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**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13693  
**Folder ID Number:** 13693-007

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**Folder Title:**  
State Dinner Toast for President Aquino 11/9/89 [OA 6270]

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To Bob.  
Date 1/7 Time 4:10

**WHILE YOU WERE OUT**

M. Patricia  
of Pres.'s office.

Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message \_\_\_\_\_  
Once in 1981 →  
How many times the  
Pres. visited the  
Philippines.

[Signature]  
Operator



SS#8925267  
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

*Christine  
Gear*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Themes for Toast for the State Dinner in Honor  
of Philippine President Aquino, November 9, 1989

Attached are themes for the toast to be given at the State  
Dinner in Honor of Philippine President Corazon Aquino,  
November 9, 1989, 7:45 p.m.

J. Stapleton Roy  
Executive Secretary

Attachment: Draft themes.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECL:OADR

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THEMES FOR DINNER TOAST  
on the Occasion of the State Visit of  
Philippine President Corazon Aquino

Bilateral Relationship:

- o U.S.-Philippine relationship is strong and enduring.
- o We share many values, including a deep commitment to democracy.
- o Personal ties contribute to warm feelings between our peoples as well as our governments.
- o As we approach Veterans Day, our shared sacrifices, as we fought side by side, are a poignant reminder of the cost of freedom.

Political Setting:

- o The "People's Power" revolution galvanized the world, providing inspiration for all freedom-loving people.
- o Accomplishments since 1986 are monumental:
  - A new Constitution, adopted in 1987;
  - Free elections for thousands of offices at Congressional and local levels;
  - Press freedom and other civil liberties restored.

Economy:

- o We applaud your economic reform efforts and your goal to improve the standard of living of the Filipinos.
- o In a few short years, the Philippines has gone from a *deep* recession to steady growth.
- o Your responsible debt policy and economic reforms will provide the catalyst for sustainable, private-sector led growth.
- o Continued reforms will provide the best mechanism for continued growth.
- o The U.S. remains committed to continuing our support for the Philippines' economic and development program.
- o The successful July 4 launch of the Multilateral Assistance Initiative will support your government's efforts for long-term growth.

~~DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING,  
PER E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.3 (C)~~

*RM 10/13/04*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECL:OADR

**DECLASSIFIED**  
Department of State Guidelines  
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997  
By *RM* NARA, Date *11/09/04*

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Cleared:EAP/PHL:JNach  
EAP:RTeare, Acting  
EAP:RFauver, Acting  
PA:RBoucher  
C:JSour  
P:JStrotz  
S/P:JPrystup

**STATE DINNER TOAST FOR PRESIDENT AQUINO  
STATE DINING ROOM / 11-9-1989 / 8:00 P.M.**

**MRS. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE PHILIPPINE DELEGATION -- IT'S A GREAT PLEASURE AND AN HONOR FOR BARBARA AND ME TO WELCOME YOU TO THE WHITE HOUSE TONIGHT.**

**I HAVE ALWAYS FELT A SPECIAL TIE TO THE PHILIPPINES. THAT'S PARTLY BECAUSE I FIRST SAW IT IN A VERY DRAMATIC TIME IN MY LIFE, AND IN THE LIFE OF THE PHILIPPINES -- 1944.**

**- 2 -**

**BUT IT'S ALSO BECAUSE, RETURNING YEARS LATER -- HAVING TRAVELED TO DOZENS OF OTHER LANDS -- ONLY MADE ME REALIZE HOW EXTRAORDINARY THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE PHILIPPINE PEOPLE TRULY IS. THE FILIPINO REPUTATION FOR KINDNESS, GENEROSITY, LOYALTY, AND EASY LAUGHTER IS WELL-DESERVED -- AND WELL APPRECIATED BY EVERY AMERICAN LUCKY ENOUGH TO VISIT YOUR SHORES.**

**AND, AMERICA HAS LONG SHARED A SPECIAL FRIENDSHIP WITH THE PHILIPPINES THAT IS STRONG AND ENDURING.**

- 3 -

**PART OF THE ENDURING FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR NATIONS HAS BEEN BASED ON OUR SHARED SACRIFICES, AS WE FOUGHT TOGETHER SIDE BY SIDE, A POIGNANT REMINDER OF THE COST OF FREEDOM.**

**AND PART OF OUR ENDURING FRIENDSHIP HAS BEEN BASED ON VERY PRACTICAL CONCERNS. WE WANT TO HELP THE PHILIPPINES STRENGTHEN ITS DEMOCRACY AND CONTINUE ITS ECONOMIC RECOVERY, AND WE HAVE OFFERED OUR BELIEF THAT A NEW, LONG-TERM SECURITY AGREEMENT WILL ENHANCE OUR MUTUAL SECURITY.**

- 4 -

**IN ADDITION, SPEAKING AS A POLITICAL LEADER, A NEW AGREEMENT WILL PRESERVE BIPARTISAN SUPPORT FOR CONTINUED ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID.**

**BUT PART OF AMERICA'S LOVE OF THE PHILIPPINES IS BASED ON PURE, UNABASHED, SENTIMENT AND OPTIMISM. AMERICANS HAVE CHEERED THE "PEOPLE POWER" REVOLUTION WHICH GALVANIZED THE WORLD, INSPIRING FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.**

- 5 -

**YOU PROVED THAT BALLOTS ARE STRONGER THAN BULLETS -- AND THAT WHILE DEMOCRACY CAN BE DELAYED -- ULTIMATELY, IT CANNOT BE DENIED. \\\**

**YOUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS SINCE 1986 ARE MONUMENTAL. A NEW CONSTITUTION IN 1987. FREE ELECTIONS FOR THOUSANDS OF LOCAL AND NATIONAL LEADERS. THE RESTORATION OF PRESS FREEDOM AND OTHER CIVIL LIBERTIES.**

**IN JUST A FEW SHORT YEARS, THE PHILIPPINES HAS GONE FROM A DEEP RECESSION TO STEADY GROWTH.**

- 6 -

**WE URGE YOU TO CONTINUE WITH THE FREE MARKET REFORMS NEEDED TO SPUR PHILIPPINE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.**

**POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM ARE THE DESTINY OF THE PHILIPPINE PEOPLE. AND THE DESTINY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IS TO STAND WITH YOU.**

**MRS. PRESIDENT, EARLIER TODAY I SPOKE OF OUR NATIONS' SHARED COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY, PEACE AND STABILITY.**

- 7 -

**BUT JUST AS IMPORTANT AS THE VALUES THAT LINK US AS NATIONS, ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL VALUES THAT LINK US AS PEOPLES -- WHAT BARBARA CALLS "FAITH, FAMILY AND FRIENDSHIP." YOU HAVE SAID THAT BEING A GRANDPARENT MAKES YOU HAPPIER THAN BEING PRESIDENT. WELL, CORY -- THAT'S JUST ONE MORE THING YOU AND I AGREE ON. \\\**

**BY YOUR LEADERSHIP, BY YOUR EXAMPLE OF FAITH IN FAMILY AND FRIENDS YOU HAVE INSPIRED A GENERATION OF FREEDOM-LOVERS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE PACIFIC.**

- 8 -

**LET US RAISE OUR GLASSES. HERE'S TO PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP. TO A BETTER WORLD FOR OUR GRANDCHILDREN -- AND FOR CHILDREN EVERYWHERE. TO THE PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF YOUR GREAT NATION.**

**AND, MOST OF ALL, HERE'S TO HOPE -- AS YOU ONCE PUT IT, TO "BLAZING, SERENE HOPE" -- AND TO THOSE WHO INSPIRE IT AROUND THE GLOBE.**

**# # #**



offered our belief that a new security treaty will help preserve bipartisan support for continued economic and military aid.

But part of America's love of the Philippines is based on pure, unabashed, sentiment and optimism. Americans have cheered the "People Power" revolution which galvanized the world, inspiring freedom-loving people everywhere. You proved that ballots are stronger than bullets -- and that while democracy can be delayed -- ultimately, it cannot be denied. \\\

Your accomplishments since 1986 are monumental. A new Constitution in 1987. Free elections for thousands of local and national leaders. The restoration of press freedom and other civil liberties.

In just a few short years, the Philippines have gone from a deep recession to steady growth. We urge you to continue with the free market reforms needed to spur Philippine economic development.

Political and economic freedom are the destiny of the Filipino people. And the destiny of the American people is to stand with you in your struggles.

Mrs. President, earlier today I spoke of our nations' shared commitment to freedom, democracy, peace and stability.

But just as important as the values that link us as nations, are the fundamental values that link us as peoples -- what Barbara calls "faith, family and friendship." You have said that being a grandparent makes you happier than being President. Well, Cory -- that's just one more thing you and I agree on. \\\

By your leadership, by your example of faith in family and friends -- and of abiding trust in fate itself -- you have inspired a generation of freedom-lovers on both sides of the Pacific.

Mrs. President -- Let us raise our glasses. Here's to Philippine-American friendship. To a better world for our grandchildren -- and for children everywhere. To the peace and prosperity of your great nation. To Ninoy Aquino, the father of a movement that changed the world.

And, most of all, here's to hope -- as you once put it, to "blazing, serene hope" -- and to those who inspire it around the globe.

# # #

McNally/Simon  
November 4, 1989  
Draft Two (B:CORY.TST)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT STATE DINNER FOR PRESIDENT AQUINO  
*STATE* ~~THE EAST ROOM,~~ THE WHITE HOUSE  
*DINING* THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1989  
*8:00 pm*

Mrs. President, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, Members of the  
Philippine delegation -- it's a great pleasure and an honor for  
Barbara and me to welcome you to the White House tonight.

[[ACKNOWLEDGE OTHER AQUINO FAMILY MEMBERS?]]

*daughter Kris*

*not correct*  
I have always felt a special tie to the Philippines. That's  
partly because it will always hold the magic of being the first  
foreign country I ever visited, as a young man in 1944.

But it's also because, returning years later -- having  
traveled to dozens of other lands -- only made me realize how  
extraordinary the hospitality of the Philippine people truly is.  
The Filipino reputation for kindness, generosity, loyalty, and  
easy laughter is well-deserved -- and well appreciated by me and  
every American lucky enough to visit your shores.

And, like me, America has long shared a special friendship  
with the Philippines, a friendship that is strong and enduring.

Part of the enduring friendship between our allied nations  
has been based on our shared sacrifices, as we fought together  
side by side, a poignant reminder of the cost of freedom.

And part of our enduring friendship has been based on very  
practical concerns. We want to help the Philippines strengthen  
its democracy and continue its economic recovery, and have  
offered our belief that a new security treaty will help preserve

bipartisan support for continued economic and military aid.

But part of America's love of the Philippines is based on pure, unabashed, sentiment and optimism. In recent years, Americans have cheered the remarkable events unfolding in your country. The "People Power" revolution galvanized the world, inspiring freedom-loving people everywhere. You proved that ballots are stronger than bullets -- and that while democracy can be delayed -- ultimately, it cannot be denied. ///

State Dept. draft

Your accomplishments since 1986 are monumental. A new Constitution in 1987. Free elections for thousands of local and national leaders. The restoration of press freedom and other civil liberties.

And we agree that as the free trade of goods begins to match the free trade of ideas, the people of the Philippines will truly begin to command their own history once again. In just a few short years, the Philippines have gone from a deep recession to steady growth. We urge you to continue with the free market reforms needed to spur Philippine economic development.

St. Dept. draft

Political and economic freedom are the destiny of the Filipino people. And the destiny of the American people is to stand with you in your struggles.

Mrs. President, earlier today I spoke of the many values we share as nations -- a shared commitment to freedom, democracy, peace and stability.

Mrs. Bush at al Smith 10-19-89

But just as important as the values that link us as nations, are the fundamental values that link us as peoples -- what

Barbara calls "faith, family and friendship." You have said that being a grandparent makes you happier than being President.

TIME P.30  
1-5-87

Well, Cory -- that's just one more thing you and I agree on. ///

By your leadership, by your example of faith in family and friends -- and of abiding trust in fate itself -- you have inspired a generation of freedom-lovers on both sides of the Pacific.

Two years before "People Power" triumphed in the Philippines, you returned to America when Mount St. Vincent College saluted you with an honorary degree. "Faith," you told your former classmates in the Bronx, "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."

TIME  
1-5-87  
P. 27

Mrs. President -- Let us raise our glasses. Here's to Philippine-American friendship. To a better world for our grandchildren -- and for children everywhere. To the peace and prosperity of your great nation. To the health and happiness of you and your family. To Ninoy Aquino, the father of your children -- and the father of a movement that changed the world.

And, most of all, here's to hope -- to blazing, serene hope -- and to those who inspire it around the globe.

# # #

WOMAN OF THE YEAR

*Philippines*

# 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,



Photograph for TIME by Diana Walker



## 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.

**T**he 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



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.

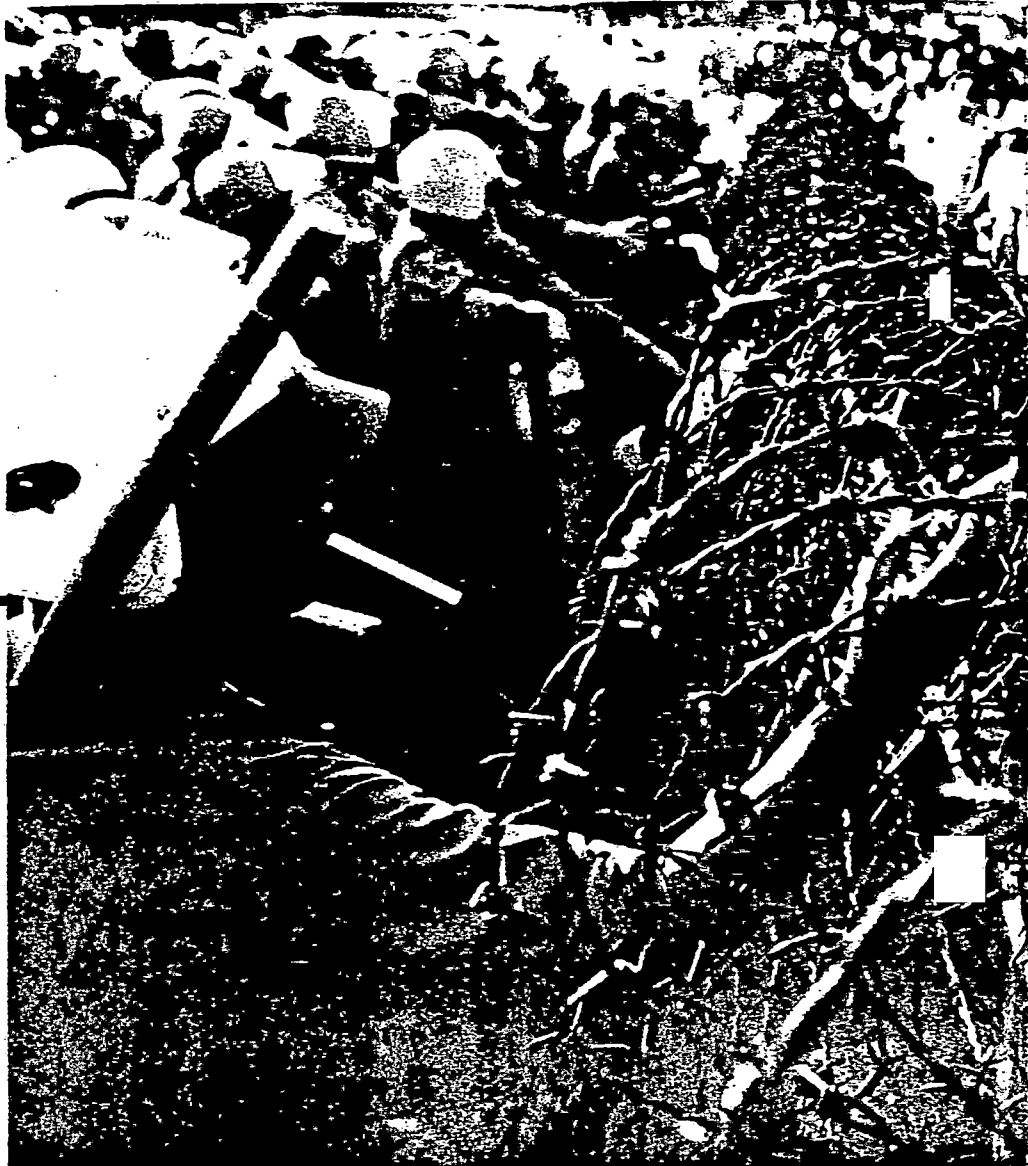
Aquino's revolution with a human face was no less a triumph for women the world over. The person known as the "Mother of the Nation" managed to lead a revolt and rule a republic without ever relinquishing her buoyant calm or her



BEZA—REYNOLDS/PICTURE GROUP

## 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."

**I**nvariably, 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



AP/WIDEWORLD

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.

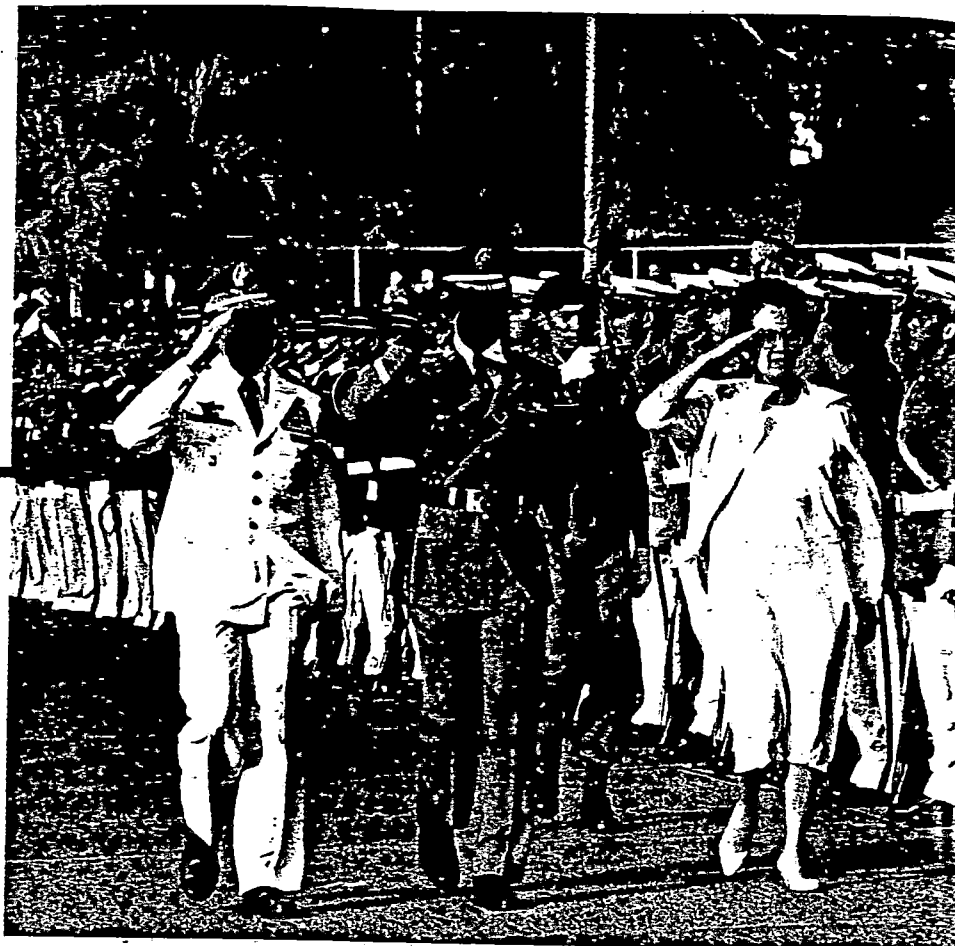
If Aquino's stunning rise allowed the world a rare chance to suspend its disbelief and exult, 1986 also gave it many more familiar opportunities to distrust its leaders and to weep. Late in the year, the Reagan Administration was suddenly shaken by the disclosure that it had been covertly selling arms 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.

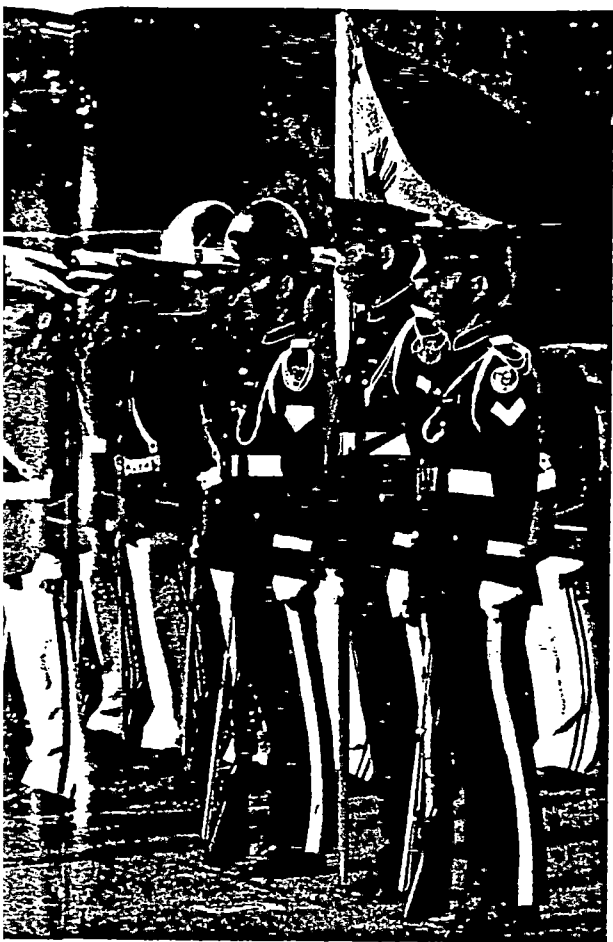
The shadows cast by other menacing forces also lengthened in 1986. The disease known as AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) claimed its 16,128th American life and left millions more rethinking their private lives. The epidemic of drugs became more sobering than ever, as the young turned to an addictive 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.

**N**one of these events, though, were quite so startling, let alone uplifting, as Aquino's almost cheerful revolution. And if the first woman President of the Philippines was the happiest symbol in a year of symbols, she was also the most human. She showed how one individual could inspire in others a faith so powerful that it vindicated itself and changed a country's history. She brought not only a new face into politics, but also a new way of thinking about politics and the virtues it demands. The victory of "People Power" made no dents in the larger issues that tower like Stonehenge sentinels over the planet. It has not shifted the superpower equation nor reduced the threat of nuclear war. But it has, perhaps, affected the people who affect the issues.

Corazon Aquino's first, ever so hesitant entry into the larger-than-life melodrama of recent Philippine history came when Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in 1972. One of the first people to be arrested without charge was Ninoy Aquino, Marcos' closest rival. The tough but charismatic



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 factious, 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

# 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 Jose (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?"

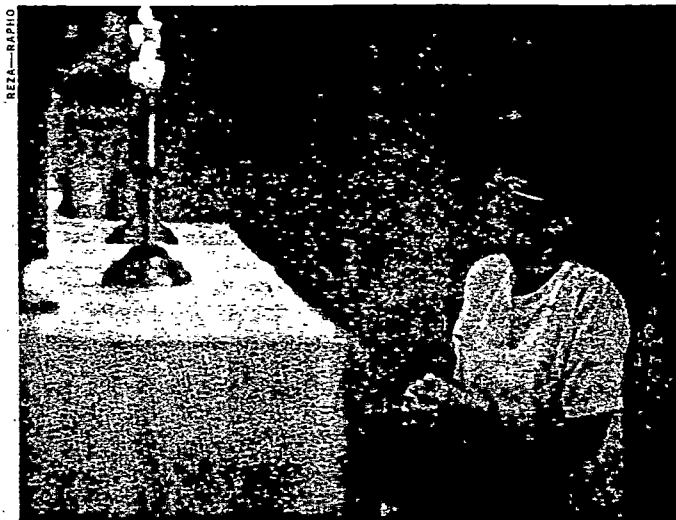
The priest's reply made a powerful impression. "Yes, they can," he said, "in the same way they can understand abstractions connected with Marcos, because he personifies evil and suffering." Then, asked Cory, "how do you personify truth, justice and freedom?" The priest was un-

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"



## 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.

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-



## 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."

**T**hose 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."

**N**or 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 over-worked 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



## 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.



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

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

# 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 worldwide 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.



DINA WALKER

## AQUINO

In assessing his own work, Horst Antes acknowledges that in recent years his way of painting has changed. As he puts it, in a statement translated and reprinted in the catalogue of his 1984 Lefebvre Gallery exhibition, his ideas are no longer realized in "a flowing process. On the contrary, paintings and topics for paintings come in fits and starts. A series of works comes into being and is followed by a slack period." Now that the full face confronts us in his work, one wonders what the next metamorphosis of Horst Antes may be, bearing in mind his

assurance: "There always will be a Renaissance. There always will be that return to the human figure, to the value of man as prime measure." In 1984 he was reappointed as a professor at the Karlsruhe Academy.

References: *Art; Das Kunstmagazin* p92+ J1 '82 pors; *Arts Magazine* 43:26+ Mr '69; *Castleman, Riva. Contemporary Prints (1973); Contemporary Artists 2d ed (1983); International Who's Who, 1985-86*



### Aquino, Corazon (Cojuangco)

(ā-kē' nō)

Jan. 25, 1933- President of the Republic of the Philippines. Address: Office of the President, Manila, Philippines

In what one diplomat, quoted in the *Washington Post* (December 16, 1985), likened to a "contest between Genghis Khan and Joan of Arc," a diminutive housewife named Corazon Aquino led a "people power" revolution that ended the twenty-year reign of the Philippine dictator Ferdinand E. Marcos. A convent-reared, traditional wife and mother, she had her life transformed by the political sufferings of her husband, Benigno Aquino, who was first jailed and later assassinated, apparently for his opposition to Marcos. After her husband's murder in August 1983, Mrs. Aquino became the symbolic head of the growing anti-Marcos movement. A reluctant candidate for president, she was at first given little chance to win, but she quickly moved from being a mere symbol to a

rallying point for her countrymen. Although Marcos tried to deprive her of election victory, a military rebellion aided by massive street demonstrations forced the aging dictator to flee. Declared president of the Philippines on February 25, 1986, Mrs. Aquino has moved cautiously but deftly since then to confront her nation's enormous problems.

Although she herself was never groomed for office, Corazon Aquino comes from the class of wealthy "oligarchs" of mixed Chinese, Spanish, and Malay descent who have long ruled the Philippines. The sixth of the eight children of José Cojuangco, she was born María Corazon Cojuangco on January 25, 1933, in Tarlac Province, some fifty miles north of Manila. The Cojuangcos' commercial and banking interests and a 15,000-acre sugar plantation made them the wealthiest family in the province. They also were politically well-connected: Corazon Aquino's grandfather was a senator, and her father and brother served terms in the national house of representatives.

After attending elite girls' schools in Manila, Corazon Cojuangco was sent at thirteen to the United States to finish her education at Roman Catholic convent schools in Philadelphia and New York City. Teachers and schoolmates remember her as a quiet, studious girl with a strong religious faith. She graduated from Mount St. Vincent College, in the Riverdale section of the Bronx, in 1953 with a major in French and a minor in mathematics. During a summer vacation, Corazon Cojuangco met Benigno Aquino Jr., a promising young journalist from a wealthy family in her home province. "Ninoy," as he was nicknamed, tried with little success to woo her by mail when she returned to college, but after her graduation, when she returned to Manila to study law at Far Eastern University, he began to make a better impression. Their families approved of the match, and Corazon Cojuangco left law school to marry Benigno Aquino Jr. on October 11, 1954.

During the next two decades, Mrs. Aquino played the role of a dutiful wife while her husband's political career skyrocketed. As he became successively the youngest mayor, the youngest governor, and finally the youngest senator ever elected in the Philippines, she stayed quietly in the background, bearing and rearing five children and serving as hostess, at gatherings in their home, for

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her husband's political friends. Describing Cora-  
zon Aquino as the "classic Oriental wife," a friend  
commented on their marriage, as quoted in *People*  
(March 17, 1986): "He was the warrior. She pol-  
ished his sword and took care of his horse."

Mrs. Aquino's political education did not begin  
in earnest until 1972, when Ferdinand Marcos de-  
clared martial law to enable him to prolong his  
presidency beyond the two terms allotted to him by  
the constitution and moved ruthlessly to eliminate  
his opponents. The first man jailed under martial  
law was Benigno Aquino, the candidate consid-  
ered most likely to succeed him. Charged with  
murder, subversion, and illegal possession of fire-  
arms, Aquino spent the next seven and a half years  
in prison.

Her husband's imprisonment marked a very dif-  
ficult period in Mrs. Aquino's life. This shy, in-  
tensely private woman became his sole link to the  
outside world, memorizing his messages and  
speeches and conveying them to reporters at press  
conferences, to keep his memory alive. Subjected  
to strip searches by prison guards, and in constant  
fear for her husband's life, Mrs. Aquino "got les-  
sons from the jailhouse in politics," in the words of  
*Newsweek* (March 10, 1986). Not the least of those  
lessons was her discovery that the powerful quick-  
ly forget the vanquished, as former friends  
shunned her and her husband. Because of that ex-  
perience, "important people mean nothing to her  
now," her advisor Teodoro Loscin has said, as quot-  
ed in the *New York Times* (February 26, 1986).  
"That is part of her strength."

Under pressure from the administration of Pres-  
ident Jimmy Carter, Marcos finally released  
Benigno Aquino in 1980 to permit him to go to the  
United States for triple bypass heart surgery. Ac-  
cepting academic posts at Harvard and the Massa-  
chusetts Institute of Technology, Aquino settled his  
family in Newton, a well-to-do suburb of Boston.  
His wife happily abandoned her political duties to  
resume the life of a housewife, shopping in depart-  
ment stores, cooking for her family, and watching  
TV game shows.

But eventually, Benigno Aquino felt the need to  
return home and help the opposition to prepare for  
the May 1984 parliamentary elections. Despite the  
obvious risks involved, Mrs. Aquino quietly ac-  
cepted her husband's decision. A few days before  
he returned to the Philippines, he remarked proud-  
ly to a friend, as quoted in *People* (March 17, 1986):  
"Isn't she a remarkable lady? If it were some wom-  
en, they would be crying and begging me not to go  
home. But she hasn't said a word."

On August 21, 1983 Benigno Aquino was gunned  
down at Manila International Airport as he left his  
plane. The Marcos government claimed that his as-  
sassin was one Rolando Galman, who was also shot  
dead at the scene, but eyewitnesses alleged that  
soldiers did the killing. The Philippine opposition  
accused the armed forces chief of staff, General  
Fabian Ver, and his immediate superior, President  
Ferdinand Marcos, of being the real instigators of  
Aquino's murder. After years of bottling up their

frustration with the increasing corruption and bru-  
tality of the Marcos regime, the Philippines erupt-  
ed in an outpouring of rage. Into that tumult,  
Benigno Aquino's widow returned to preside over  
her husband's funeral. Surprising not only her  
family and friends but herself as well, she demon-  
strated incredible calm and courage in the after-  
math of the assassination. After leading over a  
million people in a ten-hour funeral procession,  
she stood at her late husband's coffin and vowed  
to continue his work.

In the months that followed, Corazon Aquino,  
always wearing yellow as a symbol of her hus-  
band's tragic homecoming, led the opposition in  
calling for Marcos' resignation. At first, opposition  
leaders valued "Cory", as her followers nicknamed  
her, only as a symbolic leader who had an almost  
hypnotic effect on crowds. But the soft-spoken, pe-  
tite widow soon showed that she had a mind of her  
own by defying her advisors' plan to boycott the  
May 1984 elections. Although Marcos retained his  
majority, the opposition won about one-third of the  
seats in that contest, and its political leaders began  
to view Mrs. Aquino with new respect.

After Benigno Aquino's assassination, the Phil-  
ippine economy had gone into a serious decline  
and the Communist insurgency in the provinces  
was spreading. Fearful of a Communist takeover  
that might endanger United States military instal-  
lations—the Subic Bay naval station and Clark air  
base—the administration of President Ronald Rea-  
gan pressured Marcos for sweeping reforms. To  
prove to his American allies that he still had the  
popular support necessary to govern, in November  
1985 Marcos unexpectedly called for a presidential  
election, to be held in the following February.

Mrs. Aquino immediately came under pressure  
to run against Marcos, a prospect that she had pre-  
viously greeted with disbelief. "Gosh, what do I  
know about being President?", she was quoted as  
saying. But the divided opposition had come to re-  
alize that she was the only person capable of win-  
ning unified support. Reluctant to run for the  
presidency, she wavered even after receiving peti-  
tions with over 1.2 million signatures asking her to  
do so. Then, on December 2, 1985 the courts over-  
turned the convictions of General Fabian Ver and  
others allegedly involved in her husband's murder.  
After secluding herself for a day of fasting and  
prayer, Mrs. Aquino announced that she was ready  
to run. "Otherwise, I will blame myself for not hav-  
ing tried," she said, as quoted in *Newsday* (Febru-  
ary 26, 1986).

With her acceptance of the candidacy, Mrs.  
Aquino still faced the problem of unifying the op-  
position. Salvador Laurel, a former Marcos asso-  
ciate who now led Unido, the largest opposition  
political organization in the country, also wanted  
to run, and unless he and Mrs. Aquino could com-  
bine forces, they would split the opposition vote  
and ensure Marcos' reelection. After several failed  
attempts to form a joint ticket with Laurel as her  
vice-president, Mrs. Aquino overrode her advisors  
and agreed to run as the Unido candidate rather

## AQUINO

than on her own Laban, or "people power" ticket, a compromise that salvaged the opposition campaign.

Hampered by inexperience and lack of funds, the Aquino-Laurel campaign got off to a slow start as Marcos and his running mate, Arturo Tolentino, made patronizing jokes about women running for office. In her early campaign appearances, Mrs. Aquino seemed to lack confidence, and in an interview in the *New York Times* (December 16, 1985) she appeared ill-informed about vital issues. "What I am offering is hope for change," she said in the interview, but few observers believed that hope alone would be enough to defeat the wily Marcos and his powerful political organization, the KBL, or New Society Movement.

Then, on the campaign trail, the unexpected—some said the miraculous—began to happen. Abandoning the set speeches her advisors had provided, Mrs. Aquino began to tell her own story, as one Marcos victim speaking to many, ending with the simple statement, "Too much, enough, let's change." Presenting her lack of political experience as a virtue, she advanced her candidacy as a moral alternative to the corruption and repression of the Marcos regime.

In a country that is almost 85 percent Roman Catholic, Mrs. Aquino's deeply moral message proved intensely appealing. As a "Madonna-like symbol of suffering," in the words of the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, she galvanized a people disgusted with what they saw as the immorality of Marcos' regime. Thousands of volunteers turned out to work for her, distributing yellow "Cory" posters, buttons, stickers, and T-shirts. One voter, quoted in *Newsday* (February 26, 1986), summed up her appeal, saying "She will be a morally good President. That is much more than we can say about President Marcos."

As Marcos' own campaign failed to summon enthusiasm, Mrs. Aquino's presidential bid looked more and more threatening, and observers speculated that he would resort to fraud and violence to prevent her from winning the election. As the *Philippine people went to the polls in record numbers* on February 7, 1986, reports of stolen ballot boxes, bribes, and intimidation of voters began to pour in. In the days that followed, the vote count mysteriously slowed and conflicting tallies appeared. The government agency Comelec reported that Marcos was winning, while the independent National Citizens' Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) gave a slight lead to Mrs. Aquino. Both candidates claimed victory and refused to concede.

The election stalemate was dramatically broken on February 22, 1986, when two of Marcos' allies, the defense minister, Juan Ponce Enrile and the armed forces deputy chief of staff, Lieutenant General Fidel Ramos, announced their defection to Mrs. Aquino and barricaded themselves inside the defense ministry building. Two days later, as forces loyal to Marcos advanced on a garrison held by supporters of Enrile and Ramos, thousands of Aquino loyalists surrounded their tanks and re-

fused to move, reciting rosaries and giving flowers to the bewildered soldiers. Unwilling to fire on the protesters, they retreated. On February 25, 1986, Marcos and Mrs. Aquino held rival inaugurations, but after United States government officials advised him to quit, the dictator flew to Clark air base. Corazon Aquino's "people power" had engineered an almost bloodless end to twenty years of dictatorship.

But the massive street celebrations of Marcos' defeat had barely subsided before critics began to question the new president's ability to govern. Not only did she seem inexperienced and naive, but she also inherited enormous problems from the Marcos regime: a firmly entrenched loyalist machine, a vigorous Communist insurgency, and a failing economy. Now, as president, Francis X. Clines wrote in the *New York Times Magazine* (April 27, 1986), "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."

Working out of a small, makeshift office, Mrs. Aquino moved quickly in her first week to appoint a new seventeen-member cabinet composed of moderate businessmen and professionals. The left decried her choices as "elitist" and objected to the inclusion of former Marcos associates, such as Enrile as defense minister and Ramos as chief of staff. But other observers rated her choices as competent and politically shrewd.

Fulfilling a campaign pledge, President Aquino immediately restored the right of habeas corpus and soon thereafter released more than 500 political prisoners. Her decision to free four Communist leaders sparked her first confrontation with Enrile and Ramos, who objected that their freedom would aid the insurgents. Determined to show that she was not ruled by the military, Mrs. Aquino overrode their protests and went ahead with her gesture of reconciliation.

To establish a firm basis for her political authority, Mrs. Aquino had next to dismantle the firmly entrenched institutions of the Marcos regime. She easily brought about the resignations of his supreme court justices and retired some twenty aged and allegedly corrupt generals. But the Marcos constitution of 1973, as well as the national assembly, which was still dominated by Marcos supporters, and the former dictator's entrenched provincial appointees, continued to pose problems for the new president.

After careful consideration, Mrs. Aquino chose a risky strategy. Instead of trying to rule through Marcos' institutions, she declared a transitional government on March 25, 1986, giving herself the right to rule by decree until a new constitution could be written. "If political power is to be returned to its proper limits and our society cleansed of the crimes and repression of recent years, we must cut out the cancer in our political system," she said, as quoted in the *Christian Science Monitor* (March 26, 1986), in response to critics who branded her action as dictatorial. Promising to restore de-

mocracy within a year, she enacted a temporary "freedom constitution" with a bill of rights and provisions for judicial review. In late May 1986, Mrs. Aquino appointed a constitutional commission representing virtually every faction in Philippine society except the far left, and asked the commission to produce the new document within three months.

On another campaign pledge, to call a ceasefire with the Communist insurgents, Mrs. Aquino met with some obstacles. After her election, she repeatedly expressed her desire for political dialogue with the Communists, even as the army and the insurgents continued to clash. In late March 1986 the Communists indicated a willingness to talk but rejected demands that they surrender their arms until Mrs. Aquino enacted genuine land reform and forced the United States to remove its bases. In May, Mrs. Aquino met with rebels, who had surrendered in response to her call for reconciliation, and by early June she reported some progress in her efforts to get the rebel leaders to the negotiating table.

A critical factor in determining Mrs. Aquino's ability to deal with the rebels as well as her general effectiveness as president, is her success in coping with the "economic wasteland" that she inherited. During the last years of the Marcos regime, corruption and "crony capitalism" crippled the once strong Philippine economy. By early 1986, the gross national product had dropped over a two-year period by some 15 percent, the standard of living had fallen to the 1973 level, and unemployment was affecting about half the population, at least during part of the year.

In her economic program, Mrs. Aquino stressed free enterprise and social justice. She has promised to break up the sugar and coconut monopolies established by Marcos' cronies, reduce taxes on fuel, utilities, seed, and fertilizer, and introduce land reform. She has also indicated that she would negotiate with the International Monetary Fund to lighten the country's crippling foreign debt, which as of early 1986 amounted to over \$27 billion.

Although Mrs. Aquino and her finance minister, Jaime Ongpin a Harvard-educated businessman, were slow in launching her economic program, the new president soon gained the backing of the business community. On the day after her election, the stock market rose sharply, and international investors became once again interested in the Philippines. In the words of Singapore's finance minister, Suppiah Dhanabalan, quoted in *Time* (March 10, 1986), "One very positive feature of her presidency is that confidence, an important ingredient of economic growth, will be re-established."

Initially cautious in its support for Mrs. Aquino's administration because of uncertainty about her intentions toward the American military bases, the United States government became more cordial as she has made it clear that her government would abide by an agreement allowing the bases to remain until 1991. The Reagan administration has promised a "mini-Marshall plan" to help rebuild

the Philippine economy. Secretary of State George P. Shultz, addressing the Foreign Policy Association in June 1986, praised Mrs. Aquino and urged foreign investment in her country, saying that at last, there were "many reasons to be bullish" about the Philippines.

Some questions have been raised about President Aquino's capacity for leadership. Her coalition threatened for a time to break into warring factions over patronage, and at least two allies, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and vice-President Salvador Laurel, were said to harbor presidential ambitions of their own. Mrs. Aquino's tendency to rely on advisors and her long deliberations over difficult issues have been seen by some observers as indecisiveness. Yet she has demonstrated an impressive ability to master complex issues. When on July 6, 1986 Marcos supporters occupied the Manila Hotel in an effort to take over the government, with Arturo M. Tolentino as "acting president," the coup attempt was easily ended by government forces. Mrs. Aquino, who had been away from Manila at the time, declared afterward: "While moderation will remain the yardstick of our responses, let it be understood that any incident like this will not be allowed to happen again." In the words of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "President Corazon Aquino has shown so far that she can ride the whirlwind while directing the storm."

In August 1986 Mrs. Aquino went abroad for the first time since she took office, visiting Indonesia and Singapore to "cement ASEAN brotherhood"—a reference to the six-member Association of South East Asian Nations. During her absence the armed forces were placed on a precautionary alert to guard against further coup attempts. In September Mrs. Aquino negotiated truce agreements with Moslem separatists on the southern island of Jolo and with tribal rebels in the northern Cordillera mountains and resumed stalled peace talks with Communist insurgents.

Mrs. Aquino embarked on a nine-day trip to the United States on September 15, 1986 that included visits to New York City, Boston, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. In a friendly meeting with President Ronald Reagan, she received his assurances of American support, and she affirmed that her government would support an agreement—in force until 1991—permitting the United States to retain two military bases in the Philippines. Before a joint session of Congress, she delivered what House speaker Thomas P. ("Tip") O'Neill Jr. called the "finest speech" he had heard in his congressional career, and Congress subsequently approved \$200 million in additional aid to the Philippines. During her visit Mrs. Aquino also addressed the UN General Assembly, negotiated with officials of the International Monetary Fund to obtain easier terms for repayment of the national debt, and received honorary degrees from Fordham and Boston universities.

Back in the Philippines, Mrs. Aquino faced continued challenges, from Communist insurgents, as

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well as from such rightist critics as Defense Minister Enrile, who was rumored to be plotting a coup. When in mid-October a presidential panel approved a new American-style draft constitution, to be ratified by a national referendum in early 1987, Mrs. Aquino was confronted by an additional challenge from Enrile and others who questioned the legality of her present six-year presidential term and felt that she should submit to a new election, claiming that she had abandoned her mandate to govern when she abolished the previous constitution. But when she embarked on November 10, 1986 on a four-day visit to Japan, she received assurances from military leaders that the situation was "stable and secure," and even some left-wing groups pledged their support for her.

Although only five feet two inches tall and delicate in appearance, President Corazon Aquino is endowed with a strong constitution. She wears simple clothes and wire rim glasses, and she uses little jewelry or make-up. Her American-accented English is excellent, and she also speaks French, Spanish, Japanese, and Tagalog—the native Philippine language. She considers the opulent Malacañang Palace that had been used by Marcos as too extravagant for the leader of a poor nation, but to assuage fears for her personal safety, she has

moved from her modest home in a Manila suburb to a house closer to the palace grounds, where she has set up her office in a guest house. Mrs. Aquino's accession to the presidency has inspired a renaissance of the arts in the Philippines.

Mrs. Aquino seeks relief from the pressures of leadership in the company of her family, preferring to avoid dinner engagements to spend more time with her four daughters, Elena Aquino Cruz, Victoria, Aurora, and Christina, her son, Benigno Aquino 3d, and her infant grandson. Since entering political life, she has found little time for her favorite pastimes, cooking, knitting, and cultivating bonsai trees. Her youngest daughter has quipped, as quoted in *People* (March 17, 1986), "Since she started the campaign, her bonsais have grown into real trees." Mrs. Aquino's autobiography is scheduled to be published by Random House.

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## Arrau, Claudio

(är-rou')

Feb. 6, 1903—Pianist. Address: b. c/o ICM Artists, Ltd., 40 W. 57th St., New York City, N.Y. 10019

NOTE: This biography supersedes the article that appeared in *Current Biography* in 1942.

For most of the twentieth century Claudio Arrau has been recognized as the pianist's pianist, using fingers that "seem always to have brains in them," in critic Neville Cardus' phrase, to call up from the keyboard the music and sensibilities of composers ranging from Bach to Chopin, Mozart to Schumann, and Beethoven to Debussy. Whether playing classical, romantic or impressionistic music, Arrau presents the piece "in the round," in its natural setting of stylistic nuances. With his painstakingly thought-out, almost psychoanalytic approach to the piano repertoire, Arrau "occasionally searches too deeply into a composition, even a composition by Beethoven, who after all was first a maker of music and not a philosopher using the wrong medium . . ." Cardus observed in a review for the *Guardian* (September 6, 1965). "But . . . as a pianist pure and simple—leaving aside for endless argument his long-viewed aesthetic—he is the model for all players."

Arrau has been performing publicly for seventy-eight years, since giving his first recital at the age



of five. For decades he gave more than 100 concerts a year, and he still takes umbrage at the thought of playing fewer than seventy. His undiminished (some would say increasing) powers and enthusiasm are appreciated as a kind of natural phenomenon of the music world. Arrau himself has explained that "music is far wider and richer than any of us knows. One struggles always to find that