Committee in honor of President
Aquino.

1:45 pm- Press Conference in the Gold
1:55 pm Room at the Pierre Hotel with
American and Philippine
journalists.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY
NOVEMBER 8

2:00 pm- Meeting in the Cotillion Room at
2:20 pm the Pierre Hotel with leaders of
the New York Filipino-American
Community.

3:50 pm Arrive La Guardia Airport.

Farewell Committee.

4:00 pm Depart via U.S. Presidential
Aircraft en route Washington,
D.C.

4:50 pm Arrive Andrews Air Force Base,
Washington, D.C.

Welcoming Committee. *Eagleburger*

5:10 pm Arrive the Washington Monument
Grounds, Reflecting Pool via
U.S. Presidential Helicopters.

5:20 pm Arrive Blair House via motorcade.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY
NOVEMBER 8

7:15 pm- Address in the Presidential
7:45 pm Ballroom at the Capital Hilton
Hotel to the Washington
Filipino-American Community.

8:00 pm- Dinner at Blair House with
9:00 pm invited members of The United
States House of Representatives
and the Senate.

*no more
than 12*

Overnight: Blair House.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

THURSDAY
NOVEMBER 9

10:00 am-	Arrival Ceremony at The White
10:30 am	House with The President and
	Mrs. Bush.
10:30 am-	Meeting in the Oval Office at
10:45 am	The White House with President
	Bush.
10:45 am-	Expanded Meeting in the Cabinet
11:30 am	Room at The White House with
	President Bush.
12:00 pm-	Meeting in the Henry Clay Room
12:30 pm	at Department of State with The
	Honorable James A. Baker, III,
	Secretary of State.
12:30 pm-	Luncheon in the Benjamin
2:00 pm	Franklin Room at Department of
	State offered by Secretary Baker
	in honor of Her Excellency
	Corazon Aquino, President of the
	Republic of the Philippines.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

THURSDAY
NOVEMBER 9

- 2:15 pm- Meeting in Room S-221 at the
2:30 pm United States Capitol with The
Honorable George Mitchell,
Majority Leader of the United
States Senate.
- 2:30 pm- Meeting in Room S-211 at the
3:00 pm United States Capitol with Members
of the Senate Foreign Relations
Committee.
- 3:15 pm- Meeting in Room 2172 at the
4:10 pm Rayburn House Office Building with
Members of the House Foreign
Affairs Committee.
- 4:30 pm- Meeting at Blair House with
5:00 pm The Honorable Nicholas Brady,
Secretary of the Treasury.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

THURSDAY
NOVEMBER 9

7:00 ?

7:15 pm- Refreshments in the Yellow Oval
7:45 pm Room in the Family Quarters of
The White House with The
President and Mrs. Bush.

*Marion + Margaret
+ Aquino daughter
18*

7:45 pm- Reception and State Dinner
10:40 pm in the East Room and the State
Dining Room at The White House
offered by The President and
Mrs. Bush in honor of Her
Excellency Corazon Aquino,
President of the Republic of the
Philippines.

*+ toast
before
dinner*

Overnight: Blair House.

*Simon Estes
Switzerland singer*

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

FRIDAY
NOVEMBER 10

8:00 am- Working Breakfast at The
9:00 am Vice President's Residence with
The Vice President.

9:20 am- Wreath-Laying Ceremony at
9:40 am Arlington National Cemetery.

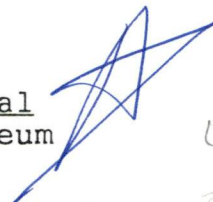
9:50 am- Tour of the Trees and Seas of
10:00 am Life: Philippine Environmental
Rebirth Exhibition at the Museum
of Natural History.

10:00 am- Address in Baird Auditorium at
10:30 am the Museum of Natural History to
invited guests.

11:45 am- Meeting at Blair House with
12:10 am Mr. Michel Camdessus, Managing
Director, International Monetary
Fund.

12:30 pm- Meeting and Luncheon in the _____
1:45 pm Room at the Willard Hotel
offered by the Filipino-American
Foundation in honor of President
Aguino.

*Anayle may go
too.*



*357-2774
Larry O'Reilly
357-2458*

Cheney?

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

FRIDAY
NOVEMBER 10

2:20 pm Arrive Washington Monument
Grounds, Reflecting Pool.

Farewell Committee.

Eagleburger

2:35 pm Arrive Andrews Air Force Base
via U.S. Presidential
Helicopters.

2:45 pm Depart via U.S. Presidential
Aircraft en route Dallas, Texas.



4:30 pm Arrive Love Field, Dallas, Texas.

Welcoming Committee.

5:00 pm Arrive the Anatole Hotel via
motorcade.

5:00 pm- Texas Salute and Reception
6:00 pm in Trinity Hall at the Anatole
Hotel offered by Mr. William R.
Howell, Chairman, J.C. Penney
Co., Inc., and Mr. Tramell Crow,
Chairman, Tramell Crow, Inc., in
honor of President Aquino.

greeted by Gov. Clements

Clements FR starts at 7

Summary Schedule -26-

*GB
may
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*Ford
Nixon?*

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

FRIDAY
NOVEMBER 10

7:00 pm- Dinner in the Ballroom at the
10:00 pm Crescent Court Hotel offered by
Mr. Howell in honor of President
Aguino.

Overnight: Crescent Court
Hotel.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

SATURDAY
NOVEMBER 11

8:00 am- Breakfast at the Petroleum Club
9:30 am with invited oil industry
executives offered by
Mr. Raymond Johnson, Chairman,
Cal-Tex, Inc., in honor of
President Aquino.

9:45 am- Tour of the JCPenney store
10:30 am at Prestonwood Mall.

10:45 am- Ceremony at Baylor University
11:10 am Medical Center unveiling a
plaque in memory of Senator
Ninoy Aquino.

12:00 pm- Luncheon in the Ballroom at the
1:30 pm Crescent Court Hotel offered by
the International Women's Forum
in honor of President Aquino.

Mrs. Bush ?

Private afternoon.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

SATURDAY
NOVEMBER 11

6:20 pm Arrive Love Field.

Farewell Committee.

6:30 pm Depart via U.S. Presidential
Aircraft en route Los Angeles,
California.

7:30 pm Arrive Los Angeles International
Airport, Los Angeles, California.

Welcoming Committee.

8:20 pm Arrive St. Basil's Cathedral via
motorcade.

8:30 pm- Attend Mass at St. Basil's
9:45 pm Cathedral.

10:25 pm Arrive Los Angeles International
Airport.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

SATURDAY
NOVEMBER 11

10:30 pm Her Excellency Corazon Aquino,
President of the Republic of the
Philippines, departs via
Philippine Airlines Flight ____
en route Manila, Republic of the
Philippines.

October 26, 1989

STATE VISIT OF PRESIDENT AQUINO
PLANNING MEETING - 10 A.M.
October 26, 1989
Situation Room

ATTENDEES

NSC

G. Philip Hughes
Karl Jackson
Peter Watson

White House

Judd (?) - Advance Office
Bob Simon - Communications Office
Sean Byrne - Military Office
Cathy Fenton - Social Office
Ann Brock - Mrs. Bush's Office
Bill Harlow - Press Office

STATE

William Black - Protocol
Dan Gowney - Protocol
Helene Kessler - SS
James Nach - Director, Office of Philippine Affairs
Geraldene Chester - Deputy Director, Office of Philippine Affairs
Elise Kleinwaks - Desk Officer, The Philippines

November 3, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR ED McNALLY

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: AQUINO AND 11/44

I called Ken Kashiwahara (415/954-7911). He in turn called Aquino's oldest brother.

According to him, Corazon was indeed in school in Manila in November, 1944. However, when the bombing of Manila began that month, the family evacuated to nearby San Mateo.

He also said none of her immediate family fought the Japanese. Her brothers were too young, and her father was too old.

/

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Aquino Bio

honesty

can be tough

10 years in U.S.

1946-53

1980-83

straightforward, friendly,
informal

Knitting, gardening, cooking
greatest happiness w/family

PHILIPPINES

The Philippines played a dual role in the Vietnam War. The location of the giant military complexes of Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base within the Philippines virtually assured that this country would serve as the primary non-U.S. staging area for the war. Virtually all naval aircraft and ordnance passed through Subic. It served as the main repair station for the Seventh Fleet,* playing host to 1,600 military personnel and 9,000 sailors at any one time. Similarly, Clark Air Base saw such an increase in traffic that a reserve air base on Mactan Island was made operational in order to handle some of the volume. Clark became the hub for all U.S. military air traffic in the western Pacific and the operational hope of the 13th Air Force.

The second role for the Philippines was support for the war effort. Manila had always been a strong champion of South Vietnam, which the Philippines considered the key to the future political direction of Southeast Asia. In June 1964 Defense Minister Tran Thien Khiem* of South Vietnam visited the Philippines in return for which Manila sent thirty-four Filipino doctors to Saigon.* Later in 1964 the Philippines reiterated its support for the defense of Southeast Asia in general and Vietnam in particular under the SEATO agreements. In September 1965, Manila served as the center for the American-sponsored Asian People's Anti-Communist League, which condemned North Vietnamese aggression in South Vietnam. In October 1966, the Philippines hosted a summit of all the nations that had troops in South Vietnam to assess the prospects for peace there. North Vietnam, of course, refused to attend.

Increasing American military involvement in South Vietnam led to the "Many Flags Program" of 1965, in which the United States asked for troop commitments from its allies. Australia,* New Zealand,* and South Korea* quickly responded. President Lyndon B. Johnson* especially wanted Filipino participation. The new president of the Philippines, Ferdinand Marcos, initially refused; but after visits from Vice President Hubert Humphrey,* Senator Mike Mansfield,* Secretary of State Dean Rusk,* and Ambassador W. Averell Harriman,* he relented. On February 19, 1966, Marcos announced that a combat engineering battalion of 2,000 men would be sent. They served until October 4, 1969, when increasing Filipino opposition to the Vietnam War forced their withdrawal. Marcos's support for the war, however, was not motivated simply by feelings of national security. He negotiated aggressively for \$39 million in additional American aid as well as sizable contributions of equipment to the Philippine military. Marcos also made sure that Filipino troops had full access to U.S. military PXs, which they exploited, and that the United States employ Filipino civilians in Vietnam.

The Philippines contributed to the Vietnam War in another, less direct way. During the 1950s, the United States had supported the highly successful Filipino fight against the Communist-led Hukbalahap (Huk) insurrection. This included engineering the ascendancy of the strongly pro-U.S. Ramon Magsaysay to the Philippine presidency. As Paul Nitze* noted in 1965, the Philippine experience

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No. 96

November 6, 1989

WHAT BUSH SHOULD TELL CORY AQUINO

INTRODUCTION

Philippine President Corazon Aquino visits Washington from November 8 to 10. With Filipinos facing widespread poverty and a \$28 billion foreign debt, Aquino will want to discuss economic issues. But the most important matter on the agenda with George Bush is the future of the United States military facilities at Subic Bay and Clark Air Base in the Philippines. The current agreement on the bases expires in September 1991. So far, after three years in office, Aquino has not yet said if she supports extending the American presence.

American access to these facilities, which the U.S. has used almost all of this century, is needed through the early part of the 21st century to allow Washington to meet its military commitments to friends and allies from Northeast Asia to the Persian Gulf. A U.S. withdrawal from the bases would destabilize the region by leaving Southeast Asian sea lanes vulnerable to Soviet military forces based in Vietnam and would strengthen the communist rebels fighting to destroy Philippine democracy. Bush should emphasize to Aquino that he wants to help the Philippines strengthen its democracy and continue its economic recovery, and that a new Bases Treaty will help preserve bipartisan support in the U.S. Congress for continued economic and military aid.

Widespread Problems. Aquino is halfway through her term, which expires in 1992. She remains popular and deserves credit for restoring Philippine democracy, reviving economic growth, and defending human rights. However, her government faces mounting criticism. Corruption scandals are numerous. Rural poverty is widespread, and an overbearing central

bureaucracy stifles economic development. Some \$4 billion in foreign aid is in the "pipeline" and remains unused. Addressing these problems and promoting further economic growth will lessen the appeal of the insurgent Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

The CPP continues its 21-year war, which killed over 3,900 last year and only slightly fewer so far this year. The Philippine military has had increasing success against the CPP, but it lacks supplies. Its victories are often only temporary because the Philippine government does not provide the political and economic support needed to consolidate military gains. The CPP is now selectively attacking American personnel and facilities and has killed three Americans this year. There are about 36,000 U.S. personnel and dependents in the Philippines. The CPP hopes to erode public support for the U.S.-Philippine alliance in both countries.

Despite increasing CPP terrorism against U.S. personnel, Washington has remained firm in its support for Aquino. Since 1986, Washington has given the Philippines about \$1.7 billion in economic and military aid and has pledged a total of \$962 million over 1990 and 1991. Last year alone, the U.S. military spent \$531 million for supplies and salaries in the Philippines. Following Washington's leadership, Japan and several Western European and other multilateral donors will contribute to a five-year, \$10 billion Philippine Assistance Plan. The Bush Administration hopes to contribute \$1 billion to this plan, but it faces tough opposition in Congress. Responding to congressional insistence that U.S. aid promote reform, however, disbursement of U.S. economic assistance is timed to Manila's achieving specific economic reforms such as privatization of government-owned companies and decentralization of development administration.

Spurring Economic Development. When Aquino sees Bush, she is certain to request a large increase in U.S. aid. It will be more than the U.S. is ready to provide. Bush should counter by urging Aquino to proceed with the free market reforms needed to spur Philippine economic development. Bush too should offer Aquino greater trade opportunities with the U.S., which reduce dependence on aid and loans. For example, Bush could offer to encourage an

The Philippines

Official Name — Republic of the Philippines

Area — 115,831 square miles

Capital — Manila (population 8 million)

Population — 63 million

Workforce — 23 million: Agriculture, fishing — 49%. Commerce, services — 37.9%. Manufacturing, construction — 13.1%. Government — 10%.

Natural Resources — timber, petroleum, nickel, iron, cobalt, silver, gold.

Agricultural Products — rice, coconut, sugar cane, corn, bananas, abaca, tobacco, pineapples.

Source: Thomas J. Timmons, ed. *U.S. and Asia Statistical Handbook, 1989 Edition* (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, 1989).

increase in Philippine textile exports to the U.S. and urge Aquino to investigate a free trade agreement with the U.S. Bush should offer a new deal on the military bases, which establishes a more equitable relationship between U.S. and Philippine forces and allows Manila to participate gradually in the pro-democratic Asian defense network.

Specifically, Bush should:

- ◆ ◆ Emphasize that continued U.S. military access to bases in the Philippines is needed to deter Soviet forces that threaten the sea lanes and that the regional stability ensured by the U.S. presence benefits Filipinos.

- ◆ ◆ Offer joint use of the U.S. military facilities to the Philippine forces and offer to re-equip Philippine air and naval forces gradually so that they can assume some regional defense roles.

- ◆ ◆ Affirm that the U.S. will not be deterred by terrorism from the Communist Party of the Philippines and offer to increase military aid to \$300 million annually, which will enable Philippine forces to use the small unit tactics needed against the CPP's political support network.

- ◆ ◆ Tell Aquino that large increases in U.S. economic assistance will be very difficult to obtain, but that the U.S. is committed to fulfilling its \$1 billion pledge, over five years, to the Philippine Assistance Plan.

- ◆ ◆ Urge Aquino to complete such structural reforms as bureaucratic decentralization and privatization of government-owned companies.

- ◆ ◆ Urge Aquino to seek free market alternatives to reduce foreign debt, such as significantly increasing the size of Manila's program to swap debt for equity in government-owned companies.

- ◆ ◆ Warn Aquino that she must resist protectionist pressures from the Philippine Congress, especially proposals such as those that would weaken protection of intellectual property rights like patents for pharmaceuticals.

- ◆ ◆ Offer to expand trade opportunities by such measures as increasing Philippine textile exports to the U.S.

WILL THE BASES REMAIN?

The most important and most controversial bilateral issue confronting Aquino and Bush is the future of the U.S. military facilities. The current Military Bases Agreement expires in September 1991. Since 1986, Aquino has refused to state her position on this issue, preferring instead to say, "I am keeping my options open."

U.S. forces in the Philippines contribute to stability in the Pacific. Stationed at Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base, U.S. air and naval forces fulfill their military commitments from Northeast Asia to the Persian Gulf. U.S. Navy deployments to the Persian Gulf in 1987 and 1988, for example, were made much easier by access to Philippine bases.

The Soviet Military Threat

This access will be needed as long as the Soviet Pacific Fleet threatens the Pacific sea lanes. Though Soviet officials say that they have cut their Pacific Fleet by 57 ships, such cuts make little difference in military strength. The Soviet Pacific Fleet still contains two *Kiev* class anti-submarine aircraft carriers, one *Kirov* class nuclear-powered cruiser, 140 submarines (including 75 nuclear attack submarines), and about 100 major surface combatants. Soviet naval ships and TU-16 *Badger* strike aircraft continue to prowl out of Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay.

Clearly, Moscow would like to see U.S. forces leave the Philippines. Soviet propaganda pushes this. In broadcasts to the Philippines, the Soviets seek to appeal to Philippine nationalism.¹ Gorbachev also has offered to give up the base in Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay — which he calls merely a “material and technical support point” — if U.S. forces leave the Philippines. But Moscow has quietly been building ties with the CPP. In 1987, leaders of CPP front groups GABRIELA and the May First Movement trade union federation visited Moscow, and CPP leaders now openly seek Soviet aid.²

What the Filipinos Think

Preoccupied with fighting poverty and the communist insurgency, Manila does not have the resources to modernize its external defense forces. The Philippine Navy can barely meet inter-island transport needs, and the Philippine Air Force mainly assists Army operations. Defense of the Philippines, thus, is primarily the *de facto* responsibility of the American forces at Clark and Subic pursuant to the 1951 U.S.-Philippine Mutual Defense Treaty.

The vast majority of Filipinos seem to want the U.S. to keep its bases. A nationwide poll taken last year, for example, finds support for the bases as high as 80 percent.³ Yet, the U.S. bases long have been opposed by Philippine nationalist intellectuals, who view them as a vestige of the former U.S. colonial administration. Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus has said that the bases do not defend the Philippines and are linked to America's past “manifest destiny...adopted to the nuclear age.” Last year, Manglapus led an often acrimonious review with the U.S. of the current Military Bases Agreement. This review yielded a U.S. commitment to seek \$481 million per year in economic and military aid for 1990 and 1991, up

1 Radio Moscow to Philippines, “Need for U.S. Bases in Philippines Questioned,” in *FBIS-Soviet Union*, June 7, 1989, p. 12.

2 Richard D. Fisher, Jr., “Mr. Gorbachev's Philippine Initiative,” *Asian Wall Street Journal*, December 13, 1988.

3 “Most Filipinos Favor U.S. Bases, Poll Says,” *Washington Post*, August 30, 1988, p. A8.

sharply from the \$180 million a year from the previous 1983 review. Manila is expected to want even more aid, and the negotiations are expected to be long and difficult.

Legislative Opposition. Philippine Secretary of Defense Fidel Ramos has stated his "personal" opinion that the bases should be phased out by 1998, the centennial of the U.S. liberation of the Philippines from Spain.⁴ The chairman of the Philippines Joint Executive Legislative Council for Alternative Uses of the Bases, an official body formed to advise the government, said the most "concrete" proposal they are considering would be to turn Clark Air Base into an international airport.⁵ The Philippine Senate, which must approve the next Bases Treaty by a two-thirds vote, is a hotbed of opposition to the bases. In August, twelve Senators sponsored a resolution calling for the removal of the bases by September 1991.

In recent weeks, however, the Philippine House of Representatives has challenged the power of the Senate to approve the Treaty by proposing that the Treaty first be put to a national referendum.⁶ The Philippine Constitution says only the Senate can decide to hold a referendum. Most Senators now oppose holding a referendum, while Aquino apparently favors it.

CPP Terrorism against Americans

In addition to its political campaign against the bases, the CPP this year started a campaign of selective terrorism against American personnel and facilities. On April 9, guerrillas of the CPP's New People's Army (NPA) attempted but failed to ambush about 40 Americans just outside Clark Air Base, and on April 19, NPA guerrillas bombed a communications relay station in Benguet Province, causing slight damage. On April 21, NPA assassins killed U.S. Army Colonel James "Nick" Rowe, an advisor with the Joint U.S. Military Advisory Group, which administers U.S. military aid. In mid-June, police in Angeles City, outside Clark Air Base, captured communist documents listing nine U.S. servicemen to be targeted by the NPA.⁷ And then on September 26, hours before Vice President Quayle was due to arrive in Manila, two civilian U.S. military employees working at Camp O'Donnell, about ten miles north of Clark, were killed, probably by NPA guerrillas. The CPP has also threatened to attack U.S. diplomatic personnel and Agency for International Development officials.

In May, U.S. Commander in Chief of the Pacific forces Admiral Huntington Hardisty said that American troops in the Philippines would defend themselves if attacked.⁸ But at Clark, U.S. personnel remain

4 "Ramos favors closing of US bases by 1998," *Philippine Daily Globe*, February 27, 1989, p. 1.

5 *Philippine Daily Globe*, October 12, 1989, p. 1, in *FBIS-East Asia*, October 12, 1989, p. 43.

6 "House Okays Plan for Referendum on U.S. Bases," Manila Far East Broadcasting Company, October 16, 1989, in *FBIS-East Asia*, October 17, 1989, p. 43.

7 *Manila Bulletin*, June 19, 1989, p. 24.

8 Claro Cortes, "US troops will defend selves against NPAs," *Philippine Daily Globe*, May 6, 1989, p. 1.

vulnerable; about 70 to 80 armed NPA guerrillas patrol the area and all *barangays* (barrios) around Clark are infiltrated by the CPP. A police captain in Angeles City, just outside Clark, who is responsible for patrolling about five miles of base perimeter has only a motley collection of guns, four vehicles, and 200 liters of gasoline a month.⁹ While there are about 2,800 Philippine troops based in the Angeles City area, in theory, the captain would be the first to respond to an NPA attack on the base because he is stationed just outside the main gate.

A Vietnam War era law prohibits U.S. military aid from being used to help the Philippine police, who are often the first line of defense for U.S. personnel against NPA attack. After returning from his recent trip to the Philippines, Vice President Quayle proposed that an exception be made in this law so the U.S. could begin to aid Philippine police forces.¹⁰

Employing 68,000 Filipinos overall, the U.S. because of its facilities is the second largest employer in the Philippines after the government. In addition to bilateral assistance, the U.S. spent \$507 million in 1987 and \$531 million in 1988 on local purchases and salaries. The Angeles City police captain told The Heritage Foundation that, should U.S. forces leave Clark, "The CPP will strengthen, they will grow, and they might control the province."

AQUINO'S RECORD AS PRESIDENT

When she became President following the military coup against Philippine strongman Ferdinand Marcos in February 1986, Aquino presided over a coalition government that contained elements from the political left and former Marcos government officials. Her very high popularity and aura of incorruptibility have helped her survive several violent military coup attempts, the last of which failed in September 1987.

Aquino has succeeded in reviving traditional personality-based Philippine democracy, starting with a January 1987 plebiscite for a new constitution, which revived the bicameral Congress eliminated by Marcos. Elections for the Senate and House of Representatives were held in May 1987, followed by elections for provincial and municipal officials in February 1988. The final step was elections in March for the *barangay* officials, the lowest level of government.

Strong Candidate. Aquino remains the most powerful politician, and her *Laban ng Demokratikong Filipino Party* (Struggle of Democratic Filipinos or LDP) is the most powerful party. But her leadership is increasingly challenged by an independent Congress, and this will get worse as jockeying

9 Interview, Angeles City, September 16, 1989.

10 Paul Bedard, "Philippine bases lease must be open-ended, Quayle warns," *Washington Times*, October 3, 1989, p. A7.

intensifies for the 1992 presidential elections.¹¹ No candidate is likely to beat Aquino, yet she has stated repeatedly that she will not run for reelection. She is under pressure from her family to do so, however.

Tentative Economic Recovery

Aquino inherited an economy in which the gross national product (GNP) had declined 9.4 percent for 1984 and 1985 combined. This turned around with growth just under one percent in 1986, 5.7 percent in 1987, and 6.7 percent last year. In the first half of this year, however, GNP growth dipped to 5.3 percent.¹² The good news is that the largely consumption-led growth of 1987 and 1988 is becoming more broadly based on investment. Capital investments amounted to \$423 million for the first half of 1989 compared to \$233 for the first half of 1988. Almost half of this is foreign, largely from Hong Kong, the Republic of China on Taiwan, and Japan.

Along with economic growth, however, inflation has risen to over 10 percent annually. Manila's trade deficit for the first half of this year was \$1.4 billion, more than double the \$639 million trade deficit for the first half of 1988. Manila hopes to cover its foreign exchange shortfalls by securing more

The Philippines Economic Profile

Per Capita Gross National Product (in current U.S. dollars):

1988: \$667
1987: \$600
1986: \$549
1985: \$585

By Comparison, 1987 GNP

U.S.:	\$18,530
Japan:	\$19,500
Malaysia:	\$1,920
Vietnam:	\$200
India:	\$300

Exports to U.S. (constant \$ U.S.)

1988: \$2.7 billion
1987: \$2.4 billion
1986: \$2.1 billion
1985: \$2.3 billion

Imports from U.S. (constant \$ U.S.)

1988: \$1.9 billion
1987: \$1.5 billion
1986: \$1.36 billion
1985: \$1.37 billion

Source: Thomas J. Timmons, ed. *U.S. and Asia Statistical Handbook, 1989 Edition* (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, 1989).

11 "Getting Ready for the Big One," *Asiaweek*, September 29, 1989, p. 27.

12 Rigoberto Tiglao, "Treading a narrow path," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 12, 1989, p. 78.

foreign loans.¹³ But the Philippines' current foreign debt of about \$28 billion requires interest payments that already consume about 44 percent of the national budget.¹⁴

In mid-September, Manila obtained about \$1 billion in new loans to finance its debt. Manila also secured World Bank and International Monetary Fund financing to buy back over \$1 billion in other debt at a discount.¹⁵ Instead of a straight cash buy back of debt, Manila paid for it by issuing new bonds funded by the IMF and World Bank.

Manila has been less eager to decrease its debt by allowing creditors to swap debt for equity in Philippine enterprises. Manila limits these debt-equity swaps to \$180 million a year. Manila's Central Bank argues that such swaps fuel inflation. But they have been successful and noninflationary in such countries as Chile, which has linked them to privatization of government-owned corporations. Currently, the \$180 million has been entirely used, which effectively puts the debt-equity program on hold for this year.

Fading Free Market Agenda

In 1986, Aquino advisors like the late Finance Minister Jaime Ongpin advocated free market economic policies designed to decentralize government and promote growth. Ongpin initially opposed massive land reform and worked to reduce government intervention in the market. Aquino did eliminate many monopolies set up by Marcos to benefit his political allies, like those that controlled the sugar and coconut industries. But following Ongpin's departure from her government in September 1987, Aquino's commitment to free market reforms and government decentralization has faded.

This is bad news for the prospects of economic development, especially in the countryside.¹⁶ About half of Philippine households earn less than the official poverty level of \$540 a year, which even Aquino admitted in July, "The lowest 30 percent of our population remains mired in unchanging misery."¹⁷ In the province of Negros Occidental, where the communist insurgency is strong, 80 percent of the residents live below the poverty line.

Bureaucratic Obstacles. Another barrier to economic growth is the overcentralized control of economic development funds. The only progress has been some pilot programs in provinces like Negros to decentralize funds into block grants so local officials can quickly meet development needs. But Manila balks at genuine decentralization of the control of these funds,

13 *Ibid.*

14 "Debt Comes First," *Asiaweek*, August 5, 1988, p. 48.

15 Matt Miller, "Philippine Debt Plan Calls For \$1 Billion in New Loans," *Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly*, September 25, 1989, p. 14.

16 Gustav Ranis, "Manila's tragic triumph," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, September 28, 1989, p. 153.

17 Keith B. Richburg, "Aquino Concedes Many Still Mired in Misery," *Washington Post*, July 25, 1989, p. A-17.

primarily because Manila bureaucrats want to retain the political leverage that these funds give them. The result is that \$4 billion in committed foreign aid remains blocked and unused in the bureaucratic pipeline.

Other Factors in Economic Growth

To raise rural incomes, Manila relies on a land reform program approved in June 1988. This program would redistribute about 25 million acres out of about 49.25 million acres under cultivation. While the agricultural sector only generates 27 percent of GNP, it employs 45 percent of the 23.5 million labor force. The eventual goal is to limit landowners to no more than 12.4 acres, plus 7.4 acres for each child working that land. The program is estimated to cost \$3.1 billion for its first four years, but it is now on hold because of a land sale scandal involving government officials.¹⁸ After a ten-year grace period, the land reform law will be applicable to large export-oriented agribusiness plantations. This might break up the plantations, which could decrease exports and increase rural unemployment. Already, some plantations are delaying capital investments because they are unsure they will be able to use the land after ten years.

Economic growth might increase if Manila accelerated its efforts to privatize some 243 government-owned and controlled corporations (GOCCs) acquired from 1972 to 1984. Last year, Manila allocated \$669.9 million to subsidize the GOCCs and to date has sold only twelve of them. This program has been tarnished by charges that some businessmen and government officials benefited from insider trading of bank shares in the privatization of the Philippine National Bank.¹⁹

Threat to Foreign Investment. Protectionism also inhibits economic growth. Marcos relied on heavy regulation of foreign trade to protect domestic industries as well as his political allies. By the end of 1988, Aquino had lifted nontariff import barriers, like import license requirements, on about 1,200 items. But government officials still seek to protect inefficient import-substituting industries, and last year, the Philippine Senate passed a bill requiring pharmaceutical companies to market generic drugs. This bill forces these companies in the Philippines, many of which are American-owned, to forego the advantage of their investments in brand-name drugs. Another bill pending in the Philippine Senate would eliminate foreign patents on pharmaceuticals, thereby threatening intellectual property rights. This is dangerous because it will discourage

18 Matt Miller, "Corruption Is Bringing Manila's Land Reform Program to a Near Halt," *Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly*, July 10, 1989, p. 1.

19 Victor Sollorano, "Insider-Trading Allegations Sully Privatization of PNB," *Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly*, July 10, 1989, p. 28.

foreign investment. Manila also limits foreign ownership of Philippine companies to 40 percent. This further deters foreigners interested in buying government-owned companies.²⁰

THE CPP'S CONTINUING WAR

Following its boycott of the February 1986 election and its breaking off of peace negotiations with the Aquino government in February 1987, the Communist Party of the Philippines has lost much public support. The CPP has been weakened by leadership struggles, violent internal purges, and the capture of key leaders. But there has been only a slight decrease in the tempo of the CPP's war. The CPP's New People's Army's strength has fallen from over 25,000 in 1987 to about 23,000 in December 1988.²¹ Last year, the CPP's war killed over 3,900 Filipinos, about 10.6 a day. Through this June, the rate had fallen to 8.6. In early 1989, the military said that the CPP controlled or influenced 7,827 *barangays* out of 41,000, while other estimates claim 12,000.²² A reported 304 CPP members support "sparrow" assassination squads in Metro Manila alone. From January to early July, they killed 65 soldiers and police, and through early October, they killed four of Aquino's Presidential Security Group. On February 26 in Candoni, a village in Negros Occidental Province, NPA guerrillas burned a post-harvest facility and rice mill funded by the Canadian government, causing \$24,000 worth of damage. Partly because of such intimidation, Ottawa has decided not to renew or extend its successful aid program in Negros. The CPP is also trying to intimidate Japan into ceasing its economic assistance.²³

Torture and Executions. The CPP behaves like Cambodia's Khmer Rouge. In April and May, in Laguna and Quezon Provinces on the island of Luzon, mass graves were discovered of victims of a CPP internal purge, code-named by the communists, "Operation Missing Link."²⁴ Survivors told of intense torture before the executions, in which up to 200 CPP activists may have died.²⁵ Then, on June 27, NPA guerrillas on Mindanao shot 40 members of a Protestant Church, in part because they did not pay "revolutionary taxes."²⁶

20 Matt Miller, "Struggling Privatization Program Enters Crucial Period in Quest for Momentum," *Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly*, October 16, 1989, p. 20.

21 "Progress, Aims of Counterinsurgency Campaign," *Manila Bulletin*, August 26, 1989, p. 10, in *FBIS-East Asia*, August 30, 1989, p. 53.

22 Lower number supplied by Philippine military; higher estimate in John McBeth, "Long struggle ahead," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 27, 1989, p. 20.

23 "Communists Say Japanese Aid Used Against Rebels," Kyodo News Service, September 6, 1989, in *FBIS-East Asia*, September 7, 1989, p. 36.

24 *Mga Mahalangang Punto Hinggil Sa OPML*, CPP document outlining Operation Missing Link, captured by Philippine military.

25 Macario C. Lorenzo, "NPA Kills NPAs," *Philippines Free Press*, June 17, 1989, p. 4.

26 "NPA rebels behead 2, gun down 38 in Davao," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, June 27, 1989, p. 1; Dr. John Whitehall, "The Digos Massacre," *Christian Anti-Communism Crusade*, November 1, 1989, p. 2.

But in attempting to defend Filipinos against CPP terror, Aquino has come under increasing criticism from human rights groups like Task Force Detainees, Amnesty International, and the New York-based Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights. This criticism is unwarranted because Aquino has sought to institutionalize the defense of human rights through the Commission on Human Rights and by forcing the military to decrease its human rights abuses.

New Tactics. Aquino, Secretary of Defense Ramos, and other Philippine officials think that the CPP can be defeated before the presidential election in 1992.²⁷ Under Ramos, the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) has been streamlined from twelve regional commands to five, and new tactics have been introduced. These tactics stress operations by small units called Special Operations Teams (SOTs), which seek to win rural community support so that local governments can follow up with economic assistance to secure their allegiance. The AFP has also formed over 1,600 Peace and Order Councils, which seek greater civilian support for the AFP. At about \$1 billion, the AFP's budget is the lowest, as a proportion of GNP, in Southeast Asia. There is not enough equipment like radios or medical kits to provision enough SOT units. Peace and Order Councils lack the funding for projects to oppose the CPP.

The AFP also is hard pressed to mount large conventional operations against the CPP. In April and May, "Operation Thunderbolt" deployed large units to attack CPP strongholds in Central Negros. Instead of running from the larger AFP units, the CPP fought back. About 35,000 refugees fled from the fighting, which then strained the government's capability to house and feed them.²⁸ In addition, the governor of the province lacked the resources to build projects that would help win the allegiance of the *barangays* that had been cleared of the CPP.

EXTENDING U.S.-PHILIPPINE TIES INTO THE 21st CENTURY

Bush should use Aquino's visit to Washington to strengthen U.S.-Philippine ties into the next century. As America's only former colony, the Philippines has had a special relationship with the U.S., which has seen American and Filipino forces as allies during World War II, the Korean and the Vietnam Wars. U.S. military access to Philippine bases has promoted stability in Southeast Asia since 1945.

So far this year, the leaders of Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and the Foreign Minister of Australia publicly have supported the continued U.S. military presence in the Philippines. This will be needed as long as Moscow

27 "Government sees victory over insurgents by 1992," *Manila Bulletin*, May 16, 1989, p. 14.

28 Steven Erlanger, "In War's Changing Strategy, the Civilians Count," *New York Times*, June 13, 1989, p. A4.

presents a political and military threat in Asia. U.S. forces also help defend the Philippines, as the AFP is preoccupied with the CPP insurgency and cannot spare equipment to defend Philippine territory.

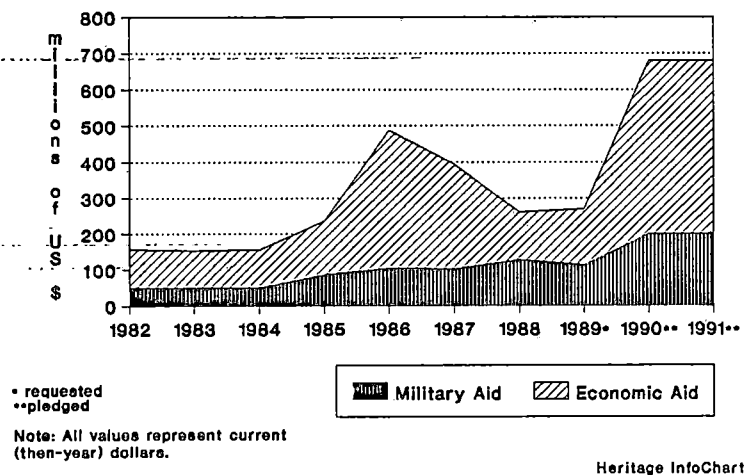
If forced to leave the Philippines, however, U.S. forces have alternatives in the region, including Singapore, Guam, Palau, Japan, and Australia. If a new Bases Treaty provides for a five-to ten-year phase-out of the U.S. forces — as many in the Philippine Senate now appear to favor — U.S. forces may leave much sooner. If the U.S. must leave, there likely will be pressure from Congress and the Pentagon to use the aid now given to the Philippines because of the bases to build the new facilities elsewhere as soon as possible. It is clear that the U.S. Congress will not support large increases in American aid to Manila as part of a new Bases Treaty.

To set the stage for the negotiations on the bases set to begin in December and to move the debate away from the money issue, Bush should suggest to Aquino that Clark and Subic be fully shared with Philippine defense forces, as the U.S. shares bases with its NATO allies and Japan. He also should offer assistance for the gradual reequipping of AFP air and naval forces; eventually the Philippine military should be able to

defend its nation and assume some burden, along with U.S. forces, for regional defense. Manila should be encouraged to become an active partner in the informal Asian democratic defense network instead of relying on U.S. defense forces.

These offers should be tied to Manila's success in defeating the communist insurgency. As the CPP targets more Americans, Washington must be prepared to help the Armed Forces of the Philippines by providing more equipment, like radios and medicine kits, for small unit operations, and to begin to assist Philippine police forces.

U.S. Aid to the Philippines



Besides providing nearly \$1 billion in official bilateral assistance because of the bases over the next two years, Washington has taken the lead in organizing the Philippine Assistance Program, which brings together Japan, Australia, and several European countries in a multilateral effort to aid Manila. The program envisions \$10 billion dollars over five years. Japan is already the largest aid donor at over \$1 billion a year. Last year, Ronald Reagan committed U.S. support for the Plan, and the Bush Administration accordingly has committed to seek from Congress \$1 billion over five years, in addition to aid related to the bases.

Linking Aid to Reforms. This aid, however, is controversial. It is opposed by David Obey, the Wisconsin Democrat who chairs the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, which cut the Bush Administration's initial \$200 million request to \$160 million.²⁹ Obey and others want the aid linked to specific progress by Manila on economic reforms.³⁰ Manila has agreed quietly to this linkage. As a result, disbursement of U.S. economic aid is tied to progress on such reforms as privatization, liberalization of inter-island shipping, and decentralization of aid administration to allow for faster and more efficient use of U.S. aid.

Bush should stress to Aquino that Manila must reduce its dependence on foreign aid and loans. He then should listen sympathetically to her suggestions for increasing trade opportunities. She is sure to want an increase in Manila's quota of textile exports to the U.S. Textile imports to the U.S. are governed by a maze of quotas: 45 specific quotas and 98 other categories under a general quota. In the twelve months ending last August, the value of Philippine textile exports to the U.S. was \$813.5 million. This comprised only 2.8 percent of total U.S. textile imports, but it is the second largest Philippine export category to the U.S. after electrical machinery. Both the Philippine economy and American consumers would benefit from an increase in inexpensive Philippine textile exports. The U.S. is the Philippines' largest export market, totaling \$2.7 billion in 1988. Other major Philippine exports to the U.S. are coconut oil and fruits and vegetables. Bush also should warn Aquino to resist nationalist protectionism that would restrict U.S. access to Philippine markets.

Specifically, Bush should:

◆ ◆ Praise Aquino for restoring Philippine democracy, for promoting a resumption of economic growth, and for defending Philippine human rights. Bush should stress that Americans continue to regard the Philippines as a close ally in Asia and that Washington remains committed to helping Filipinos defend their freedoms.

29 David R. Obey, "Too Much Aid for the Philippines," *Washington Post*, July 11, 1989, p. A25.

30 See Ramon Myers and Richard D. Fisher, Jr., "What Manila And Washington Can Do To Save The Philippine Economy," Asian Studies Center *Backgrounder* No. 88, March 24, 1989.

◆ ◆ Stress that U.S. military forces will continue to need access to Philippine military bases as long as Moscow threatens Asia. He should stress too that the U.S. forces help stabilize the Philippines by providing economic support that reduces the appeal of the CPP insurgency. He should tell Aquino that a new Bases Treaty allowing U.S. access for more than ten years will be the best way to preserve Manila's high level of bipartisan support in the U.S. Congress. Bush should suggest that Aquino consider a new Bases Treaty that allows for Philippine use of the U.S. facilities. If there is no agreement, Bush should say, candidly, the U.S. will leave.

◆ ◆ Offer to increase military aid from its current \$200 million to \$300 million a year. Bush should offer to begin assisting Philippine police forces so that they are better able to counter the communist terrorism that increasingly targets Americans. Bush should offer greater assistance in interdicting foreign support to the CPP. And finally, Bush should offer U.S. aid to gradually re-equip Philippine external defense forces so Manila can cooperate with the U.S. in defending the sea lanes in the northern part of the South China Sea.

◆ ◆ Tell Aquino that large increases in U.S. economic aid related to the bases will be very difficult to obtain. But he should add that he is prepared to fulfill Ronald Reagan's commitment to contribute to the Philippine Assistance Plan. Bush should stress, however, that the U.S. Congress will be much more willing to follow through with this aid if Manila makes real progress with structural economic reforms. Manila should accelerate decentralization of the bureaucracy that administers economic assistance to allow for faster and more efficient use of foreign aid, and specifically, more rapid use of the \$4 billion aid backlog.

◆ ◆ Urge Aquino to seek free market solutions for reducing Manila's \$28 billion foreign debt. Manila should greatly expand its debt-for-equity swap program. Bush should respond to Manila's concerns about the inflationary impact of these swaps by noting the example of Chile, which has actually beat inflation by exchanging its debt for equity in government-owned corporations. Bush should emphasize that this will also accelerate Manila's slow privatization program.

◆ ◆ Warn Aquino that trade protectionism will only delay Philippine growth. Bush should urge Aquino to resist policies from the Philippine Congress that would threaten the patents, copyrights, and other intellectual property rights of American companies operating in the Philippines. Bush should tell Aquino that revisions in the Philippine investment code to allow foreign ownership above the current 40 percent will increase foreign investment.

◆ ◆ Offer to seek ways to expand U.S.-Philippine trade. Bush should urge Aquino to sign a Trade and Investment Facilitation Arrangement, which will allow for a formal mechanism to discuss trade issues. Bush should offer to seek an increase in the Philippines' textile exports to the U.S. Bush should suggest that Aquino consider the idea of a free trade agreement with the U.S.

CONCLUSION

The most important issue Corazon Aquino and George Bush will discuss is the future of the U.S. military facilities in the Philippines. These are needed to preserve strategic stability in East Asia, and they are a boon to the struggling Philippine economy. A U.S. withdrawal from the Philippine bases will lead to instability in the region, strengthen the communist rebels in the Philippines, and tempt Moscow to meddle in Philippine affairs. Bush should urge Aquino to support a new Bases Treaty but he should offer a new deal. This deal should allow Filipinos to carry the burden for their own defense and to play an active role in the pro-democratic Asian defense network.

Serving Both Countries. Bush also should urge Aquino to proceed with structural economic reforms that will lessen Philippine dependence on foreign aid and loans. Bush should offer increased trade opportunities to Aquino, such as an increase in textile exports, and urge Aquino to consider a free trade agreement with the U.S.

The U.S.-Philippine alliance has helped to preserve political stability that has given impetus to East Asia's phenomenal economic growth since 1945. But this alliance can be shaped to better serve both countries. Corazon Aquino's visit to Washington offers George Bush an opportunity to preserve and strengthen U.S.-Philippine ties through to the 21st century.

Richard D. Fisher, Jr.
Policy Analyst

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CORAZON AQUINO

Putting It Together

How Corazon Aquino is tackling the host of problems she inherited in the Philippines

By Francis X. Clines

PRESIDENT CORAZON C. AQUINO dates her central ideas of politics and government to a sad, intimate, now-cherished time when she made weekly conjugal visits to her husband, Ninoy, during his years as a political prisoner of Ferdinand E. Marcos — years of seething in confinement while he became a legend among Filipinos. She listened closely in those hours at the side of this intensely talkative man who lived and eventually died for the cause of restoring representative government to his fellow Filipinos.

"We did have a very good marriage and an extraordinary one in the sense that how many couples go through seven years and seven months of incarceration?" Mrs. Aquino says in recollection. She is sitting in the simple, muted office where her improbable widow's inheritance, the Presidency of the Philippines, has left her the burden of trying to reignite representative government and extricate her nation from the excesses of the Marcos decades. She is talking of Ninoy in a careful, utilitarian way, not with that ghostly passion that can make Filipino politics seem morbid.

"It would be almost 24 hours every Saturday where just he and I were together, locked up in his detention quarters. We had all the time in the world to open up to each other. It was the beginning of my political education." Ninoy — Benigno S. Aquino Jr., the opposition leader jailed in 1972 under the martial law declared by President Marcos — was assassinated in 1983 as he attempted to step forth from exile into his native land. But he survives to an unusual degree in the spiritual blueprint that guides the woman the nation now calls President Cory as she attempts to craft a new government from the shards of Filipino history, tradition and reborn hope.

She is an amateur at government who can no longer afford to make a virtue of that condition as she hurries to try to cope with a breathtaking raft of changes. Her immediate needs include a new constitution, followed by sweeping, reliable elec-

tions for a new legislature and for thousands of municipal and provincial offices; an upending of the Marcos system of patronage and "warlord" loyalists; the revitalization of the battered economy, and, most difficult of all, perhaps, a stemming of the guerrilla war waged by the Communists who are waiting, like other jaded witnesses, to take the measure of the new President's shortcomings.

The first two months of her presidency have seen the nation's mood shift from euphoria to uncertainty as she proceeds with on-the-job training. The dregs of the Marcos political machine, sensing this, have a mounted street demonstrations that were interesting not so much for their size as for Mrs. Aquino's silence about them. Before, she had dominated the streets; now, she remains busy in the gray, often dull world of office, thereby putting at risk, perhaps, the sense of unlimited possibility implied in her historic ascendancy. Predictably, some of her supporters are complaining that she is not translating her early winning style into substance. Such may be the fate of all politicians who promise a better life. As partisans begin to criticize her initial attempts at managing the Government, even as she must reinvent it, Mrs. Aquino herself talks yearningly of restoring closer contact with the people to tell them her first lesson of office: that true democracy is a matter of daily labor, not charismatic miracles.

SO FAR, PRESIDENT AQUINO HAS BOLSTERED civil rights to underline her populism. But she also arrogated most government powers to herself while asking the nation to trust her to restore full representative government within a year. Mrs. Aquino's appointees are buoyed by her initial personal strengths of style in office, but at this early instant, their talk must be counted mainly as mere optimism. She talks of the need for hard labor to build an actual record for herself. Unproven as she is, however, she already has become what her husband never was to be, President of the Philippines.

"Ninoy would outline certain questions and then he'd say, 'Well, this is how you would answer that.' He did, as a matter of fact, coach me from his prison cell," says the woman who still consults her husband's position papers and quotes him in her speeches. In the prison room, in solitary confinement, the officially silenced Ninoy forced Cory to shed her shyness to become his spokesman and to keep the opposition alive. "The first time I was so nervous," she says, recalling the act of speaking alone in public. "But then, like everything else, once you get the hang of it, then it's really no big deal."

Mrs. Aquino seems to know she must maintain her composure and exude that "no big deal" sense of control over all the roiling contradictions of her race with history. In fact, the public watch over her self-confidence is one of the hallmarks of the new Filipino politics, even as these dry and crucial days of constitutional reform proceed under her anxious eye.

"I ask people, 'Look, aren't you convinced that I'm totally

different from Mr. Marcos?" "she says, chafing somewhat under the singular executive powers — "dictatorial" say her critics — that she has assumed in this transition period. "Are Filipinos so unbelieving?"

In reply, Mrs. Aquino offers the smile that seems part grief and part joy, part resignation and part determination, a national symbol known to the world now that her sudden, shocking triumph over Mr. Marcos has become only prologue to her need to govern.

Outside her rather lightly guarded office, the Filipino weather is well beyond the balmy days of the "people power" revolt in February, when the crowds reveled in the streets in their insistence on helping Mrs. Aquino depose President Marcos. These days, the seasonal tropical heat is felt in heavy sheets that seem to militate against the old ebullience. The main voices to be heard lately, as the nation heads toward its monsoon season, are those of the steady gatherings of special-interest complainers: poor people demanding land and jobs, politicians demanding patronage guarantees, military officers demanding fresh tokens of gratitude. These are merely the tidier challenges facing the 53-year-old President, and they are reminders, at that, of the dictatorial trappings that are still greatly feared here in a scattered, complicated nation of 55 million whose politics bubble with the forces of nationalism, oligarchy and violence.

The larger problems for the neophyte executive include a ravaged, declining economy suffered by a society that is split between an impoverished rural majority and a frustrated urban elite. Mrs. Aquino recognizes that a rapid economic turnaround is her best hope both for maintaining her populist support and blunting the dogged Communist guerrillas who control an estimated 20 percent of the nation's provincial territory. "Without peace we cannot have any economic recovery," she says, describing her main dilemma. "And at the same time we do have to offer some economic programs; otherwise, the guerrillas will not return to the fold."

The insurgent fighting continues as the President and the guerrilla leaders play a cat-and-mouse game that has not yet produced the cease-fire and amnesty emphasized by Mrs. Aquino when she was a candidate. No less treacherous personally for her, perhaps, are the traditional cabals of Filipino politics. Hardened veterans at her back view her as the ultimate anomaly in a Machiavellian world whose routine machinations include backbiting and assassination.

"Just look, any of them could take a pop at her," says one loyalist, more casually than anxiously, as he stands in the lobby of the picture-windowed guest quarters — a glass house if there ever was one — that Mrs. Aquino uses as her office on the grounds of Malacanang Palace. She maintains her fatalism, however, commuting every morning to Malacanang from her suburban home. "If someone wants to use a bazooka on me, it's goodbye," she says. "If it's my time to go, I'll go." She smiles the Cory smile, suffused with the blend of optimism and cynicism that galvanizes her inner sanctum.

Nearest to her, and most loyal, too, in the guest house are three men who passed her ultimate test — they stayed close to Ninoy during his detention.

Joker Arroyo, her executive secretary and nonstop counselor, was a leader among human-rights lawyers, some of whom were murdered and most of whom suffered from pro-Marcos bias in the courts in long years of fighting the abuses of martial law. Friends say he is motivated not so much by the lyric idealism that the outside world enjoyed in the Philippine revolt as by a furious resolve to keep after life's grinding trials. He plays the puckish amateur at the center of power as he sits at the luncheon table with the Aquino staff kidding him as "the little president." There is laughter in the early days of this administration. Mr. Arroyo feeds it with mock threats to order staff gatherings of morning communion and aerobic exercises, then he wonders how long he can last at this business of government. Then again, he is political enough to have staked out an office that opens on a private staircase leading directly to the President's office.

He says any doubts about Mrs. Aquino's executive potential were ended in one sudden moment before Mr. Marcos's exile, when the then-President pleaded for permission to stay in his native province. "She thought just a minute and said, 'He must go.' Cool as you please. She can handle it," he says. "But there are pitfalls ahead," he adds, referring to the mixture of deep problems and high hopes that is her lot.

No less vital than Mr. Arroyo is Teodoro Locsin Jr., the Minister of Information, whose talent is in speechwriting and

policy, particularly in articulating the Aquino legend — both in invoking Ninoy and, more and more, in protecting the "people power" image of Mrs. Aquino from the slings and arrows of other politicians. "This shouldn't sound like the Reagan Administration," says the Harvard-educated lawyer, the sole button-down dresser in a Government of *barong* overshirts and yellow frocks. "But I think it's important that Cory not identify too closely with some Cabinet ministers. Let them fight for their policies out there," he says, smiling as tightly as any White House technocrat.

The third man is Rene Saguisag, another human-rights lawyer who serves as the President's spokesman and feels Mrs. Aquino has made a political strength out of being constantly underestimated by people ranging from Ronald Reagan to Mr. Marcos. "This is supposed to be the land of machismo," Mr. Saguisag says. "But Marcos never quite figured out how to handle Cory."

Mr. Marcos's recent imprecation from exile resounds as a fresh dare within the glass house: "Poor girl, she seems to have bitten off more than she can chew." Her reply is indirect and undramatic, a labor of long days of studying questions, according to her aides, and of telling ministers, to the point of annoyance: "I have to see it myself."

Other key figures not so near at hand are Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, the wily official who, sensing he was targeted for purge by Mr. Marcos, provided the dramatic nucleus of military revolt for the Aquino cause after the disputed Feb. 7 election. Privately, other Aquino advisers rate him an enigma at best, as he talks of his devotion to her in the new Government, 14 years after he had helped engineer the martial-law system that led to the jailing of Ninoy and other political opponents. "If some people are wary about us, that is their problem," Mr. Enrile says. "We are not going to do anything to harm this Government." Even so, the minister exhibits the pride, and perhaps the ambition, of the survivor who concedes that Mrs. Aquino brought "people power" to the new Government but notes that he delivered the military forces. "You cannot also minimize the fact that I have been in this country a long time," he says. "I have political support."

"We inherited a package," Mr. Arroyo says philosophically when asked whether Mr. Enrile's crucial role as chief of the volatile military establishment might be compromised in the Aquino era by his past involvement in the Marcos political and business schemes. The Defense Minister shrewdly showed his sensitivity, volunteering to disclose some of his stock holdings in the Marcos monopolies while calling for reform. In similar fashion, Finance Minister Jaime V. Ongpin, a businessman who is one of Mrs. Aquino's most trusted advisers, recently bared some of his dealings in the Marcos years within the powerful Benguet Corporation, conceding it was monopolized by a Marcos brother-in-law, Benjamin Romualdez, but insisting he himself remained ethical and independent as its president.

UNDERLYING THE FINANCIAL disclosures of her colleagues is a problem for Mrs. Aquino: how to exact justice for the abuses of the Marcos years if some of her own appointees can be challenged as less than pristine. There are, for example, continuing questions about a key Marcos official, Jose B. Fernandez Jr., whom she held over as the governor of the central bank, and also about Mrs. Aquino's choice for revenue commissioner, Bienvenido Tan Jr., who, it turns out, had a hidden business connection with a key figure in Mr. Marcos's elaborate involvement in the Filipino economy.

Cronyism is the all-purpose word used to refer to traditional habits of Filipino business and political life, habits that have endured far longer than the two decades of Marcos rule, in which, investigators say, they became an art form for grafters. How Mrs. Aquino undercuts or adapts such habits may be as important for the future as the new constitution and elections she has promised by next spring.

No one expects her to alter such cultural forces as the traditional reciprocity of favors in social and political life — *utang na loob* is the Filipino expression. The question is how well she might adapt this force to free it from corruption. Similarly, the enormous role played by family ties in the Philippines — far greater than any experienced in American political and business life — must be dealt with. Mrs. Aquino's daughter, Maria Elena, is her personal secretary, and her brother, Jose Cojuangco Jr., a businessman, is an adviser, although a discreet one who is not seen much at the glass house.

There is one scholarly estimate that, historically, only about 60 families run the Philippine economy, with Mr. Marcos having reigned as something of a self-serving outsider. Dr. David Joel Steinberg, the president of Long Island University who is also an expert on the Philippines, says the country has an economic aristocracy — "a gap between the entitled few" in the cities, where the Aquino revolt occurred, and the impoverished rural throngs, 70 percent of the population. He measures this gap as "comparable to that in 18th-century France," an estimate implying that President Aquino might indeed be facing the best of times and the worst of times, a fresh ruler with age-old problems.

No one speaks to this point more quickly than Mr. Ongpin, the Finance Minister. "We have got to get some economic flow, some money into the countryside; that's where the people are," he says, speaking of both the economic crisis and the political crisis in the hills, where the Communist guerril-

las made alarming progress in the final years of Mr. Marcos's rule. "An agricultural revolution is vital, and the people out there have to perceive a palpable difference with Cory. They have to see a difference they can put on the table and eat. We don't have a lot of time."

Mr. Ongpin has devised a hasty plan envisioning dramatic increases in agricultural production for the country, which has been suffering widespread problems of rural malnutrition, one of lowest crop yields in Asia and a population explosion in which the current 55 million total is expected to grow to more than 90 million in the next 15 years. He talks urgently of scrapping the Marcos emphasis on government planning in this area, of giving free enterprise dramatic powers to innovate and of obtaining increased foreign aid in the critical opening months of the Aquino administration. "Foreign leaders tell me they want to help the Philippines," President Aquino says, echoing his urgency. "And I keep telling them it is so essential the aid be given now and not much later."

PRESIDENT AQUINO'S approach to the Communist guerrillas, now numbering an estimated 20,000, is characteristically rooted in her husband's experience. Her administration remains deeply motivated by human rights as a political standard, possibly to the exclusion of other important considerations, in the view of some critics. In her first days in office, she made a stirring flourish of restoring the right of habeas corpus and of freeing the hundreds of Marcos political prisoners, notably some leaders of the Communist insurgency. The military has continuing reservations about that, but Mrs. Aquino, remembering her years of detention visits, has carefully identified with her "brothers and sisters" in the hills, asking them to come down and "rejoin your people in rebuilding our country" now that Mr. Marcos has fled.

She draws a distinction between insurgents who took to the hills out of "despair" under political oppression and the more intractable Communist ideologues whom, she warns, she will have "no hesitation" in fighting as Commander in Chief if her reconciliation plans fail. This same ambivalent approach is reflected by the guerrilla leaders, who have praised the popular President for attempting to dismantle "fascist" structures of government but who insist she cannot change what they argue is en-

trenched United States domination and economic imperialism.

The result has been a stand-off of sorts thus far, with President Aquino's ministers privately working on "model plans" for offering amnesty to the insurgents of the Communist New People's Army. "These persons would need counseling, rehabilitation, job placement and legal aid for redress of their grievances," one such proposal states in the sort of sociological terms that might anger some of the Government field officers being stalked by the guerrillas.

In much the same uncertain way, the guerrillas are staying in the hills, pushing toy soldiers about at training sessions, continuing to wage ambush raids and awaiting a clearer definition of the future. The main hope of Mrs. Aquino's aides is to see the insurgency diminish as the economy rebounds. At a minimum, however, it seems likely that dogmatists among the insurgents will continue their fight, anticipating that Mrs. Aquino's early urban-oriented charisma will fall far short of reaching the troubled, isolated peasant communities in a society that is scattered across 7,107 islands.

Tightly braided with the insurgency problem is President Aquino's avowed goal of reforming the armed forces. While the "people power" days saw charming tableaux of soldiers benignly defecting to the Aquino movement in the streets, Mrs. Aquino's advisers have longer, deeper memories of abuses in which pro-Marcos politicians enjoyed the use of local constabulary soldiers as their political cadres, even to the point of allegedly using them for political murders in the February elections.

To demonstrate her resolve to enforce civilian control of the military, Mrs. Aquino carefully prepared to face the military establishment last month on her first official visit, on graduation day, to the Philippine Military Academy. She took a colonel aside to tutor her in saluting and marching properly as Commander in Chief. "The colonel told me you always start with the left foot and listen for the beat of the drum," the President recalls. "But when we rehearsed here in the office I found the music was rather slow, and he said he made it slower for my benefit." She flashes a disapproving glance. "'Well,' I said, 'you just keep it the way it was meant to be played, and let it not be said that the military had to change the rhythm to suit me.'"

Beyond impressing the gath-

ering with her practiced strut and salute, the President pointedly promised a "purge" of the "dishonor" that marked Mr. Marcos's final years, when he favored certain military units and officers in an effort to keep control of the army. She praised the reform movement within the military, but she also noted: "This revolution began with a bullet shot by a soldier into the head of my husband." To assist in reform, the new President has extended the careers of some trusted retirement-age officers. But this is an exceptional step that was first patented by Mr. Marcos to protect his favorite officers and one Mrs. Aquino severely denounced in the campaign.

JUST ACROSS THE grounds from Mrs. Aquino's office, the people still line up at the yellow ropes to go in and view the regal living quarters within the dim expanses of the presidential palace where Mrs. Aquino keeps the abandoned riches of the Marcos family fixed as if in amber. Mr. Marcos, his strategic williness apparently reviving as prosecutors attempt to close in, has been issuing messages from exile that are more contrite than vindictive. But the voyeurism goes forward with President Aquino's blessing lest Mr. Marcos and his excesses be too soon forgotten. Her invitations to the crowds to come and see suggest a political instinct reminiscent of President Reagan's career-long gambit of setting up a contrast between the alleged virtue of ordinary voters and the alleged excesses of professional politicians.

Mrs. Aquino, if she is to lead and reform the nation, needs to find a way of converting her popularity into a party mechanism that can prove reliable in a legislative forum. Such important campaign advisers as Cecilia Munoz Palma, a former judge and a widely respected politician, counseled Mrs. Aquino to work through the Batasang Pambansa, or Parliament, which Mr. Marcos had dominated. However, other advisers, including the Rev. Joaquin Bernas, president of Ateneo University in Manila, doubted the sudden vows of the old pro-Marcos Batasang majority to reform and felt the need for a more revolutionary break with the past, a route which Mrs. Aquino chose in March when she declared a provisional Government.

The method of this decision was revealing, with Mrs. Aquino taking a lengthy period to hear out numerous parties, to the point where Father Bernas, a leader of the "Jesuit Mafia" of Aquino campaign

advisers (he says it is more accurately a "Jesuit-Harvard Mafia"), complained that she was not assertive enough. "She must be more visible," he said then. Mrs. Palma lost out, but praises Mrs. Aquino's sense of involvement. "She already knows that to enforce her leadership she can't remain above the infighting."

President Aquino's decision was dramatic enough for critics who had wondered about her decisiveness; she abandoned the Batasang and seized full legislative powers by her own decree, pending the enactment of a new constitution through plebiscite. The President said she regretted the ensuing criticism, but she also marks it with a certain relish as a measure of her progress toward being viewed as someone more than "Ninoy's widow."

"If people are prepared to criticize me because I am Cory Aquino, then perhaps I could also be given some of the praise sometimes," she says.

Critics object, in particular, to a second facet of the provisional Government, the use of executive fiat to remove from office dozens of provincial and city hall officials who were stalwarts in the extensive Marcos patronage machine. They are being replaced by Aquino supporters, setting off a spoils fight within the Laban and Unido Party movements that had united to make her candidacy possible last December.

The future of opposition politics in the Philippines could prove to be rooted in that intramural patronage fight, in which such powerful, ambitious Aquino officials as Vice President Salvador H. Laurel and Defense Minister Enrile line up as Unido loyalists while Mrs. Aquino is viewed more as the Laban champion. A clearer measure of her problems, or opportunities, in this patronage area should come when new elections are held for local offices and for a new national legislature — within a year by President Aquino's stated preference.

That timing remains uncertain, however, since the constitutional commission of her appointees could, in framing a proposal for a plebiscite, exceed it legally if they wanted to. In the ever-vindictive ways of politics, meantime, former Marcos loyalists are left grousing on the vine while Aquino partisans relish the outcries about cramped liberties from the politicians who only six months ago were proudly entrenched parts of the Marcos machine. Her move for a legislative majority, however, will require a definitive reform of the nation's rather violent

and corrupt history of electioneering.

"Now that I am here, I am determined to make a success of the Aquino Government," she says, declaring that "miracles" ended with Mr. Marcos's flight and all that is left is hard work.

THE CORY PHENOMENON, with its chic headbands and T-shirts, seems quite distant from the enormous national poverty of the rural hamlets and city slums. But some poor women insist she identifies with them on the simple maternal level. It remains to be seen whether Mrs. Aquino, the daughter of a socially and financially powerful family, might wield her remembrances of the detention time with Ninoy as a force for extensive social reform. "It's too soon to say, but maybe she'll be a traitor to her class," her spokesman, Mr. Saguisag, says hopefully.

"Cory embodies the Filipino mother complex, the primordial moon goddess, madonna dolorosa, the grief-stricken widow," says Anton Juan, a professor of theater arts at the University of the Philippines, in trying, like so many other Filipinos, to explain the popular attraction of Mrs. Aquino. "It's all very Catholic."

Inevitably, Mrs. Aquino talks more and more of her husband in the past tense, even as she searches for his lessons in her present precarious position. She faces understandably pessimistic estimates of her chances. No political expert was gloomier than Ninoy himself when he said several years ago that neither he nor any other Filipino would find an impossible job in succeeding Mr. Marcos as President. "Because there's nothing I can do," he said. "I cannot provide employment. I cannot bring prices down, I cannot stop the criminality spawned by economic difficulties."

Sitting in the glass house, Mrs. Aquino listens carefully when these words of her late husband are read to her. Instantly, she rebuts him. "Maybe at the time he was saying those words he knew that he had to provide something very dramatic if the Filipino people were not to abandon him," she says. "He did not foresee it would be his own assassination and that millions of Filipinos would be awakened and would be involved with the country's affairs."

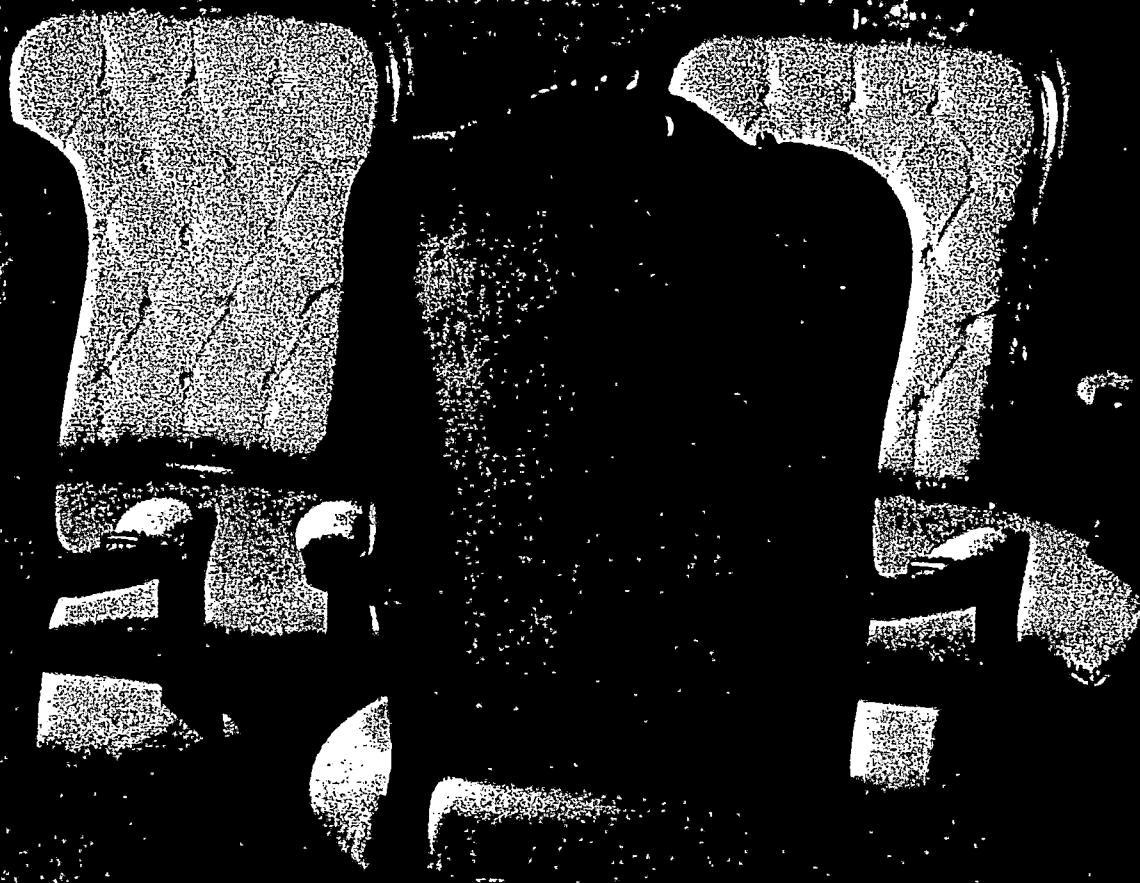
"That was way back," she says of the words of Ninoy and of her political tutelage in the detention years. "After that, I guess I had to be on my own."

April 27, 1986

WOMAN OF THE YEAR

Cory

Aquino Leads a Fairy-Tale Revolution, Then Surprises the World with Her Strength



History, wrote Gibbon, is little more than a "register of crimes, sorrows and misfortunes." It is, equally often, a study in black ironies or the fatal mechanisms of tragedy. Sometimes history is even a cautionary tale, an Aesopian fable on the folly of blindness or greed or lust. But history is rarely a fairy tale, a narrative that instructs as well as inspires. Still less often is it a morality play, in which the forces of corruption and redemption, of extravagance and modesty collide in perfect symmetry.

In 1986, however, as all the global village looked on, history turned into a clash of symbols in the Republic of the Philippines, a nation long relegated to its dustier corridors. There in the Southeast Asian archipelago of 56 million people and more than 7,000 islands,





CLASH OF SYMBOLS

As all the world looked on, life not only imitated art but improved on it. A soft-spoken housewife in yellow who had entered politics just two months earlier led a crusade against a canny and durable autocrat who had ruled for 20 years.



life not only imitated art but improved upon it. In a made-for-television drama watched by millions, two veteran rulers, President Ferdinand Marcos and his wife Imelda, stumbled and fell in their ruthless campaign to extend, with an immodesty broader than a scriptwriter's fancy, their stolen empire.

During the final years of his "constitutional authoritarianism," Marcos had effectively moved his country backward—from democracy to autocracy, from prosperity to poverty, from general peace to a widespread Communist insurgency. Treating the national treasury as if it were their personal checking account, the royal couple had looted their land of perhaps \$5 billion. "Here in the Philippines," said Imelda, "we live in a paradise. There are no poor people as there are in other countries." Even as she spoke, seven in every ten Filipinos were living below the poverty level.

The sudden turn of fortune's wheel came when a confident Marcos, who had never lost a vote in his life, called a snap election. He was thus hoping to satisfy the Reagan Administration's demands that he become more democratic. But Marcos' plans for victory were upset by a slight, bespectacled mother of five, who had entered politics only two months earlier. When she went to fill out her application for the presidency, Corazon Aquino had nothing to enter under OCCUPATION but "Housewife." The last office for which the soft-

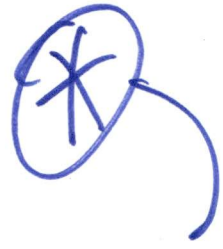
spoken widow had been chosen was valedictorian of her sixth-grade class. In fact, her chief, if not her only, political strengths seemed to be her innocence of politics and the moral symbolism of her name. In Spanish, her first name meant "heart"; in Philippine politics, her second signified "martyred opposition," in memory of her late husband Benigno (Ninoy) Aquino, once Marcos' chief rival, who was slain on his return from exile in 1983. Cory Aquino, at 53, stood in effect on a platform of faith, hope and charity.

The outcome of the allegorical battle seemed pre-scripted, if not predestined. Marcos, who had once been an effective and even popular ruler, in recent years had gradually proved brilliant enough to rewrite the rules and brutal enough to enforce them. On election day in February, in full view of more than 700 foreign journalists, Marcos' men ripped up ballots, bought others and intimidated voters at gunpoint. As many as 3 million names were simply struck off the voter lists.

Then, suddenly, the implausible began to happen. Thousands of volunteer poll watchers, singing hymns and burning candles, formed a human barricade against the armed goons and carried their ballot boxes through the streets to counting stations. Thirty of the government's vote tabulators walked



JAMES NACHWEY



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out in protest against the fraud. The country's Catholic bishops publicly condemned the election, and the U.S. Senate echoed the protest.

Soon the implausible turned into the improbable. Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, the architect of Marcos' martial law, and Lieut. General Fidel Ramos, the deputy chief of the armed forces, broke away from the government, claiming that Aquino was the true winner. As the rebels barricaded themselves inside two military camps, first hundreds, then thousands, then tens of thousands of common citizens poured into the streets to offer food, support and protection, if need be with their bodies, to the maverick soldiers and Aquino backers. As civilians, bearing only flags and flowers, took up positions to defend the military men, the world knew that it was watching more than just an electoral upheaval.

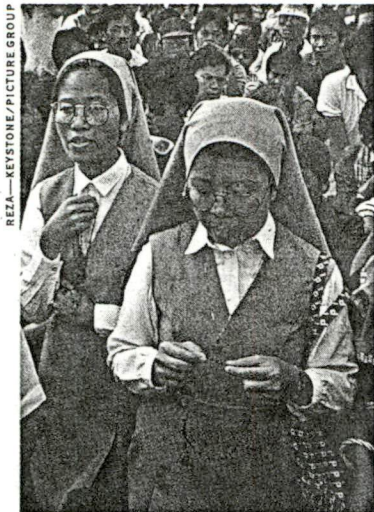
Finally, the improbable became the impossible. Marcos' tanks rolled toward the crowds, only to be stopped by nuns kneeling in their path, saying the rosary. Old women went up to gun-toting marines and disarmed them with motherly hugs. Little girls offered their flowers to hardened combat veterans. In the face of such quiet heroism, thousands of Marcos loyalists defected; many simply broke down in tears.

Less than 24 hours after Marcos had had himself inaugurated, he was being helped off a plane in Hawaii, sickly, exiled and bewildered. His former home, Malacañang Palace,

was now a melancholy tableau of abandoned power, overrun by thousands of revelers. The new leader of the Philippines was the reserved housewife who had worn plain yellow dresses every day of her campaign. For her determination and courage in leading a democratic revolution that captured the world's imagination, Corazon Aquino is TIME's Woman of the Year for 1986.

Whatever else happens in her rule, Aquino has already given her country a bright, and inviolate, memory. More important, she has also resuscitated its sense of identity and pride. In the Philippines those luxuries are especially precious. Almost alone among the countries of Asia, it has never been steadied by an ancient culture; its sense of itself, and its potential, was further worn away by nearly four centuries of Spanish and American colonialism. The absence of a spirit of national unity has also made democracy elusive. Even José Rizal, a political reformer shot by the Spanish and a national hero, called the Filipinos "a people without a soul." Yet in February, for a few extraordinary moments, the people of the Philippines proved their bravery to the world, and to themselves.

Aquino's revolution with a human face was no less a triumph for women the world over. The person known as the "Mother of the Nation" managed to lead a revolt and rule a republic without ever relinquishing her buoyant calm or her



PEOPLE POWER

First came the implausible, then the improbable and finally the impossible. While nuns said the rosary, civilians supported the army rebels with simple acts of kindness, then disarmed government troops with quiet but determined heroism.



gift for making politics and humanity companionable. In a nation dominated for decades by a militant brand of macho politics, she conquered with tranquillity and grace.

By reviving the promise of democracy without bloodshed, all too rare in the past, the Philippine revolution also held up a candle of hope in some of the world's darker corners. Moderate South Africans, for example, could take some heart from the success of civil disobedience; nor could they fail to note the victory of a woman who was once her jailed husband's ambassador to the world, much as Winnie Mandela works in the name of her imprisoned husband Nelson. In overthrowing Marcos, moreover, Aquino helped erase a whole volume of shibboleths. She showed that politics could be the art of the impossible; that force could speak softly and carry a small stick; that religion could be not the opium but the stimulant of the masses; that nice guys, whatever their gender, sometimes finish first.

Aquino's triumph inspired many overhasty and wishful predictions of sequels in Chile, South Korea or Pakistan to the Philippines' "People Power." None of those countries, however, suffer under the conditions that ruled in the House of Marcos. Their economies are not in shambles, their corruption is far from exorbitant, their armies remain unshakably loyal to their military leaders. The U.S., moreover, has shown no sign of wishing to help push their strongmen out the door.

Yet the symbol remains. After watching the smiling shots seen 'round the world, no dictator can sleep quite so easily. And dissidents everywhere now have a stirring precedent and talisman to invoke. Says Congressman Stephen Solarz, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs: "I have found that from Poland to Pakistan and from South Korea to South Africa, those who are committed to democracy see in Aquino a sense of enduring inspiration. She is probably the most popular head of state in the world today."

Invariably, the fairy-tale nature of Aquino's sudden ascension prompted some extravagant mythmaking. To some the woman in yellow seemed a Joan of Arc, a religious figure incarnating her people's hopes as she led them to freedom; to others she was a Cinderella, with one glass slipper instead of Imelda's 3,000 pairs of shoes. Indeed, as startling as it may seem in the secular West, millions of devout Filipinos viewed Aquino as a sort of Blessed Mother, a redeemer who came to resolve the passion play that had begun with her husband's death.

Yet the real world does not lend itself to fable for long. After the revolution comes the *Realpolitik*, and happy-ever-afters soon dissolve. The day after her victory, Aquino found herself in charge of one of the world's most desperate countries, saddled with a foreign debt of \$27 billion, 20,000 armed

*and the people
America sleeps better.*



REA—KESTONE/PICTURE GROUP

Communist guerrillas and a pile of government institutions that bore her predecessors' monogram.

Soon enough the new leader's innocence and inexperience showed. She summarily dissolved parliament and, ruling by decree, had all the country's governors and mayors, regardless of performance, replaced with sometimes unqualified people of her own. She then switched to the other extreme, often dithering over critical decisions. Gradually, however, as the year wore on, Cory the Chief Executive and the Commander in Chief began to prove as surprising as Cory the Symbol. When challenges arose, the novice rose to meet them. While followers of Defense Minister Enrile unsettled Manila with constant threats of a coup, Aquino coolly went about her business. Then in late November, once she was absolutely sure of the military's support and confident of backing from Washington, she fired Enrile, the man who had helped put her in power. Four days later, she concluded the first cease-fire in the 17 years of the Communist insurgency.

At year's end, as the Philippines prepared for a nationwide plebiscite in February on a new constitution, Aquino remained decidedly embattled. Yet her authority seemed as steady as her gift for confounding expectations. To come to power, Aquino had only to be herself, a symbol of sincerity and honesty. But to stay in power, she had to transcend herself. After ten months in office, it was not just her softness that

impressed, but the unexpected toughness that underwrote it; not just her idealism, but a steely pragmatism that made it more rigorous; not just her rhyme but her reason. Aquino moved people, in both senses of the word, by making serenity strong and strength serene.

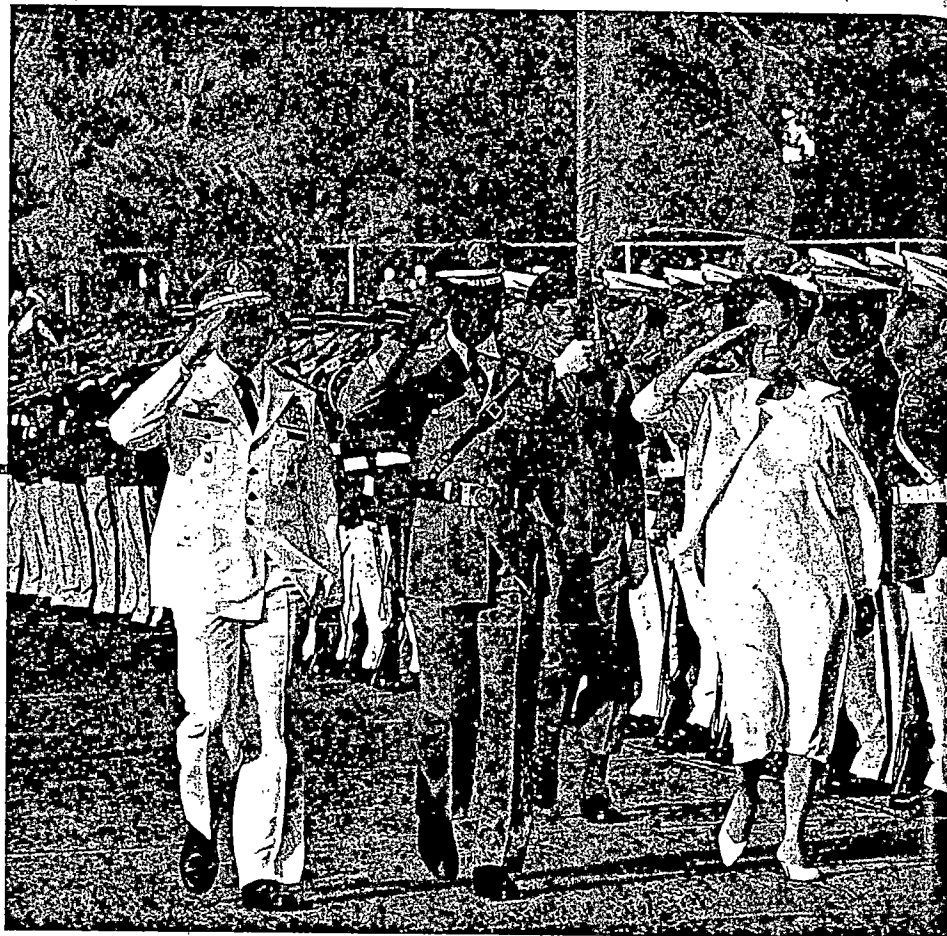
If Aquino's stunning rise allowed the world a rare chance to suspend its disbelief and exult, 1986 also gave it many more familiar opportunities to distrust its leaders and to weep. Late in the year, the Reagan Administration was suddenly shaken by the disclosure that it had been covertly selling arms to Iran in an attempt to win freedom for American hostages in Lebanon. That dubious policy flared into scandal with the revelation that some of the money received for the arms had been diverted, apparently in violation of congressional laws, to the *contra* rebels in Nicaragua. As questions multiplied with a velocity that brought Watergate to mind, a backpedaling White House seemed guilty, at the very least, of high incompetence. At the center of the storm was a little-known National Security Council staff member, Lieut. Colonel Oliver North, whose mysterious doings, and the questions they raised, threatened to enmesh many higher officials in a growing web of intrigue and deceit. At stake was nothing less than the viability of President Reagan's final two years in office.

The crisis of faith in the White House only counterpointed a new air of confidence in the Kremlin. In 1986 Mik-



TAKING CHARGE

After the swearing-in, the happy-ever-afters dissolved. The Commander in Chief soon faced real-world troubles, including restless armed forces. A land dominated for decades by a militant brand of macho politics suddenly had to adjust to a new and unorthodox order.



hail Gorbachev continued his brisk public relations offensive by sweeping the cobwebs out of his foreign service and introducing a little fresh air into the long-closed rooms of Soviet public life. In September he managed to trump Washington when the KGB released *U.S. News & World Report* Correspondent Nicholas Daniloff in exchange for a proven spy. Just two weeks later, Gorbachev again seemed to outmaneuver President Reagan at their unofficial summit in Iceland. The two leaders came closer than ever before to an agreement on nuclear arms, then ended up back where they started.

The U.S. fared little better in its long battle against terrorism. After the Administration launched an air raid on Muammar Gaddafi's Libya in April, the masked face of terrorism was mostly absent from the world's airports and alleyways. Five months later, though, the threat was back with a bloody vengeance. Bombs erupted in downtown Paris, men with machine guns stormed a synagogue in Istanbul, four Palestinian hijackers held a Pan American plane hostage for 18 hours in Karachi, and 17 more foreigners were kidnaped in Lebanon. Many leaders looked to another kind of pressure—that of economic sanctions—to push the white-dominated government in South Africa toward reform. But neither trade embargoes nor the pullout of Western firms seemed likely to douse the flames of racial violence. Indeed, last week the unrest continued, with sporadic clashes with government forces, protests against a state of emergency and "black Christmas" boycotts.

The shadows cast by other menacing forces also lengthened in 1986. The disease known as AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) claimed its 16,128th American life and left millions more rethinking their private lives. The epidemic of drugs became more sobering than ever, as the young turned to an addictive and unusually noxious boiled-down form of cocaine known as crack. One atomic nightmare came true and others were awakened when a Soviet atomic power

reactor at Chernobyl, 80 miles north of Kiev, exploded and then kept burning for several days, a man-made disaster that could cause as many as 5,000 premature deaths by radiation-induced cancer. It was history's worst nuclear accident.

The abuse of technology also sabotaged one of the last vestiges of heaven-bent idealism—the American space program—when the space shuttle *Challenger* turned into a fireball only 73 seconds after takeoff. While millions watched on television, the craft and its seven passengers, including Schoolteacher Christa McAuliffe, disappeared in a sad trail of smoke. The tragedy only deepened when a presidential commission found that the accident had been caused by bureaucratic mismanagement and neglect.



Aquino had in quick succession become the youngest mayor in Philippine history (at 22), the youngest governor (at 29) and the youngest Senator (at 34). He seemed likely to become the youngest President too, as soon as Marcos' second and final term ended in 1973. Before that could happen, Marcos threw him in jail.

As Ninoy languished in prison, his diffident and devout wife became his eyes, ears and voice in the outside world, acting as his liaison with what remained of the Philippine opposition. For seven years and seven months, spending hours alone with her husband in his cell, the upper-class matron received tutorials in opposition strategies from a master of the political arts. In between, she had to smuggle messages to and from him, sometimes on scraps of paper, sometimes in her head.

During the early weeks of martial law, recalls Cory, she could not watch television lest she see Marcos or her husband's official jailer, Defense Minister Enrile (the man who signed the arrest warrant was none other than General Ramos). In her conjugal visits, she had to share her husband with hidden cameras and bugs. Once, when Ninoy's guards simply removed him from sight for more than six weeks, Cory was forced to wander from prison to prison in search of him.

In 1980, however, Ninoy was released from confinement, and his wife from politics, when Marcos granted the ailing prisoner permission to travel to the U.S. for triple-bypass heart surgery. With a trumped-up death sentence over his head at home, Ninoy settled down after his operation in a red brick house in the affluent Boston suburb of Newton. There he returned to scheming for the overthrow of Marcos, while Cory resumed her favored routine of browsing through department stores, raising bonsai trees and relaxing over *Falcon Crest* and *Dallas*. Her American neighbors remember the President of the Philippines especially for her Peking duck.

The years in Boston were the most uneventful of Cory's adult life; she has also called them the happiest. In 1983, however, she had to look on stoically as her husband defied repeated warnings from Manila and decided to return to the Philippines to challenge Marcos, death sentence or no. Hardly had Ninoy's plane landed in Manila when he was met by a group of soldiers and hustled out of the plane. Seconds later, shots rang out, and Ninoy Aquino lay dead on the tarmac.

Ten days after the killing, up to 2 million people streamed into the streets in an unprecedented outpouring of sorrow and shock, transforming Aquino's funeral into the largest procession in the country's history. In the weeks and months that followed, street vendors and socialites, businessmen and radicals all awoke from years of resignation to cry out their rage. Yet the official opposition to Marcos remained fatally factional, divided into more than a dozen self-seeking groups, each of them tainted either by extremist positions, associations with the government or long years of failure.

It soon became obvious that the only person far enough above the political differences to unite the opposition was the martyr's widow. She was also, by no coincidence, the only one who did not seek the role. "I know my limitations," she said three months after the murder, "and I don't like politics. I was only involved because of my husband."

Still the pleas for her candidacy gained momentum. Finally, in October 1985, while delivering a lecture on "My Role as Wife, Mother and Single Parent" at a University of the Philippines sorority, Aquino conceded that she would stand for the presidency—provided that Marcos called a snap election and that 1 million people petitioned her. The very next month, prodded by the warnings of Senator Paul Laxalt, President Reagan's special emissary, that U.S. support for his regime was weakening, Marcos stunned even his advisers by announcing a snap election. One month later, Aquino was presented with her million signatures.

That unanswerable summons sent her into a soul-searching retreat (see box). By the time she emerged, she was a candidate. In order to unite the opposition forces, she swiftly approached Salvador Laurel, who was planning to lead his own ticket against Marcos, with a deal. She would give up her affiliation with her brother's party, Lakas Ng Bayan (LABAN), or People Power, if he would give up his candidacy and be her running mate. Her magic, his machine. After days of bartering, the makeshift pair finally filed their candidacy papers only 90 minutes before the midnight deadline.

On the campaign trail, it soon became clear that Aquino's main asset was, quite simply, herself. Turning her appearances into what amounted to improvised prayer rallies, the small figure in yellow stood before crowds, voice quavering, and delivered heartfelt parables about her life under Marcos. Wherever she spoke, tens of thousands of worshipers came together in a sea of yellow, flashing the L sign of LABAN, and striking up chants of "Co-ry! Co-ry! Co-ry!"

By voting day Aquino had become a powerful political presence. Only eight hours after the election, in the face of widespread cheating by Marcos forces, she seized the initiative by declaring herself the winner. When Philip Habib, Washington's troubleshooter-at-large, came to Manila to suggest a compromise with Marcos, she icily informed him that she would accept nothing less than Marcos' removal from office. "This is my message to Mr. Marcos and his puppets," she declared with quiet fury as the confusion dragged on, "Do not threaten Cory Aquino, because I am not alone."

As Enrile and Ramos staged their revolt in Manila, Cory, 350 miles away in Cebu, at first lay low in a Carmelite monastery. But as the revolution continued, she hurried back to Manila, ready to take charge. While her advisers collapsed in exhaustion around her suburban bungalow and a gunfight continued less than a block away, the President-elect serenely announced that she planned to take a shower and get changed. Then she had herself driven to her inauguration



FIRST FAMILY

The former housewife still turns to her children, especially her daughters, for comfort and for counsel. And being a grandmother, she confesses, makes her happier than being President.



TOAST
(moment of silence for all...)

in her white Chevrolet van, stopping at every red light.

Demureness and determination; steel and silk. In Cory Aquino there has always been the sense of a confidence so strong that it does not need to proclaim itself. Aquino knows where she stands and is sure of the foundations below her: her family and her faith.

Cory's natural air of authority and her sense of noblesse oblige were, in a way, her birthright as a child, the sixth of eight, of Jose and Demetria Cojuangco. After coming to the Philippines from Fujian province in China just three generations earlier, the Cojuangcos had quickly parlayed a small rice mill and a sugar mill into the richest empire in Tarlac province.

For all its wealth, however, the clan was known for an unostentatious reserve, and throughout her childhood, as ever after, Cory preferred to be overlooked. At a series of the country's most exclusive girls' convent schools she was remembered, when she was remembered at all, as a bright, devout girl and the perennial class valedictorian. In 1946, when her family left war-torn Manila for the U.S., the 13-year-old Filipina with bobbed hair enrolled in the Ravenhill Academy, a Catholic girls' school in Philadelphia, and later in the Notre Dame Convent school in New York City. Cory's four college years passed with scarcely a trace at the College of Mount St. Vincent, a small Catholic women's college in the Riverdale section of the Bronx. The self-contained student occasionally entertained her classmates with Filipino dances but otherwise kept to herself, spending spare hours with an elder sister and returning home to the Philippines in the summers. Her classmates recall her only as a "shy little violet" who once played an angel in a college production of *Green Pastures*.

Aquino's upbringing was, in short, the classic, cloistered training in propriety that becomes a thoroughbred young lady of the upper classes. As a Cojuangco, however, she also grew up with as sharp a sense of power as, say, a Rockefeller heiress. For 13 years she was treasurer of the family corporation, Jose Cojuangco and Sons Inc.

Nor could she ever be oblivious to politics. Her father was a Congressman, her maternal grandfather a vice-presidential candidate, one uncle a Senator and another a Congressman.

"Since she was a little girl, Cory has been accustomed to meeting the great personalities of the world," says Benjamin Brown, the former director of the fellows program that brought Ninoy to Harvard's Center for International Affairs. "She is comfortable and confident in those circles." Indeed, in 1954 when the well-bred young lady gave up her law studies at the Far Eastern University to marry Ninoy, the sponsor at the wedding was Philippine President Ramon Magsaysay.

If Cory is a singularly family-oriented person even for a family-oriented culture, she is also uncommonly devout even for a country that is 85% Catholic. And if Cory inspires faith, it is largely because she is inspired by it. Three of her closest advisers are Jaime Cardinal Sin, Archbishop of Manila; Father Joaquin Bernas, president of the Jesuit Ateneo de Manila University; and Father Catalino Arevalo, another Jesuit, who is her spiritual adviser. Addressing the governors of the Asian Development Bank and 1,200 international delegates two months after coming to power, she frankly declared, "I am not embarrassed to tell you that I believe in miracles."

The absoluteness of that belief gives Aquino a firmness that can turn into stubbornness. Indeed, her very real sense that she is an instrument of God's will prompts friends and relatives to refer to her career, again and again, as a "mission." Says her mother-in-law and confidante, Doña Aurora Aquino: "I think this is a mission for her, to put her country in shape. Then she can retire. Ninoy's assassination was his fate. The presidency is hers." Cory often says the same thing.

Faith is also the basis of her fatalism. "If someone wishes to use a bazooka on me," she once said, "it's goodbye. If it's my time to die, I'll go." In the meantime, she exasperates her security men by acting as if she were protected by some invisible shield. Her sense of religion accounts too for Aquino's uncanny patience, her willingness, while awaiting what she regards as the appointed moment, to hold onto a burning match until it singes her fingers.

Yet her piety is very far from passivity. In 1984, returning to Mount St. Vincent College to collect an honorary degree, the mild, once bookish college girl surprised her former classmates with a forceful address. "Faith," she told them, "is not simply a patience which passively suffers until the storm is past. Rather, it is a spirit which bears things—with resignation, yes, but above all, with blazing serene hope."

That is the same quality noticed by Richard Kessler, a sen-

TOAST: Neri's to —, to — and to blazing, serene



REBEL THREAT

The most serious challenge facing the country is the widespread Communist insurgency. Though the nation is now enjoying its first cease-fire in 17 years, many, even within the government, believe the guerrillas will not give up without a long and bloody fight.

ior associate for U.S.-Philippines relations at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "She's a very biblical type of person," he observes. "But it's not from a Hallmark card. It's saintliness as in the Old Testament. On the one hand, you pardon your enemies; on the other, it's an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."

If Aquino's blaze of righteousness is partly responsible for her luminous, even numinous, magnetism, it also explains her unbending ruthlessness in applying an eye for an eye. "In some ways," says a close confidant, "she's an unforgiving person. She never forgets." When a former supporter, Homobono Adaza, went over to Enrile's camp, she not only stripped him of his \$50,000-a-year position on the board of the San Miguel Corporation, a large state-controlled conglomerate, but replaced him with his archenemy Aquilino Pimentel. The flip side of her fidelity is inflexibility. "I have a long memory for people who have helped me," the President recently warned a group of subordinates, "but I have a longer memory for people who have stood in my way."

That air of discriminating toughness was hardened during her marriage, which was, as much as anything, a rhyming of opposites, a marriage of public and private. "She was a very supportive wife," recalls her mother-in-law Doña Aurora. "She was content to remain in the background. She did not meddle, she stayed at home." As it happened, she had little choice. "Let's face it," the President likes to say with a wry mixture of affection and realism, "my husband was the original male chauvinist."

Yet if Ninoy was the public center of the family, Cory was the moral backbone. "He decided that he would be the indulgent parent," she has written, "and I would be the disciplinarian." Often she extended that loving discipline even to her husband, telling him the difficult truths that his cronies preferred to hold back. "Cory was his highest conscience," says Harvard's Brown. "He valued her judgments enormously."

In its way, indeed, the Aquino marriage seemed to play out in miniature the central dialectic of Cory's life between politics and faith. As a traditional Filipino flesh presser, Ninoy regarded all politics as dirty politics and was content to join the rough-and-tumble system in order to beat it. Cory, however, disapproved of such chicanery, and in deference to her, Ninoy and his friends never discussed skulduggery when she was present. "The minute she entered the room," says one

close family friend, "people put on their best behavior. Even Ninoy behaved when Cory was around. I was nervous when Cory served the coffee. She can be very cutting, and she will cut you in public. She has a dismissive gesture of the hand to indicate that she's tired of the discussion or the person. It's very un-Filipino, and it has unsettled a lot of people."

Some problems, though, she could not wave away. Ninoy's free-spirited ways, could never have been easy on his young wife. Yet it seems that her husband's private life exercised her no more than his public one. Wherever he was, Ninoy turned his home into a kind of 24-hour coffee shop in which the loquacious host and his associates would thrash out tactics through the night, while Cory waited on them. The ceaseless bustle must have placed a considerable strain on the retiring patrician woman. "Cory is an introvert, Ninoy was an extrovert," says Ninoy's favorite sister, Lupita Aquino Kashiwahara. "He thrived on people. She doesn't need them."

Those who have known Cory Aquino as wife and hostess are hardly surprised by her quiet authority—only by the suddenness with which she has steeled herself to her new role, transforming herself in 30 months from a self-effacing lady to a self-confident leader. Yet those who have just met her are often so disarmed by her softness that they overlook her ability to act with decisiveness.

The White House, to take one example, was markedly reluctant during the dying months of the Marcos era to accept the petite grandmother with a little girl's voice as a plausible leader of the country that houses the largest U.S. military installation abroad. Even after the election, a White House aide publicly complained, "How the State Department thinks that Aquino can govern on her own is just beyond us."

Since she came to power, however, Aquino has systematically gone about stilling many of those doubts. Before visiting her in Manila in May, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz privately expressed doubts about her ability to govern. Afterward, and ever since, the normally poker-faced Secretary has fairly glowed at the very mention of Aquino's name. When Cory spoke before a joint session of Congress, she received the most thunderous reception given any foreign leader in more than a generation. Indeed, the entire U.S. tour, observed a

State Department official who accompanied her, was "staggeringly successful. She had hard-bitten politicians eating out of her hand."

In her first ten months as President, Aquino has already begun to freshen up the office with an honesty and humility rarely seen in political circles. Before her U.S. visit, for example, she exasperated Philippine couturiers, accustomed to the imperial Imelda, by refusing to spend more than \$40 on any dress. She still prefers not to be called "Madam," an honorific she feels was stained by the former First Lady. In many ways, in fact, she seems as open as before. Upon learning that a local journalist had won a grant to study in the U.S., the President stunned the woman by calling her up to offer her an old winter coat.

That unassuming style reflects a person with a very precise sense of herself and her limits. Aquino recognizes the vanity of vanity. "I've reached a point in life," she says, "where it's no longer necessary to try to impress. If they like me the way I am, that's good. If they don't, that's too bad." It is that same kind of detached self-possession that enables her, in the midst of pandemonium, to remain as composed as a sermon. "A single word of anger from her or any suggestion of violence [at Ninoy's funeral] could conceivably have overtaken Malacañang Palace," relates Emmanuel Pelaez, the Philippine Ambassador to the U.S. "But she was very scriptural. 'Vengeance is mine,' she must have said to herself."

Nor has the presidency yet smudged her sense of priorities. The eldest of Cory's four daughters, Maria Elena ("Ballsy") Cruz, 31, is still her private secretary, and her only son, Benigno III ("Noynoy"), 26, was one of her emissaries to the Communists. Aquino attends no more than three formal dinners a week, and the day on which the historic cease-fire with the Communists was signed found her marking what would have been her husband's 54th birthday with Cardinal Sin and her one-year-old grandson Justin Benigno. Being a grandmother, she says, makes her happier than being President.

With her moral—even moralistic—strictness, Aquino can at times treat even her Cabinet colleagues with the kind of affectionate sternness she lavishes on her children. She allows no smoking in her office, and she expects all the President's men to be prompt and tireless. Once she told Chief Speechwriter Teodoro Locsin to dress less like a gangster. The faint air of maternalism is heightened by her habit of referring to "my people," "my Cabinet," and even, most disconcertingly, "my generals."

For all that, however, Aquino's leadership of her Cabinet has often been uncertain. She manages by intuition, observers say, which is perhaps why her government remains somewhat disorderly. So far, says one minister very close to the President, "she gives herself a B. Her political instincts are superb, but she needs a better balance of close-in advisers. What she really needs is a chief of staff."

At the center of the confusion, and the controversy, are the human rights activists, whom Aquino admires for their idealism and especially for the faithfulness with which they stood by her husband during the dark days of martial law. Ninoy's lawyer Joker Arroyo is her executive secretary; Ninoy's cellmate Jose Diokno is chairman of the Presidential Commission on Human Rights; Ninoy's friend Locsin is her speechwriter. Many people feel that Aquino is too protective of these advisers and that they are too protective of her. The prime target of these charges is the principled but overworked Arroyo, who sometimes spends as much as six hours a day huddling with the President.

The conflict between personal loyalty and public policy becomes even more vexing when it comes to Aquino's own large family. If ever the President moves, as promised, to redistribute national wealth, she can hardly afford to overlook the wealth of the Cojuangcos. More troublesome still are the activities of her younger brother and close adviser Jose ("Pep-

ing"), who has been accused of reaping personal profits from two new casinos in Manila.

Having changed the rules of Philippine politics, moreover, the self-professed housewife often finds herself judged by the old rules. In restoring her country's freedoms, for example, she is content to go about her business while Marcos loyalists stir up trouble in the streets and Cabinet ministers speak their minds to the 26 daily newspapers in rumor-mad Manila. The resulting appearance of dissentious sound and fury is, she says, simply a sign of the government's self-confident strength: democracy in action. Others take it for weakness.

Likewise, her slowness to act while former Defense Minister Enrile was openly challenging her authority was widely seen as a symptom of her habit of praying and delaying. Yet her admirers point to the Enrile firing as an example of an inspired sense of timing. "She's an extraordinarily good judge of people and performance," says Republican Senator Richard Lugar, who led the U.S. team of observers at the February elections and returned to Manila in August. "She has instinctive feelings of loyalty and of who is pulling with her."

Certainly, her swift if belated stroke of decisiveness against Enrile dispelled in a single blow much of the turmoil that was unsettling Manila. And when she went on to ax four controversial ministers, while signing a cease-fire with the

DIANA WALKER



UNEASY ALLIES

The Cabinet is made up of both moderates and leftists. Ministers often speak their minds openly to Manila's free-wheeling papers, creating an impression of dissention and pandemonium. Aquino considers that just democracy in action.



*disproved
Stalin*

that she will not hesitate to "take up the sword of war." Perhaps the best weapon she could wield against the growing Communist threat would be an improved economy. As it is, her presence and her free enterprise policies have already restored a little business confidence. As capital outflow has all but halted, hard-currency reserves, down to only \$200 million in February, are now back to \$2 billion. Yet the economy is still in desperate shape and dependent upon outside aid, especially from the U.S. In Manila, more than one in every two people does not have a full-time job, and in the countryside, four children in every five are suffering from malnutrition. Real wages are no higher than in 1972, and the economy will have to sustain a robust 6% annual growth rate for six straight years just to get back to where it was in 1981.

As she contemplates the enormous challenges before her, Aquino can take heart, perhaps, from her rare gift for surprise. Stalin is said to have claimed that "you can't make a revolution with silk gloves." Edward Bulwer-Lytton, the British 19th century novelist, believed that "revolutions are not made with rose water." And Oliver Wendell Holmes pronounced that "revolutions are not made by men in spectacles." In coming to power on a wing and a prayer, Aquino has already disproved them all.

Aquino has also begun to disprove the predictions of her husband, who used to say that whoever succeeded Marcos was "doomed to fail" because of the troubles the person would inherit. His wife ended up with that chaos, and burdened too with all the impossible expectations she had awakened. In addition, she enjoyed no transition period and no advance planning. To make matters worse, she has had to manage a three-party government made up of moderates, leftists and the military. "Given the mess she's inherited," says a senior Washington official, "I think she has been very successful."

Most of those who know Aquino well are even more confident that her iron will and her driving sense of duty will not allow her to give up. In a poem he gave her for her 41st birthday, Ninoy described his wife as "unruffled by trouble, undeterred by the burden, though heavy the load. Nothing is impossible..." His sister Lupita, whose relations with the President have sometimes been frosty, now speaks with the fervor of the converted. "I believe that she was born and raised for this role," she says. "After she spoke before the U.S. Congress, I said to myself, 'Ninoy, you can rest in peace. She is the President now.'"

Yet perhaps the greatest danger before the reluctant leader is, finally, a private one. As she becomes ever more the President, she may become less and less the ordinary person—attending PTA meetings, making pasta and praying with her children—who captured her country in the first place. In growing more assertive, she may relinquish some of the gentleness that was her greatest strength. Ultimately, in mastering politics, she may have to let politics master her.

Clearly, that problem tears at her. Aquino worries when her friends tell her that she is too honest, and laments, "I don't want to be dishonest." She frets that she can no longer afford to be humble, and she misses the freedom to retreat into her family and her privacy. "I am torn," she said just before firing Enrile, "between acting like a President and like a human being."

Some might say that she has set herself an impossible task in trying to balance those roles, to season force with humanity and realism with faith. Yet if there is one thing that Aquino has already committed to the safekeeping of posterity, it is her gift for stretching the limits of the possible. Last year, the widow with the radiant smile managed to turn history into something of a fairy tale. If she can now bring something of the morality play even to a hardened political world, history itself, like most of the forces she has already met, may one day be quietly transformed.

—By Pico Iyer.

Reported by David Aikman/Washington, Nelly Sindayen and William Stewart/Manila

Communist rebels, Aquino pulled off a strategic coup of her own. Few could doubt that she had mastered the Napoleonic axiom that "justice means force as well as virtue."

That radical shake-up also succeeded in soothing, for the moment, some of the restiveness of the 250,000 men of the army. General Ramos, the head of the armed services, has declared himself repeatedly, in word and deed, to be fully behind the President. Nevertheless, as many as 6,000 young officers in the Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM), outraged at Enrile's ouster, may yet make trouble.

The military will stay quiet only if the President deals decisively with the Communist threat, which has spread to 64 of the country's 74 provinces. Few expect the present 60-day cease-fire to hold, and many hard-liners on both sides cannot wait for it to collapse. Aquino's unswerving Catholicism and her calm distaste for radical reforms make her highly unsympathetic to the Communist cause. Yet she is convinced that most of the rebels were driven to the hills not out of ideology but out of desperation, and can therefore be won back by negotiation. As the second stage of talks concluded last week, however, the guerrillas were still demanding a coalition government and the removal of U.S. bases, while the government was offering only a package of social and economic reforms, including "amnesty with honor." If the talks break down, Aquino has already warned

WOMAN OF THE YEAR

A Christmas Conversation

Throughout Malacañang Palace there was a festive air. In the hall below the President's office, a large Christmas tree stood festooned with white ribbons and ornaments. The weeks of coup rumors were over now, and the presidential staff was visibly relaxed. The 60-day cease-fire with the Communist insurgents was under way, despite some violations, bringing the promise of the first peaceful Christmas in the Philippines in 17 years. Dressed in a navy blue dress with red piping, President Aquino was in a holiday mood as she greeted Hong Kong Bureau Chief William Stewart and Manila Reporter Nelly Sindayen. At the end of the hour-long conversation, however, there was a moment of great poignancy. As she spoke about her memories of her husband and her obligations to her country, the President's eyes filled with tears. It was, by all accounts, the first time she has cried in public since becoming Chief Executive. Excerpts from the talk:

Q. How do you feel after ten months as President?

A. Well, much better, of course. Ten months of experience is definitely very helpful. It's helped my self-confidence. It's still not an enjoyable task. I don't think it ever will be, but certainly it is most fulfilling. I think that's the rewarding aspect of the job.

Q. Why do you think that you have become such a world-wide phenomenon?

A. Well, I don't know. Maybe it's because, first of all, I'm a woman, a widow, and maybe also because I have had some unique experiences. Before, I thought my life was nothing unusual. But I guess that starting with my husband's incarceration, I did experience some unusual situations and events. Also, my husband's assassination received such worldwide attention. If my husband had not been Ninoy Aquino, people would not have bothered with me.

Q. What have been your most important achievements so far?

A. Well, first and foremost is the fact that people believe in their government, and they have confidence and hope that things will change for the better. My husband used to say that the sad part of the imposition of martial law was that the Filipino people no longer believed in traditional institutions. How can you do anything if the people do not believe in each other or their officials? I don't want to say that this is my achievement. It is the Filipino people together who were able to believe in themselves because of what they were able to do in the election and then in the revolution. Because of this belief in each other, they were now also able to look up to their leaders and follow their leaders. While we have not achieved total unity, I am confident we are working toward that end with the coming plebiscite on the constitution.

Q. Six years from now, if it is clear you are still needed and the people want you, will you run again?

A. (laughing) I think I was needed just for the transition, when people had to find somebody they could believe in, someone not out of the traditional political mold. Somehow, in the people's perception, I fit that particular role. But I am sure that six years from now, there will be many qualified people, and I will have earned a well-deserved rest.

Q. As you look back at your life, what people or events influenced you most?

A. Well, both my parents influenced me a lot. While it is true we were very comfortable, we never had too much. My mother saw to it that we would appreciate everything that we had. As she put it, it was not good to have anything in excess. It was also impressed upon us that we should respect our elders. I remember when I was little, they said I asked a lot of questions. It wasn't the thing to do at the time. But it was a very happy childhood. Because we had such a close-knit family, I was determined that I should also be very attentive to my children.



Q. People often comment on your remarkable composure. Does some of this come from your family?

A. I think from my father. He was very calm. I don't remember him getting angry very often. In fact, in my whole childhood, he scolded me only once. He was so quick to forgive that it was difficult to understand. My mother was not so forgiving. She was more the fighter. This is where I must get it from. Normally I'm a peaceful person, but if I am threatened, I fight back. I'm not about to take everything that comes to me.

Q. Did your husband have great influence on you?

A. From the beginning. There were many things I didn't have to do when I was single that I had to do once I was married. During his campaign for mayor of Concepcion, I was very shy. When I felt that people were looking at me, I just wanted to hide. So my husband really forced me to come out in public. I would have done *anything* but that. I had to ride in a carabao [water buffalo] cart so that people could say, "Look, Ninoy's wife may have studied in New York and she may come from a wealthy family, but she can ride in a carabao cart." This was not my idea. We walked in the rice fields, and once we had to cross a stream. It was thigh deep. I looked at that water and thought, Am I supposed to wade in there? So I called to Ninoy, and I was expecting him to help since we had been married only a year. But he called to one of his security men and said, "Carry her." (groaning and laughing) I would have gladly waded in, but here I was in the arms of one of his security men. I was so angry and thought, Gosh, the least he

could have done was carry me. We slept that night in one of the barrio homes that didn't have a bathroom, and I said, "Ninoy, you know I really have to go to the bathroom." And he said, "There's a pineapple can." (*great laughter*) I said, "Oh, no! There's nothing else in the house?" And he said, "No." Later, he said it was my baptism by fire. And I thought to myself, What did I do to marry somebody like this?

Q. Did things change after your husband was elected mayor?

A. No. We lived for two years in the little town of Concepcion, where we had electricity only from 6 in the evening to 6 in the morning. I would think to myself, This is getting to be too much. Then I got to be a soap-opera addict. It was the only thing to keep me company, so I'd listen to the radio. Thank God for transistor radios! I also learned how to knit, things I wasn't particularly attracted to before. Suddenly I became such a homebody, knitting while listening to soap operas. Then trying to cook. It was really a very boring existence. If I hadn't had my religion and made my vows to stick with this man for better or worse, maybe I would have had second thoughts.

Manila was only 2½ hours away, and I used any excuse I could think of to get to Manila. First I decided I was not going to get a pediatrician from the provinces. I told Ninoy, "Look, this is our first child, and let's have the best pediatrician for her." So, naturally, once a month, I had to bring her to the doctor in Manila.

Sometimes I used to think, What's happening to me? For a time I thought I couldn't speak English anymore because I had nobody to talk to. I really deteriorated. Nobody wore shoes there because it was so dusty. We wore "step-ins." We went to the local movie, but there were fleas and bedbugs galore, so we'd have to bring our raincoats to put on the chairs. (*more laughter*) I guess I must really have been in love with my husband to have put up with all of this. He used to tease me later that those were the happiest years of my life, and I would say, "Oh, definitely not!" Then it occurred to me that maybe he had thought all this out so that I would be prepared for everything else.

Q. Were you interested in politics?

A. Oh, yes. It was just that . . . well, I marveled at my mother-in-law [Doña Aurora Aquino] and how she could campaign. She was perfect at it; she could give speeches. And I thought, Thank God she can do this for me! She was the type who could kiss babies. As the wife of the mayor in Concepcion, I was expected to go to every wake. Initially, the corpses would be in a bed with just a sheet or curtain over them. My mother-in-law could handle all this, but it was all I could do to look at them. Many nights I could not sleep. And sometimes Ninoy promised the widow that we would look after the children. And I would say, "Oh, Ninoy, did you really say that? We already have a child." Talk of culture shock! After spending seven years of my life in New York, to come to this small town where everybody wanted to know how we lived, what we ate! As I said, it must have been because I loved my husband so much.

Q. Was your husband religious then?

A. That came with jail. His incarceration certainly improved him. And improved me. And also our children. In the past, I had figured that so long as I didn't do any mean things, I'd be O.K. In other words, it was a negative thing rather than something positive. But once he was in prison, it brought out a whole new set of values for both of us. In the past, he had concentrated on how to get to the presidency, and everything was just concentrated on that goal. For my part, I had followed the path of least resistance: O.K., if I have to show myself, I'll do it. But I didn't go beyond that. I didn't go beyond people I knew. I just didn't reach out. Then, all of a sudden, with my husband in prison, he was suffering, I was suffering. Yet we knew that others were worse off. We didn't have to worry about where our next meal was coming from or whether our children could go to school. So then, I guess, I started to worry about other people. I guess I identified myself with the victims of Marcos' injustice.

Q. Do you believe God has a plan for you?

A. God has a plan for all of us, and it is for each of us to find out what that plan is. I can tell you that I never thought the plan was for me to be President. But it seems it is. During these past ten months, I really believe it has been necessary to have a woman in this position. Women are less liable to resort to violence than men, and at this time in my country's history, what is really needed is a man or woman of peace.

Q. Do you think the cease-fire with the Communists will work?

A. I always believe in trying.

Q. Have you had special troubles because you are a woman?

A. At one point last year, when my opposition colleagues told me not to go to the UNIDO convention, I made it clear to them, "Look, you people are probably all smarter than I am. You may even be right 95% of the time. But I think that maybe 5% of the time I may have some of the right answers. And I am not going to allow myself to be coerced into not doing something I believe I should do. You always say I am very important to you. If I'm so important, why can't I do what I want to do?" So I made it very clear to them that either I do what I believe I should do, or else let's call it quits. That was a turning point for me.

Q. What do you hope for most for the Philippines, and what do you think, realistically, is possible?

A. What I hope for most, what I believe people really want, is a chance to live in peace and the opportunity for a decent life. I always say that my first priority is to generate enough jobs for the unemployed. If I can just come closer to that goal, I think maybe I will have done my job. People really ask for so little. During the floods and typhoons, when I go out and deliver relief goods, there is so much appreciation and gratitude in their faces that I think to myself, Gosh, what are we really doing? It's only a little rice, a little food. Yet they are so appreciative. They're not asking me for big things, so if I can just give them the basics . . . They're not even asking for homes. All they're asking for is a job. ■



DIANA WALKER

Starting the Campaign with Hope and a Prayer

As Corazon Aquino agonized more than a year ago over whether to challenge Ferdinand Marcos for the presidency, she was closely observed by TIME Correspondent Sandra Burton, who was assigned to Manila. In the following account, Burton, who is writing a book on the Philippines, recalls how the future President made the toughest decision of her life.

During the week after Marcos' announcement of snap elections, Cory was anxious and confused as she moved from one meeting to another. Though few knew it at the time, she was quietly undergoing a crash course in the art and issues of presidential campaigning under the tutelage of her brother José (Peping) and a selected group of advisers from business and academia.

One consultant, a communications specialist from the University of the Philippines, presented her one Friday morning with the findings of a voter survey just conducted in the Manila metropolitan area. He delivered a lengthy lecture, complete with columns of figures laboriously drawn on a blackboard. Impatiently, Cory asked him to "just give me the rough estimates of what people think now." His conclusion: voter satisfaction with Marcos, which had plummeted shortly after her husband's assassination, had gradually inched up to the point where 30% were for Marcos, 30% against and a high 40% undecided.

Far from being the political novice people liked to consider her, Cory was able to draw on the considerable knowledge and acumen she had absorbed during her years as the wife of Marcos' chief rival. She quickly concluded that the figures were not as bad as they seemed.

"Ninoy always said that the administration has a captive 30%, the opposition a stable 30% and that what elections are all about is how to bring over the 40%."

Pointedly, she queried the professor about how to appeal to the undecided voters. "Do the people understand abstract things like truth, justice and freedom that I always talk about or do they only understand material things?" The professor was evasive, so Cory described a trip she had made as chairman of a drive to aid the economically depressed island of Negros. "The people welcomed me, but it was because I was bringing them a check, which meant rice for them," she said frankly. "I have the impression that if elections are held, we are lost, because only Marcos can give them rice and pesos." Then, restless at so much inconclusive talk, she excused herself to go to a nearby church for Mass. "If you have some answers," she said curtly in parting, "please let us know."

Prayer is an important element in Aquino's daily life and decision making. After she has queried a variety of family members, technocrats and veteran politicians, she asks for divine guidance. Although waiting for inspiration may slow her down, it also produces resolute action once she makes up her

mind. On this occasion, she felt she had exhausted the advice of others without finding an answer. Aquino says that when she entered the sanctuary, she "prayed as I had never prayed before, saying, 'Please, Lord, tell me what to do.'"

The following day, as supporters pressed harder than ever for a commitment, she sought escape. First she went on a shopping expedition arranged by her daughter Viel and bought dress fabrics in her trademark yellow color. Later she treated herself to two home video movies selected by her sister. "One," she said, "was about a widower who cannot forget about his wife—something nice and light with no complications. It made me happy."

On Sunday morning, Nov. 10, Aquino went to the Manila Memorial Park cemetery to attend a Mass for dead family members, as she had done on the tenth day of every month since her mother died. In the course of lunch afterward with the celebrant, Monsignor Orlando Panican, she repeated the critical, unanswered question: Could the opposition, if it put up a common candidate, beat Marcos?

"Monsignor, you have been dealing with the barrio people for so long, can you tell me?" she asked. "Do you think they know that the main cause of their suffering is Marcos? Do they realize and believe that the opposition can give them a better life? Can they understand abstract concepts like truth, justice and freedom?"

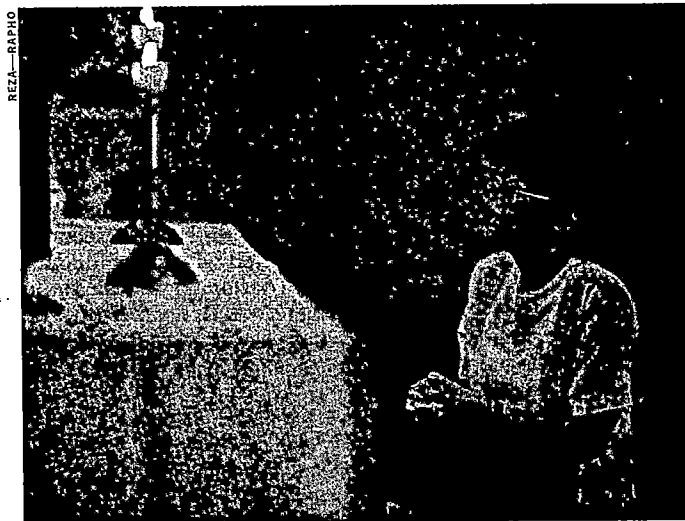
The priest's reply made a powerful impression. "Yes, they can," he said, "in the same way they can understand abstractions connected with Marcos, because he personifies evil and suffering." Then, asked Cory, "how do you personify truth, justice and freedom?" The priest was un-

equivocal: "You must be certain that the person you select is very different from Marcos. Then it will be easy." There it was—the idea given flesh in a way that Aquino intuitively understood and could translate to the Filipino electorate. By the end of the meal, she knew what she would do.

Nonetheless, she went ahead the next day with a spiritual retreat, planned earlier to help her reach a decision, at a convent of the Sisters of Perpetual Adoration just outside Manila. "I had one day free, and I wanted to spend it praying," she explained. She told her Jesuit spiritual adviser that she wanted to fast, but he urged her not to. "The nuns will be so disappointed," he said, "if they cannot offer you food." She insisted, adding that she would bring only a few crackers to keep up her strength. In the end, Cory could not refuse the nuns' hospitality, and she sipped a cup of their cream of mushroom soup with her crackers.

Ten hours of meditation confirmed her in the earlier decision. "We had to present somebody who was the complete opposite of Marcos," she said, "someone who has been a victim." She was modest but unflinching in her judgment of just who that person should be. "Looking around, I may not be the worst victim, but I am the best known."

—By Sandra Burton/Manila



While wrestling with a decision: "Please, Lord, tell me what to do"