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THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

C0125

DATE RECEIVED: MAY 01, 1986

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE J. BENNETT JOHNSTON

SUBJECT: ENCLOSURES COPY OF LETTER FROM REAR ADMIRAL
F. B. BAKER, JR. REGARDING THE COSTS INCURRED
BY FORMER PRESIDENT MARCOS AND HIS PARTY
DURING THEIR FLIGHT FROM THE PHILIPPINES

		ACTION	DISPOSITION			
ROUTE TO:		ACT	DATE	TYPE	C	COMPLETED
OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	CODE	YY/MM/DD	RESP	D	YY/MM/DD
WILLIAM BALL		ORG	86/05/01			
SECRETARY	SECRETARY	R	86/05/01			
REFERRAL NOTE:						
REFERRAL NOTE:						
REFERRAL NOTE:						
REFERRAL NOTE:						
REFERRAL NOTE:						

COMMENTS:

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 1210
MAIL USER CODES: (A) (B) (C)

*ACTION CODES:	*DISPOSITION	*OUTGOING	*
*	*	*CORRESPONDENCE:	*
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION	*A-ANSWERED	*TYPE RESP=INITIALS	*
*C-COMMENT/RECOM	*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL	*OF SIGNER	*
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE	*C-COMPLETED	*CODE = A	*
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET	*S-SUSPENDED	*COMPLETED = DATE OF	*
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC		*OUTGOING	*
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY			*
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE			*
*X-INTERIM REPLY			*

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

To:
NSC43:

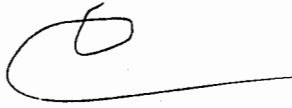
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

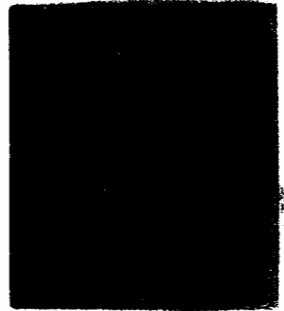
1/14/87

Pls kill these acts -
all covered by State,
next item - ~~_____~~

~~_____~~

~~_____~~







Return to EAP/PAL
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

NOVEMBER 13 1986

Dear Senator Johnston:

Thank you for your letter of October 6, 1986 in which you conveyed the concern of your constituent, David G. Fourrier, about the Administration's efforts to make a final accounting for expenses incurred in connection with the evacuation and subsequent maintenance at U.S. military facilities of former President Marcos and his accompanying party.

In late August, the National Security Council authorized the Department of State to request Mr. Marcos to reimburse the United States Government for personal expenses associated with his arrival in the United States and his initial stay at Hickam Air Force Base. These expenses, which are beyond the normal costs we pay for a foreign guest, consist of \$19,971 for international telephone calls and \$39,101 for purchases at the post exchanges at Anderson and Hickam Air Force Bases.

Mr. Marcos has indicated his desire to pay the United States Government for these personal costs and we are seeking to arrange an early settlement of the matter.

We would note the unique circumstances of Mr. Marcos's invitation and stay in the United States which helped to avoid major bloodshed during the transition to a new government in the Philippines last February. Consistent with our general practice concerning the expenses of foreign guests, the United States Government will pay for the transportation and related costs of Mr. Marcos and his party.

The Honorable
J. Bennett Johnston,
United States Senate.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

July 10, 1986

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RODNEY B. McDANIEL

FROM: JAMES A. KELLY

SUBJECT: Letter to William Ball from Senator J. Bennett
Johnston re Expenses Incurred by Marcos

Senator Johnston has written Mr. Ball asking for a breakdown of funds expended directly and indirectly in relocating Mr. Marcos and his party (Tab B).

State has drafted a response which is at Tab A.

Ron Sable concurs.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward Tab I to Kathy Jaffke.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I McDaniel memo to Jaffke
Tab A Ball ltr to Sen. Johnston
Tab B Sen. Johnston ltr to Ball

Jim Dave
as we discussed - hold
pending revised data from State
Rue

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

MEMORANDUM FOR KATHY JAFFKE

FROM: RODNEY B. McDANIEL

SUBJECT: Letter to William Ball from Senator J. Bennett
Johnston re Expenses Incurred by Marcos

Attached at Tab A is a suggested reply to Senator Johnston for Mr. Ball's signature.

Attachments:

Tab A Ball ltr to Sen. Johnston
Tab B Sen. Johnston ltr to Ball

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Johnston:

Thank you for your correspondence of April 18, 1986, concerning the issue of payment for the expenses associated with the evacuation of former Philippine President Marcos.

According to the Readiness Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee, the cost to the United States Armed Forces of the evacuation was \$858,417, of which \$407,604 was for the salaries of military personnel involved with security, a cost that would have been paid even if Marcos had not come to the United States. Additionally, \$206,899 was for costs associated with the sustenance of Marcos and his party at Clark, Andersen and Hickam Air Force Bases. These costs were associated with housing and food, and three visits to post exchange facilities by members of the party. The listed costs do not include Secret Service protection for Marcos for forty days in Hawaii.

Once Mr. Marcos left the Philippines, the U.S. Government undertook to ensure his safety and well-being until he was able to make more permanent arrangements. Accordingly, Mr. Marcos and his party, numbering nearly one hundred persons, were taken to U.S. facilities, first in Guam and then in Hawaii. As temporary guests of the U.S. Government, he and his party were extended shopping privileges for basic clothing and limited personal necessities in the exchanges at Andersen and Hickam Air Force Bases. Luxury items were excluded. The purpose of extending these privileges was to simplify the logistical and security problems surrounding the maintenance of the Marcos party. Mr. Marcos and all the members of his party are now in private quarters.

A final accounting of the expenses associated with the evacuation of former Philippine President Marcos and his party and providing them temporary access to U.S. military facilities is pending. A decision has not yet been made on whether to seek reimbursement from Marcos of the personal expenses. The determination will certainly take into account the concerns expressed by you and your constituents.

Sincerely,

William L. Ball, III
Assistant to the President

The Honorable J. Bennett Johnston
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8619662

Date June 27, 1986

For: VADM John M. Poindexter
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: Ball, William From: Senator Johnston

Date: April 18, 1986 Subject: Letter to Ball from
Senator Johnston Re expenses incurred Re relocating Marcos.

Referral Dated: June 23, 1986

ID# 8603712

(if any)

 The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State

Action Taken:

- X A draft reply is attached.
 A draft reply will be forwarded.
 A translation is attached.
 An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
 We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
 The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
 Other.

Remarks:


Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

DRAFT LETTER

Dear Senator Johnston:

Thank you for your correspondence of April 18, 1986, concerning the issue of payment for the expenses associated with the evacuation of former Philippine President Marcos.

According to the Readiness Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee, the cost to the United States Armed Forces of the evacuation was \$858,417, of which \$206,899 was for the personal expenses incurred by Marcos and his party at Clark, Andersen and Hickam Air Force Bases. The personal expenses were for housing and food, and three visits to post exchange facilities by members of the party. The listed costs do not include Secret Service protection for Marcos for forty days in Hawaii.

Once Mr. Marcos left the Philippines, the U.S. Government undertook to ensure his safety and well-being until he was able to make more permanent arrangements. Accordingly, Mr. Marcos and his party, numbering nearly one hundred persons, were taken to U.S. facilities, first in Guam and then in Hawaii. As temporary guests of the U.S. Government, he and his party were extended shopping privileges for basic clothing and limited personal necessities in the exchanges at Andersen and Hickam Air Force Bases. Luxury items were excluded. The purpose of

The Honorable
J. Bennett Johnston,
United States Senate.

extending these privileges was to simplify the logistical and security problems surrounding the maintenance of the Marcos party. Mr. Marcos and all the members of his party are now in private quarters.

A final accounting of the expenses associated with the evacuation of former Philippine President Marcos and his party and providing them temporary access to U.S. military facilities is pending before the NSC. A decision has not yet been made on whether to seek reimbursement from Marcos of the personal expenses. The determination will certainly take into account the concerns expressed by you and your constituents.

Sincerely,

May 5, 1986

Dear Senator Johnston:

This is to acknowledge your April 18 letter requesting information on the expenses incurred in relocating former Philippine President Marcos in the United States.

Your request for a breakdown of the funds expended and your questions regarding reimbursement are being reviewed. You will be contacted again as soon as we have additional information to relay.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

William L. Ball, III
Assistant to the President

The Honorable J. Bennett Johnston
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

WLB:KRJ:hlb

cc: w/copy of inc to NSC Secretariat - for
DIRECT response (per conversation with
Ron Sable)

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

April 18, 1986

WB

The Honorable Will Ball
Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

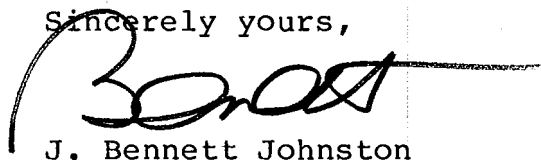
Dear Will:

I understand from the Department of Defense that the White House staff will be studying, if they are not already, what expenses undertaken by the United States government in relocating former President Marcos in this country are reimburseable. I am enclosing, for you information, a letter I received from Rear Admiral Baker in this regard.

I am concerned, and I can tell you from the continuing mail I am receiving on this issue that many of my constituents are concerned, about the propriety of some of these expenses, including reports that the Marcos party went on a spending spree at the military exchange at Anderson Air Base to the tune of some \$39,000. I would therefore appreciate receiving from you a full breakdown of funds expended directly and indirectly to relocate Mr. Marcos and his party (including who the members of this party are and who authorized their expenses and why) and of funds expended to support Mr. Marcos and his party (including who the members of the party now are, what level of support they are receiving indirectly or directly and why) since their arrival. I would also appreciate receiving a report on what funds were expended at the military exchange including what items were purchased, and by whom and for what purpose. Finally, I would appreciate receiving a report on which items are considered reimburseable and what steps will be taken to recover those expenses. For any items not considered reimburseable, I would also like to receive a rationale for this determination.

With all best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,



J. Bennett Johnston
United States Senator

JBj:lhj



OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

14 APR 1986

INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY AFFAIRS

In reply refer to:
I-09291/86

Honorable J. Bennett Johnston
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Johnston:

I am pleased to respond to your letter to Mr. Rourke regarding the costs incurred by former President Marcos and his party during their flight from the Philippines, and during their stay at Hickam AFB, in Hawaii. The Department of Defense had calculated that these expenses currently total \$182,539 in air transportation costs, \$339,195 in labor costs, \$46,710 in appropriated costs (ground transportation, contract quarters, communications) and \$201,863 in non-appropriated costs (military clubs, exchanges, rent, telephone calls). Determination of the reimbursements for these expenses will be made by the White House.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "E. B. Baker, Jr.", is written over the typed name.

E. B. BAKER, JR.
Rear Admiral, USN
Director, East Asia &
Pacific Region

REFERRAL

DATE: 23 JUN 86

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPT OF STATE

8619662

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: BALL, W

SOURCE: JOHNSTON, J BENNETT

DATE: 18 APR 86

KEYWORDS: PHILIPPINES

CONGRESSIONAL

MARCOS, FERDINAND

SUBJ: LTR TO BALL FM SEN JOHNSTON RE EXPENSES INCURRED RE RELOCATING

REQUIRED ACTION: DRAFT REPLY FOR WH SIG

DUE DATE: 30 JUN 86

COMMENTS:

Loretta Branstetter
395-6870

FOR

Rodney B. McDaniel

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Rec'd in S/S-I
ON 6/23 at 11:40 PM
SAM

RECEIVED 12 MAY 86 10

TO BALL, W

FROM JOHNSTON, J BENNETT

DOCDATE 18 APR 86

BALL, WILLIAM

05 MAY 86

KEYWORDS: PHILIPPINES

CONGRESSIONAL

MARCOS, FERDINAND

SUBJECT: LTR TO BALL FM SEN JOHNSTON RE EXPENSES INCURRED RE RELOCATING
MAROS TO US

ACTION: RECOMMENDATIONS TO LORETTA DUE: 15 MAY 86 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CHILDRESS

KELLY

SABLE

RODMAN

PEARSON

THOMPSON

COMMENTS PER BALL, LOGGED PER RON?

REF# 392776

LOG

NSCIFID

(LB)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

State	✓	6/30	Draft Reply	6/30	
-		6/27	Rec'd S/S Draft		
JAK	S	7/1	Memorandum to 7/1		RKS
			Kathy Giffle		

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

RECEIVED 12 MAY 86 10

TO BALL, W

FROM JOHNSTON, J BENNETT

DOCDATE 18 APR 86

BALL, WILLIAM

05 MAY 86

KEYWORDS: PHILIPPINES

CONGRESSIONAL

MARCOS, FERDINAND

SUBJECT: LTR TO BALL FM SEN JOHNSTON RE EXPENSES INCURRED RE RELOCATING
MAROS TO US

ACTION: RECOMMENDATIONS TO LORETTA DUE: 15 MAY 86 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CHILDRESS

KELLY

SABLE

RODMAN

PEARSON

THOMPSON

COMMENTS PER BALL, LOGGED PER RON?

REF# 392776

LOG

NSCIFID

(LB)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
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State	6/23	Draft Reply	6/30	
-	6/27	See d Sls		
JAK	7/1	Memo McDaniel	7/11	RKS:
		to Kathy Jaffe		
	7/13	Answered G State		

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

THE WHITE HOUSE

CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

00125

DATE RECEIVED: MAY 05, 1986

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE NORMA PAULUS

8614873

SUBJECT: REGARDING HER APPOINTMENT AS AN OFFICIAL
ELECTION OBSERVER IN THE PHILIPPINES AND
WRITES OF THE GENUINE RESPECT AND ADMIRATION
FOR AMERICA OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)		ACTION ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	DISPOSITION TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
ALFRED KINGON		ORG	86/05/05		C 86/05/06
REFERRAL NOTE: <u>W/SMC DA</u>		A	86/05/17		C 86/05/12
REFERRAL NOTE: <u>99 DOS</u>		R	86/05/14		C 86/05/16 AB
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					

COMMENTS:

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA: L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

*ACTION CODES:	*DISPOSITION	*OUTGOING	*
*	*	*CORRESPONDENCE:	*
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION	*A-ANSWERED	*TYPE RESP=INITIALS	*
*C-COMMENT/RECOM	*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL	* OF SIGNER	*
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE	*C-COMPLETED	* CODE = A	*
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET	*S-SUSPENDED	*COMPLETED = DATE OF	*
I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC		* OUTGOING	*
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *			*
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE *			*
*X-INTERIM REPLY *			*

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

MAY 16 1986

Ms. Norma Paulus
3090 Pigeon Hollow Road, S.
Salem, Oregon 97302

Dear Ms. Paulus:

I am replying to your April 8 letter to President Reagan expressing your thanks for the opportunity to serve as an official election observer in the Philippines. We appreciate your kind words of support for U.S. policy toward recent events there.

The U.S. Government maintained strict neutrality in the Philippine elections, consistently urging that they be free and fair. Nevertheless, the elections were marred by widespread fraud and violence, and the results were not credible to the Filipino people.

The events following the elections and leading to the transition to a new government in the Philippines are now history. The United States moved quickly to recognize the Aquino Government. In a February 25 statement announcing the U.S. position, Secretary Shultz noted that President Reagan was pleased with the peaceful transition. He characterized recent events in the Philippines as "one of the most stirring and courageous examples of the democratic process in modern history."

The United States stands ready to assist in Filipino efforts to deal with the problems their country faces. The way to restore peace and prosperity has always been through political, economic, and military reforms. The country faces major economic and security problems, including a dangerous communist insurgency. We are consulting with the Aquino Government to assess needs and determine how we can be helpful.

Sincerely,

George B. High
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Public Affairs

UNCLASSIFIED
(CLASSIFICATION)

S/S # 8614873

DATE 16 MAY 1986

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

FOR: VADM John M. Poindexter
National Security Council
The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: President Reagan FROM: Ms. Norma Paulus

DATE: April 8, 1986 SUBJECT: Recent events in the
Philippines.

WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATED: May 14, 1986 NSC# 392961

THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY
____ TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION TAKEN:

____ A draft reply is attached

____ A draft reply will be forwarded

____ A translation is attached

XXX An information copy of a direct reply is attached

____ We believe no response is necessary for the reason
____ cited below

____ Other

REMARKS:


Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED
(CLASSIFICATION)

8614873

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

MAY 14, 1986

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 392961

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED APRIL 8, 1986

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: THE HONORABLE NORMA PAULUS
3090 PIGEON HOLLOW ROAD, SOUTH
SALEM OR 97302

SUBJECT: REGARDING HER APPOINTMENT AS AN OFFICIAL
ELECTION OBSERVER IN THE PHILIPPINES AND
WRITES OF THE GENUINE RESPECT AND ADMIRATION
FOR AMERICA OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE



"Regan"

Born on President's Birthday

ILLOCOS NORTE

<08> 02/84 PHILIPPINES

5
NORMA PAULUS

3090 PIGEON HOLLOW ROAD, S.

SALEM, OREGON 97302

(503) 364-8926

392961
8614873

AKingom
The President Ronald Reagan
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It was a great honor to serve as one of the official election observers in the Philippines. It was an extraordinary experience and I thank you for making my participation possible.

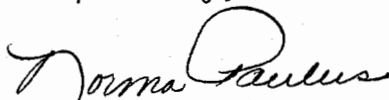
Upon my return to Oregon I said there was a movement for change so strong, so passionate, that nothing could stop it and that I could only hope it would occur with a minimum of violence. That it did is the political miracle of this century in my opinion.

Our country is rightfully very proud of your leadership and the role played by our State Department and Embassy personnel. In my speeches on this subject I have made a special point of stating that there is wellspring of genuine respect and admiration for America in the Philippines.

One indication of that is the photo enclosed. While visiting a polling place in Northern Luzon I approached a line of patient voters and, in an effort to establish a rapport, I asked if I could take this child's picture. His parents proudly told me the boy's name is "Reagan! He was born on the President's birthday!"

My promise to send you his picture was the talk of the village.

Respectfully,


Norma Paulus

NP/js
Enclosure
April 8, 1986

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

ID# 393138

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MAY 08, 1986

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE ROBERT M. MORISON

SUBJECT: OPPOSES TAXPAYERS BEARING EXPENSE OF
PROVIDING PROTECTION FOR MR. MARCOS.

former Philippine President

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)		ACTION ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C D	COMPLETED YY/MM/DD
CRISTY BACH		ORG	86/05/08			
REFERRAL NOTE:						
REFERRAL NOTE:	JGA	A	86/06/05			86/06/11 AB
REFERRAL NOTE:						
REFERRAL NOTE:						
REFERRAL NOTE:						
REFERRAL NOTE:						

COMMENTS:

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 2600

IA MAIL USER CODES: (A) (B) (C)

*ACTION CODES:	*DISPOSITION	*OUTGOING	*
*	*	*CORRESPONDENCE:	*
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION	*A-ANSWERED	*TYPE RESP=INITIALS	*
*C-COMMENT/RECOM	*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL	*OF SIGNER	*
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE	*C-COMPLETED	*CODE = A	*
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET	*S-SUSPENDED	*COMPLETED = DATE OF	*
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC		*OUTGOING	*
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY			*
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE			*
*X-INTERIM REPLY			*

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 2, 1986

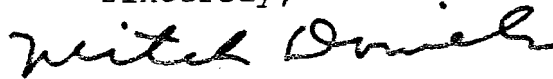
Dear Mr. Morison:

On behalf of the President, I would like to thank you for your recent correspondence regarding former Philippine President Marcos.

A copy of your letter has been forwarded to the appropriate officials at the Department of State for their benefit and consideration.

I sincerely appreciate your sharing your views with the Administration.

Sincerely,



Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.
Assistant to the President
for Political and Intergovernmental Affairs

Mr. Robert M. Morison
Councilman
265 Edgewood Drive
Hillsville, Virginia 24343

UNCLASSIFIED
(CLASSIFICATION)

S/S # 8617639

DATE June 11, 1986

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

FOR: VADM John M. Poindexter
National Security Council
The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: President Reagan FROM: Mr. Robert M. Morison

DATE: March 5, 1986 SUBJECT: Former Philippine
President Marcos.

WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATED: June 5, 1986 NSC# 393138

THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION TAKEN:

 A draft reply is attached

 A draft reply will be forwarded

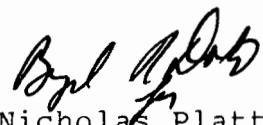
 A translation is attached

XXXXX An information copy of a direct reply is attached

 We believe no response is necessary for the reason
 cited below

 Other

REMARKS:


Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED
(CLASSIFICATION)



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

JUN 11 1986

The Honorable Robert M. Morison
Hillsville Town Council
Hillsville, Virginia 24343

Dear Mr. Morison:

I am replying further to your March 5 letter to President Reagan regarding the expenses incurred as a result of former Philippine President Marcos' exit from the Philippines and temporary stay on U.S. facilities.

To facilitate the peaceful transition to a new Government in the Philippines, the U.S. Government offered to transport former President Marcos, his family, and close associates to safe-haven in the United States. Over the course of 20 years, the Philippines under former President Marcos was a loyal friend and ally of the United States. We have extended, as appropriate, our welcome to him to remain in this country if he wishes.

Mr. Marcos and all the members of his party are now in private quarters. The question of payment of the various expenses incurred in connection with transporting Mr. Marcos and his party and providing them temporary access to U.S. military facilities is being examined.

We appreciate your concern on this issue.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jayne Plank".

Jayne H. Plank
Director, Intergovernmental Affairs
Office of Legislative and
Intergovernmental Affairs

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

JUNE 5, 1986

8617639

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ATTN: IGA

ACTION REQUESTED:
APPROPRIATE ACTION

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 393138
MEDIA: LETTER, DATED MARCH 5, 1986
TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN
FROM: THE HONORABLE ROBERT M. MORISON
VICE MAYOR AND COUNCILMAN OF
HILLSVILLE
265 EDGEWOOD DRIVE
HILLSVILLE VA 24343

SUBJECT: OPPOSES TAXPAYERS BEARING EXPENSE OF
PROVIDING PROTECTION FOR MR. MARCOS

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

393/38

53

Cristy Bach

265 Edgewood Drive
Hillsville, VA 24343

March 5, 1986

Mr. Ronald Reagan,
President of the United States
Washington, DC 20000

8617639

Dear Mr. President,

When you were elected President of the United States for the first time, I was elected Mayor of my little town, Hillsville, Virginia - population around 2500. That's going from one end of our democracy to the other!

I have always believed in your general philosophy of government: to improve our economy, to cut the federal bureaucracy, to make America proud and strong, to help our country regain its position as a world leader, and to regain the respect of people around the world. There is a picture of you on my office wall with the questions: "If not us - who? If not now - when?".

I am sixty-six years old, am an insurance agent, and I am now serving on my Town Council as a Councilman and Vice-Mayor. I am a "Yankee" in the south, and I am very proud of my town, my friends and neighbors, and the opportunities I have been given to serve my community in many capacities.

However, I am very disappointed with your attitude toward ex-president Marcos of the Philippines. I realize you are extremely loyal to old friends, but I think extending U.S. hospitality to Mr. Marcos and his family should have been enough. I don't think U.S. tax payers should bear the expense of providing protection for Mr. Marcos. He certainly has more than enough money to pay for his own security.

Americans are proud of our democratic form of government, and I think we were elated - as a nation - at Pres. Aquino's victory in the recent Philippine election. Not many of us believed she'd overcome the Marcos regime's notorious rigged elections, and I think we joined in celebrating her triumph - a triumph of justice - in spite of everything! Your first statement about cheating on both sides of the election disappointed many of your supporters, but we were ready to stand behind you again when you appeared ready to look closer at the facts your election commission had witnessed.

We also respected your attempt (even though indirectly) to have Mr. Marcos leave the Philippines safely in return for no unnecessary bloodshed, especially of unarmed civilians, including women and children.

But when you allowed Marcos to take millions of dollars of questionable money and property with him, and then state to the media that what Marcos has is his, imagine our reaction to the injustice of this situation! A man, whose income as president was less than \$6,000.00 a year, walks away from his country with millions in money and possibly billions in property, much of which may belong to the people of the Philippines and may also have come from the pockets of the American taxpayers!

Certainly you must realize that we don't expect our President to stab Mr. Marcos in the back, but we do expect him to see that justice is done for the Philippine people. Getting back what is rightfully theirs may be just as important - if not more important - than giving them additional financial aid.

There is still much to be done in the Philippines. We still have to see what Pres. Aquino is going to do, how strong she will be, how much help she will continue to get from her people, and what kind of government she can put together. But I believe the United States should make every effort to provide Pres. Aquino with all the help possible in the investigation of the billions of dollars Mr. Marcos has somehow managed to acquire. It appears that much of this money may have been taken from his country illegally, and I feel that the United States could do a great deal to uncover some of the evidence that Pres. Aquino needs to return some of that money to the people of her country.

I don't expect you to initiate the investigation, but I do expect our government to help in any way possible with any investigation started by the Philippine government.

Please, let's let Mr. Marcos be responsible for his wrongdoings. Let's let him answer for his crimes, and let's let him take the punishment he deserves, if he deserves it. But let's stop shielding him and trying to make light of his crimes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "R. Morison". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "R" and a long, sweeping underline.

Robert M. Morison

RMM/me

ID # 393496WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET0125☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence
Received (YY/MM/DD)86102125Name of Correspondent: Edward Feighan☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Urgy you to offer safe haven in the U.S. & transport to President Marcos if he leaves immediately & voluntarily.

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>L40GLE</u>		<u>YI</u> ORIGINATOR	<u>8610225</u>		<u>C86102127</u>
		Referral Note:	<u>/ /</u>		<u>/ /</u>
		Referral Note:	<u>/ /</u>		<u>/ /</u>
		Referral Note:	<u>/ /</u>		<u>/ /</u>
		Referral Note:	<u>/ /</u>		<u>/ /</u>
		Referral Note:	<u>/ /</u>		<u>/ /</u>

ACTION CODES:

A - Appropriate Action
C - Comment/Recommendation
D - Draft Response
F - Furnish Fact Sheet
to be used as EnclosureI - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
R - Direct Reply w/Copy
S - For Signature
X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

A - Answered
B - Non-Special Referral
C - Completed
S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

Type of Response = Initials of Signer
Code = "A"
Completion Date = Date of OutgoingComments: Overtaken by eventsKeep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.
Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).
Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

EDWARD F. FEIGHAN

19TH DISTRICT, OHIO

MEMBER:
COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

COMMITTEE ON
THE JUDICIARY



1223 LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
202-225-5731

2951 FEDERAL OFFICE BUILDING
1240 EAST NINTH STREET
CLEVELAND, OH 44199
216-522-4382

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

February 24, 1986

393496

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I commend you for your strong initiative in distancing the United States from the government of President Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines after a fraudulent and brutally enforced election. Today, I urge you to take a more dramatic step.

I urge you to offer transport and safe haven in the United States to President Marcos if he is willing to leave immediately and voluntarily. This should in no way be construed as an act of allegiance or friendship. Rather, it should be made clear that Mr. Marcos would not be permitted access to any personal holdings he has in the United States that may have been purchased with government funds. But in the interests of peace and a transition to a legitimate government in the Philippines, we should not be hesitating to take this step.

The situation in the Philippines grows more uncertain by the hour. It should be the highest priority of the United States to prevent bloodshed in the current struggle between the legitimate wishes of the Philippino people for democracy, and President Marcos' desperate attempts to retain power over a country he can no longer rule. The only option at this critical time is to remove Mr. Marcos, an option the United States should exercise immediately.

For the security of the U.S. airbases at Clark Field and Subic Bay, and more importantly for the safety of the Philippino people, I urge you to act with the utmost speed to move President Marcos to the United States. Only then will we be assured that justice has been served. And only then can we hope to avert certain bloodshed.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Edward F. Feighan".

EDWARD F. FEIGHAN
Member of Congress

EFF/res

DOCUMENT NUMBER = 393571

OPID	ZZ
RECTYP	HBA
MEDIA	0
ADDR	XX 00000
SUBJECT	STATEMENT REGARDING PHILIPPINE ELECTIONS
SUBCODE	<u>C0125</u> PL FGO11
ACTION	RM RSZ 860228 C 860228
COMMENTS	MEMO TO DON FROM WILMA MEMO UNDATED

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

February 11, 1986

Dear Dr. Meenahan:

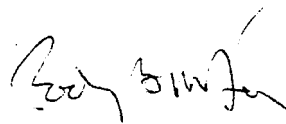
Thank you for your letter to Vice Admiral Poindexter, dated December 29, 1985, offering your services in connection with the February 7 Presidential election in the Philippines.

As you are aware, we have expressed our concern that the election in the Philippines be free, fair, and credible to the Philippine people. The election can be a significant step toward restoring political stability and popular confidence in government. If the election is perceived as fraudulent by Filipinos, it could deepen the political and economic crisis in the country and accelerate the growth of the communist insurgency.

At the present time, the United States Government has provided financial assistance to the National Republican and Democratic Party Institutes to organize an international observer delegation to monitor the election. The delegation, together with other foreign observers including a large number of media representatives, provides another independent assessment of the electoral process. Most important will be the perception of the Filipino people themselves.

I would like to thank you for the offer of your services and for sharing with us a copy of your article entitled, "The Marcos Election and Beyond."

Sincerely,


Rodney B. McDaniel
Executive Secretary

Dr. John M. Meenahan
A Medical Corporation
3450 Sawtelle Boulevard
Suite 145
Los Angeles, California 90066

MSC 86 00304
see ID 378277

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FG001-02

FG006-1

X400


NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

February 11, 1986

ACTION

SIGNED

MEMORANDUM FOR ROD MCDANIEL

FROM: DICK CHILDRESS 

SUBJECT: Letter to Dr. John M. Meenahan re the Philippines

RECOMMENDATION

Recommend you sign the letter at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I McDaniel/Meenahan Letter
Tab II Incoming Correspondence
Tab III State Draft Letter

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8600974

Date February 5, 1986

For: VADM John M. Poindexter
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: Vice Admiral Poindexter From: Dr. John M. Meenahan,
A Medical Corporation
Date: December 29, 1985 Subject: Philippine election

Referral Dated: _____ ID# _____
(if any)

_____ The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State

Action Taken:

- X A draft reply is attached.
_____ A draft reply will be forwarded.
_____ A translation is attached.
_____ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
_____ We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
_____ The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
_____ Other.

Remarks:


Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DRAFT

Dear Dr. Meenahan:

Thank you for your letter to Vice Admiral Poindexter dated December 29 offering your services in connection with the February 7 Presidential election in the Philippines.

As you are aware, we are concerned that the February 7 election in the Philippines be free, fair, and credible to the Philippine people. The election can be a significant step toward restoring political stability and popular confidence in government. If the election is perceived as fraudulent by Filipinos, it could deepen the political and economic crisis in the country and accelerate the growth of the communist insurgency.

At the present time, the U.S. Government has provided financial assistance to the National Republican and Democratic Party Institutes to organize an international observer delegation to monitor the election. ~~[We understand that the group will be composed of forty persons, including election experts who are skilled in spotting fraudulent practices and who will be briefed on conditions in the Philippines.]~~ The

Dr. John M. Meenahan,
A Medical Corporation,
3450 Sawtelle Boulevard, Suite 145,
Los Angeles, California.

delegation, together with other foreign observers including a large number of media representatives, should serve as a deterrent to fraud and can provide ^{another} ~~an~~ independent assessment of the electoral process. *Most important will be the perception of the Filipino people themselves.*

In view of these and other preparations for the upcoming election, it is unlikely that we will require your services. We appreciate your offer of assistance and will keep you in mind should your services be needed.

I would also like to thank you for sharing with us a copy of your article entitled, "The Marcos Election and Beyond." We share your hope that the people of the Philippines will be able to choose a President and Vice-President in an election which is as free and fair as possible.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

REFERRAL

DATE: 13 JAN 86

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: POINDEXTER

SOURCE: MEENAHAN, JOHN

DATE: 29 DEC 85

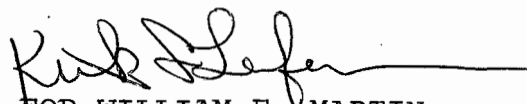
KEYWORDS: PHILIPPINES

SUBJ: MEENAHAN LTR TO POINDEXTER RE PHILIPPINES

REQUIRED ACTION: DRAFT REPLY FOR WH SIG

DUE DATE: 22 JAN 86

COMMENTS:



FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

8600974

JAN 03 1985

0304

JOHN M. MEENAHAN, M.D.
A MEDICAL CORPORATION
3450 SAWTELLE BOULEVARD
SUITE 145
LOS ANGELES, CA 90066
TEL: (213) 397-3576

December 29, 1985

Staff _____
J

John Poindexter
Presidential Advisor
National Security Council
The White House, Ground Floor
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Poindexter:

Ambassador Stephen Bosworth and Herwald Morton, Director of the U.S. Information Service in Manila, both previously transmitted your predecessor and other high ranking U.S. officials in Washington a copy of my framework for analysis of political, military, and economic reform in the Philippines which was published there last August 6th in the Malaya, a national daily newspaper. Later they forwarded my special investigative report on conditions in the critical province of Negros, which was published in Veritas, a national weekly Philippine newsmagazine, on October 27th.

I have just returned from the Philippines, where I spent most of the past year conducting an in depth study of the history and culture of the Filipino people and an intensive analysis of current political, military, and economic developments of that troubled, yet geopolitically strategic country. Accordingly, I enclose my analytic commentary on the upcoming presidential election which may enable you to better monitor the current situation and issues of paramount importance in the Philippines. I have also submitted this analysis to other top U.S. officials concerned and to several news publications here in the United States.

I would like to return to the Philippines in order to cover the election scheduled for February 7th and subsequent developments there. If you feel that I can make a significant contribution or be of any assistance in that important country, please contact me.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Meenahan, M.D.
John M. Meenahan, M.D.

THE MARCOS ELECTION AND BEYOND

By John M. Meenahan, M.D.

Under mounting pressure at home and from the U.S. government, Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos has set next February 7th as the date for an early presidential election. With the economy in a shambles and the leftist guerillas gaining ground amid growing unrest, Marcos desperately needs a fresh mandate to quell his numerous critics both in Washington and the Philippines.

This election has generated much interest. The splintered opposition has finally united behind presidential candidate Corazon Aquino, widow of martyred opposition leader Benigno Aquino Jr., and her running mate Salvador Laurel, the favorite son of an old political family. Marcos has shrewdly chosen Arturo Tolentino, a popular critic in his own KBL party, to run as his vice-president.

The question on everyone's mind is what are Marcos' chances for re-election? Fundamental to any speculation is another, more basic question. What are the chances for a free and fair election in these troubled tropical islands?

The following are the facts pertinent to whether free and fair elections are realistically possible under Marcos. A brief synopsis describing the conduct of past elections, particularly Marcos' re-election in 1981 and the national election of 1984 is most informative. Despite safeguards, those elections were reported by the foreign press as tainted with widespread vote buying, stuffing and stealing of ballot boxes, fraudulent vote counting, armed force and bloodshed. This election conduct led to Manila's Jaime Cardinal Sin's well publicized remark to Marcos last summer that the Filipino people know the outcome of elections before they are held.

A concise summary of the following Marcos responses to the increasing U.S. pressure for reforms provides an even better perspective to answer the crucial question. Despite a literal parade of U.S. administration, congressional, and military officials to Malacanang Palace demanding reforms from Marcos in no uncertain terms over the past two years, Marcos' regime has defiantly become even more oppressive. Specifically, the U.S. has demanded an impartial trial of the Aquino assassination, military reform and cessation of human rights abuses by the military, release of non-violent political prisoners, a free press and news media, and free and fair elections.

The conduct of the Aquino-Galman assassination trial was highly questionable in several regards. From the mysterious disappearances of key prosecution witnesses and their families, to the failure of the prosecutors to followup strategic leads, to the spurious exclusion of General Ver's self-incriminating Agrava Board testimony by the Marcos appointed Supreme Court, the trial was perceived by many legal scholars as biased. The verdict announced a few weeks ago is anticlimactic.

The military remains very corrupt, unprofessional, and has become even more abusive of human rights, as evidenced by the September 20th Escalante massacre killing 28 peaceful demonstrators and the sharp increase of "salvaging" torture killings of civilians documented by the Church sponsored Task Force Detainees. The reinstatement of General Ver, which is now official, diminishes hope for reform of the military and the supernumerary intelligence organizations. Critics have charged that the planned reorganization of the military and police is designed only to accommodate Ver and to maintain Marcos' grip on power.

Not only has the number of nonviolent political prisoners held on PDAs (preventive detention actions) without due process of law increased, their Free Legal Assistance Group lawyers are now being harrassed, threatened, and in several instances incarcerated.

As for a free press and news media, which are absolutely essential to any democratic process, the number of journalists critical of the Marcos regime who were assassinated in the first eight months of 1985 exceeds that of the previous two years combined. Thirty-eight such journalists had been reported murdered over the past three years.

Some political analysts characterize Marcos as a genius of deception and a mastermind of ruthless repression. These analysts view any expectation of reforms from Marcos with a jaundiced eye. Demanding such reforms has been singularly unsuccessful to date and may prove to be wishful thinking.

Numerous Filipinos in many different regions of the country are pessimistic about the possibility of free elections as long as Marcos remains in power. Many characterize elections as an illusory sham. The prevailing sentiment of the Filipino people expressed seems to be overwhelmingly and vehemently against Marcos whose regime is widely perceived as both brutal and pervasively corrupt. The frequent, massive anti-Marcos demonstrations over the last thirty months attest to his unpopularity.

Regardless of the conditions outlined by the U.S. for the elections to be considered free and fair, this presidential election could prove to be the most fraudulent, corrupt, and bloody in Philippine history. Authority over the local police has been turned over to the mayors, most of whom are Marcos KBL stalwarts. General Ver has been reinstated as Armed Forces Chief of Staff. The political warlords loyal to Marcos all have their own well armed CHDF paramilitary private armies. The COMELEC (commission on elections) is packed with Marcos loyalists. Moreover, NAMFREL, the citizens' watchdog committee for free elections has been discredited by COMELEC.

Given that situation, the unification of the political opposition, the severe economic depression, and the apparent deep discontent of the Filipino people, many political observers fear Marcos will stop at nothing, rigging the election for a last hurrah to stay in power. Based on his record and past performance over the last twenty years, which is perhaps the best prognosticator, the chance for a truly democratic election under Marcos seems remote.

Marcos stands to gain an almost sure election victory with his well oiled political machine backed by the military. He would then, once again, have cloaked his regime in legitimacy with a fresh mandate for six more years from the Filipino people to quell critics in Washington. Little doubt, he would characteristically deny charges of fraud, accuse the opposition of improprieties, and conveniently blame bloodshed and violence on the leftists. Orwellian politics and dictatorial power would have prevailed in what may well be a temporary victory. The actuality of the popular vote would be inconsequential for now.

However, as Guy Sacerdoti, Philippine correspondent for Far Eastern Economic Review, points out, "Any scenario that has Marcos remaining in power will do absolutely nothing to rebuild the public confidence needed to end 30 months of dissent and continuing political uncertainty. For that, the elections will only show what many observers fear and many Filipinos take for granted: that reform is anathema to Marcos."

The predicament in the Philippines will not be changed by a sham election. The severe economic depression, widely blamed on the mismanagement and corruption of the Marcos government, will persist with its attendant dire poverty, stark hunger, starvation, disease, and death.

As long as the U.S. continues to prop up this unpopular client dictator, whom President Nixon enabled to terminate democracy and declare martial law in 1972,, the leftists will gain strength. Assistant U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage warns that the Philippines could reach a "strategic stalemate" in as little as three years. The number of "critical areas" controlled by the insurgents is steadily increasing.

This ominous situation exists because the Filipino people, having no real democratic choice, have suffered so much under Marcos and because the military has increasingly alienated the people with countless atrocities. As former U.S. President John F. Kennedy once stated, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable."

In her recent syndicated commentary, Jeane Kirkpatrick, the former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, criticizes the American press for informing the public about the realities of the Marcos government. She further criticizes members of Congress for wanting to discontinue support of Marcos. She employs some partial truths and incomplete logic in her analysis. The essence of her theory is that the U.S. should continue to support what it perceives to be the lesser of two evils - a right wing dictator, whatever his faults, over the leftists.

This theory has been the traditional error underlying U.S. foreign policy in third world countries for at least thirty years. It failed in Cuba, Vietnam, Iran, and Nicaragua, but not because of critics, the reason cited by Kirkpatrick. Those client dictator regimes failed because they never "won the minds and hearts" of their people for obvious reasons.

Unmodified by failed experiments, this equivocal theory has placed the U.S. in yet another quandry. Now it is failing dismally in the Philippines, undermining the previous tradition of democracy and American friendship there. This one threatens Subic Naval Station and Clark Air Force Base and consequently, the entire U.S. sphere of influence in Asia from the Persian Gulf to the Pacific.

Kirkpatrick's logic is correct to the extent that it is not sufficient to merely "Dump Marcos". The Filipino people, who so desperately want a change, must have a strong and viable, yet more moderate alternative for the U.S. to support in lieu of Marcos. For any such alternative to succeed in returning long term stability to the Philippines, that alternative must earn the support of the Filipino masses.

US doctor lauds, takes issue with 'Malaya'

As a United States citizen and taxpayer, presently visiting the Philippines, I read your editorial entitled "Beggars Cannot Choose" of May 20, 1985 with both interest and curiosity. I fully agree with your conclusions.

However, I must question whether reforms coming from the Marcos government are possible based on its record of, and I quote, "... incredible stupidity, greed and ineptitude ..." in so badly managing the government and economy for the last 20 years.

In addition, I would like to clarify the priority of US interests in the Philippines. First and foremost is the obvious strategic position of the Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base vis-a-vis the Soviets' Cam Rahn Base in Vietnam. The rapid buildup of the Soviets' Pacific fleet to 544 naval vessels compared to 180 for the US, as recently reported by the Associated Press, is most revealing, as is the suspected flow of foreign communist support in money, and perhaps arms, into the Philippines.

But to whom is this position strategic and in what order of importance? First, it is strategic to the Filipino people to insure their own society's stability. Second, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, and Japan's vital sea lanes are endangered. Third, the integrity of all ASEAN states is jeopardized. Fourth, Australia's security becomes more vulnerable. The "self preservation" of remote US shores, however, is not directly affected.

The interests here of private US multinational corporations and international banks are indeed affected, but to what extent? To put the matter into proper perspective, foreign multinationals' interests in the Philippines, limited by law to 40 per cent ownership, represent only a small fraction of

their total investment exposure worldwide. Furthermore, much of their liquid investment capital has already been pulled out in the wake of the Aquino assassination. Moreover, the prospect for full repayment, in the foreseeable future, of both principal and interest on the Philippines' foreign debt is bleak. US international bank reserves have already been set aside to write off much of this poor credit risk.

Yet, your editorial implores for emergent economic assistance from the "friendly" US to the Filipino people who have been "... left literally gasping for breath for dear life..." and for immediate political reforms to avoid "... destruction as a democratic country..."

What economic, military, and political reforms and assistance are desperately needed and desired by the Filipino people? What is the feasibility of such reforms and assistance, and how are they to be structured and implemented so that all of the Filipino people will receive the intended benefit?

Your editorial states the Filipinos need further loans from the IMF and the World Bank to revive your crippled economy. How much money is needed, and how will these loans be spent? What is the order of priority and importance of such spending?

I suggest first things first. A massive infusion of food, clothing, medical care, and shelter as emergency resuscitation of dying people is critical for their immediate survival and stabilization.

Next, comprehensive, equitable land and profound banking reforms are clearly necessary. Then, development of the agricultural, fishing, manufacturing and natural resource industries, all premised on a living wage, can be pursued.

Should this new economy be based on the modern capitalistic systems of the US, Canada, Australia, and Japan or on some form of socialism? Perhaps it should be experimental hybrid economies modified to suit the Filipino conditions and temperament region by region.

Initially, such a new economy probably should be more domestic rather export-oriented so the Filipino people will benefit sooner.

After this new economic life begins to thrive, educational and social programs can be financed. The universal availability of high quality educational and health care systems could be attained.

Population planning must be instituted to combat the major underlying problem of a very dense population of 54 million growing at an unchecked annual rate of 2.7 per cent. Education and access of the population to a variety of effective methods of family planning could be pursued in an enlightened society of free will and choice.

Simultaneously with the above economic restructuring, how much military assistance is needed? Should it be indirect, intermediate, or direct?

First and foremost, military reforms and discipline, carried out by a leadership with unquestioned integrity, are needed to stop human right abuses since the real battle is to win the minds and hearts of the people. The professionalization of the patriotic soldiers and law respecting police can be achieved based on a living wage.

Money and arms alone, however, are not sufficient. More US advisors and increased joint US-Philippine military exercises appear needed to assist in this professional training. Assistance and training in intelligence gathering,

anti-propaganda activities, counter-subversion, and counter-insurgency also seem to be required.

If these indirect and intermediate military assistance measures, coupled with simultaneous economic and political reforms, should prove insufficient or too late, would direct US military intervention in the form of combat troops be called upon by the Filipino people? Would such intervention be acceptable to the American people and government in this post-Vietnam era? Are the tremendous distinctions between Vietnam and the Philippines apparent to the US?

Most crucially, under what political framework will the aforementioned economic and military improvements be feasible?

In conclusion to the article "Only Solution to NPA Problem" in your "Now and Then" column of May 20, 1985, you state, and I quote, "So, to put down the growing threat of communism, we (the Filipino people) have to get rid of Marcos and his unjust and corrupt regime. There is no other way..."

If indeed your conclusion is correct, what then? Fair and clean elections are not a realistic possibility at present. They are a rather illusory sham! So what are the alternatives for the immediate future? How can it be guaranteed that the alternative chosen would be a transition to eventual free democratic elections?

Are temporary, political opposition and clergy, cause-oriented group appointees advisable? Could these myriad, competing, self interest groups ever form a consensus which would be widely acceptable to the Filipino people? How would separation of church and state be attained to assure religious freedom and tolerance?

rance?

Would a balanced, joint military-private sector transitional administration be more achievable and less divisive? Who should comprise the private sector component? How can the integrity of such an administration be assured?

If at any time, should all these internal political solutions fail, would the Filipino people want Washington appointees as a last resort as a US protectorate or trust? There could be a second, more mature attempt at a commonwealth to eventually become a sovereign democratic nation or perhaps a US state after 25 years. However, I question whether the latter would be acceptable to the American taxpayers. It would probably be perceived by them as yet another very expensive burden.

JOHN M.
MEENAHAN, M.D.
C/o Angel Carpio
1268 Carola Street
Sampaloc
Manila

THE situation in this supposedly once sweet "Sugarland" province of Negros Occidental continues to deteriorate steadily. An overwhelming majority of the estimated 400,000 displaced sugar plantation and mill workers throughout the province, their dependent family members, and the poor squatters of Bacolod and other cities and towns are suffering from severe malnutrition, starvation, disease, and lack of medical care, decent clothing and shelter.

To understand the proportions of this inexcusable human tragedy, the province has a total population of approximately two million people. In an interview with this writer, Bacolod's Bishop Monsignor Antonio Fortich related that two-thirds of the children in the province and some 75,000 children in Bacolod alone suffer from 2nd and 3rd degree malnutrition. Medically, the definition is less than 80 per cent and less than 60 per cent of ideal body weight, respectively.

My own independent tours of squatters' and other poor areas in the vicinities of Kabankalan, Himalayon and Bacolod City confirm both the extent and degree of the problem. Further medical fact finding visits to the pediatric and malnutrition wards of the regional provincial hospital in Bacolod left an indelible, haunting impression on me as an experienced general family practice physician.

These wards are filled with small children afflicted with Kwashiorkor, their bellies swollen with ascitic fluid from protein deficiency. They suffer from severe skin rashes and anemia due to multiple vitamin, mineral, and other deficiencies. Their brains are dulled, the result of metabolic changes of starvation. They stare blankly into space waiting for death to end their misery. Many children, their bodies emaciated and too weak to fight any more, have already died of bronchopneumonia or dehydration secondary to infectious or nutritional diarrheas.

The medical staff of intern and resident physicians, nurses and nutritionists work valiantly doing everything humanly possible to save these children. Unfortunately, some patients are presented by their families in a moribund condition, too far gone to be saved. Inexcusably, there is not nearly enough bedspace for all those who need it, so many are turned away.

In addition, the types of much needed life-saving medicines are quite limited, and the quantity of those supplied by the government is woefully inadequate. A quarterly supply runs out in less than two months. The patients' families who cannot afford to buy food in the first place, certainly cannot afford the exorbitant costs of purchasing prescription medicines.

Furthermore, essential clinical laboratory tests such as bacterial culture and sensitivity to guide treatment of life

threatening infections in these debilitated children is not available. The doctors must therefore give antibiotic treatment by trial and error.

The hospital, despite rationing of X-rays, frequently runs out of film. The doctors have no choice, then, but to diagnose and treat pneumonias playing it by ear. The stethoscope is far less accurate than chest x-rays, especially in crying babies and small children.

This shameful situation, which costs the lives of many patients, continues despite the hospital's persistent imploring of the Ministry of Health.

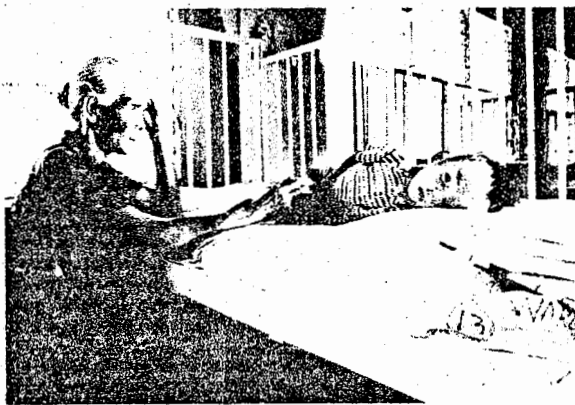
A senior pediatric resident physician stated that the problem of starving, diseased children is nothing new at the hospital. It already existed three years ago when she was an intern, although the number of such patients has increased somewhat the past year. She noted that only the last few months has there been any publicity about it.

medical conditions, to monitor growth and development, and to provide nutritional and health education and immunization. Standard childhood immunizations against diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, measles, mumps and rubella are seldom provided. Medical care for acute illnesses is usually inaccessible. Consequently, half of all deaths occur in infants during the first 12 months of life. This well documented mortality statistic is a societal disgrace.

Tuberculosis is rampant to the extent of being pandemic. Typhoid fever, rheumatic fever, hepatitis and amoebiasis are common. The appropriate vaccinations, effective antibiotic treatment, simple hygiene and health education, and sanitation measures could virtually eliminate these illnesses. However, almost nothing is done to combat these major public health menaces, a fact which is a real indictment of the Ministry of Health and the health care delivery system.

When Sweetness Goes

Going almost unnoticed are the legions of children slowly dying of malnutrition in the island of Negros



ELSEWHERE in the province health care is even more lacking and often completely absent.

Pre-natal check-ups and vitamins for pregnant mothers is rarely available. Maternal care for labor and delivery is almost always rendered by neighboring women or relatives untrained in midwifery. Education and access of the impoverished masses to a variety of effective methods of family planning is simply nonexistent despite the major problem of an exploding population and the resultant cycle of poverty it perpetuates.

There are practically no routine, periodic well baby and child health check-ups to screen for

According to Father Michael Martin, an Irish Catholic priest and Director of the Columban Father Missionaries headquartered in Himalayon, there are no medical facilities or physicians in the province south of Kabankalan. Yet the province stretches over 150 km beyond that point.

Moreover, an anecdotal story puts the adequacy of the Kabankalan and Himamaylan hospitals into serious question. For several days, I was the guest of a Himamaylan family with 13 children who make a hand-to-mouth subsistence by gathering *tuba* (coconut wine), shellfish and fishing. The oldest son, aged 16, is recovering from a broken back, several broken ribs, and a collapsed punc-



Haunted eyes and emaciated bodies: Children of sugar workers and farmers could only stare blankly at visitors.

tured lung which he sustained when he fell from the top of a coconut tree this past April. Since the hospitals in Kabankalan and Himamaylan lack X-ray facilities and are incapable of handling such serious problems, he had to be transported 2-1/3 hours by his family on a Ceres bus to the regional hospital in Bacolod. He is indeed fortunate not to have been left paraplegic or to have died from the collapsed lung during transport.

Apart from the present crisis of starvation and the chronic lack of medical care, the peasants have always been poorly nourished, poorly educated, and kept in a perpetual state of indebtedness by the landowners. Even in the many decades of prosperity for the landowners which preceded the sugar crisis, the workers' diet consisted primarily of rice and a little dried fish. They typically had to borrow money from their landowners during the off season to pay for their meager protein and vitamin-deficient food. The minimum wage (currently P32/day), which was not always paid in full, falls far below the government's poverty line figure of P90/day.

While the wealthy planters carried on very affluent, lavish lifestyles, with chauffeur-driven Mercedes Benzes, mansions in exclu-

sive subdivisions in both Bacolod and Makati, and constant jet-setting, the workers typically received only six years of rather inferior elementary education. While the sons and daughters of the larger landowners were often sent to expensive private universities and undergraduate schools in the United States, the children of the workers were sent to the inadequate, overcrowded, understaffed local schools which often had no books. It is no wonder their full potential as human beings has never been reached.

As Gustavo Gutierrez, the father of the theology of liberation, wrote in his book *We Drink From Our Own Wells*, "The real issue in this situation is becoming increasingly clear to us today: poverty means death. It means death due to hunger and sickness, or to the repressive methods used by those who see their privileged position being endangered by any effort to liberate the oppressed. It means physical death to which is added cultural death, inasmuch as those in power seek to do away with everything that gives unity and strength to the dispossessed of this world. In this way, those in power hope to make the dispossessed an easier prey for the machinery of oppression." — JOHN M. MEENAHAN, M.D., Contributor

**National Security Council
The White House**

System # _____

Package # 0304

DOCLOG BT A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>A</u> ✓
Rodney McDaniel	<u>2</u>	<u>h2-11</u>	<u>A</u>
Don Fortier	_____	_____	_____
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Florence Gantt	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Rodney McDaniel	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	<u>3</u>	_____	<u>D</u>
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____

I = Information	<u>A = Action</u>	R = Retain	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
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cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

RECEIVED 13 JAN 86 10

TO POINDEXTER

FROM MEENAHAN, JOHN

DOCDATE 29 DEC 85

KEYWORDS: PHILIPPINES

SUBJECT: MEENAHAN LTR TO POINDEXTER RE PHILIPPINES

ACTION: APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE: 17 JAN 86 STATUS X FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CHILDRESS

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

(KL)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
D03	D 1/13	Draft Reply Fr WH Sy	1/22	
	- 2/7	Recd State draft		
Childress	S 2/7	Appropriate action		
McDaniel	X 2/11	for spi.	2/12	
	C 2/11	McDaniel gd ltr		RC MW
PATCH	✓	2/11		WH 108

W/ATTCH

FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 13, 1986

CJ

MEMORANDUM FOR ADMIRAL POINDEXTER

THRU: M. B. OGLESBY, JR. *u.k. Oglesby*

FROM: ALAN KRANOWITZ *AK*

12 18
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PH008

FG001-02

FG006-12

The attached telegram is forwarded to you at the request of Congressman Dan Burton (R-IN) who feels very strongly that the President should know the election perceptions of some long-time American residents in the Philippines, and how their perceptions differ from those expressed by the Lugar observer group.

Mr. Burton has also requested that these individuals have an opportunity to meet with Ambassador Habib, the request for which has been relayed to Will Ball at State.

Bill Quasha

NSC 8601218

CONGRESSMAN DAN BURTON
120 CHOB

A GROUP OF HIGHLY PLACED AMERICANS SEVERAL OF WHOM HAVE BEEN HERE FOR MORE THAN 40 YEARS MET LAST NIGHT AT MY HOME. J MARSH THOMSON CHAIRMAN REPUBLICANS ABROAD PHILIPPINES, COL LEE TELESICO WHO PARTICIPATED IN SUBMARINE LANDINGS IN THE PHILIPPINES BY US FORCES IN WWII, COL ED RAMSEY WHO LED THE LARGEST GUERRILLA FORCE IN LUZON DURING WWII, JOHN MANNING WHO WAS BORN IN THE PHILIPPINES AND WAS INTERNED BY THE JAPS IN WWII, ALEX KELLER PRES PROCTER AND GAMBLE PHILS, BRUCE MEYER A LIFE LONG RESIDENT OF ASIA AND MYSELF.

HERE ARE OUR VIEWS BASED ON WHAT WE KNOW AND WHAT WE THINK: THE ELECTION IS OVER EXCEPT THE SHOUTING. IT IS STRANGE THAT SOME OF THE AMERICAN OBSERVERS AND MEDIA MEN ARE SCREAMING THE LOUDEST. RESULT: AMERICA COMES OFF AS THE BETE NOIR. AS WE AGREED WHEN YOU WERE HERE THIS WILL DO THE AMERICANS NO GOOD AND CAN DO US IRREPARABLE HARM.

SEN LUGAR WAS OUR GUEST AT A JOINT MEETING OF MANILA ROTARY, REPUBLICANS ABROAD AN AMCHAM LAST THURSDAY WHERE HE STATED THAT HE WAS HERE TO OBSERVE AND NOT MAKE JUDGMENTS. THIS WE FOUND ENCOURAGING. THEREAFTER HE MADE SOME STATEMENTS WHICH HAVE PROVOKED CHARGES THAT HE IS MEDDLING IN PHILIPPINE AFFAIRS. LAST NIGHT OUR GROUP DETERMINEDLY BUT UNSUCCESSFULLY TRIED UNTIL 11 PM TO REACH HIM. WE WANTED TO PLACE A MEMO IN HIS HANDS EXPRESSING OUR VIEW THAT HE IS BEING SEEN AS BEING MANIPULATED BY NAMFREL. WE THINK IT UNFORTUNATE THAT HE DID VISIT COMELEC, THE GOVT ARM RESPONSIBLE FOR MAKING THE OFFICIAL TALLY BUT SPENT THE PREPONDERANCE OF THIS TIME WITH THE US EMBASSY AND NAMFREL PEOPLE. SEN LUGAR EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION WITH COMELEC'S SLOW COUNT STATING THAT IN HIS POLITICAL JUDGMENT THESE DELAYS WERE MOTIVATED BY GOVT'S DESIRE TO MANIPULATE THE RESULTS. IT WAS LATER EXPLAINED THAT NAMFREL WAS AT FAULT FOR FAILING TO PROVIDE TIMELY THE TALLY SHEETS TO COMELEC. THIS WAS ADMITTED BY NAMFREL ON TV LAST NIGHT. NAMFREL IS BEING CHARGED WITH BEING AN ARM OF THE OPPOSITION DESPITE ITS MISSION TO BE IMPARTIAL CITIZENS ARM OF COMELEC.

IN OUR OPINION THIS WAS THE FAIREST ELECTION EVER HELD IN THE PHILIPPINES SINCE INDEPENDENCE³ (WE KNOW OF NO OLD TIME RESIDENT WHO DISAGREES). ELECTION WAS COMPARATIVELY QUIET AND PEACEFUL WITH LESS CASUALTIES THAN PAST ELECTIONS. REUBEN CANDY ANOTHER OPPOSITION CANDIDATE WELL RESPECTED ANNOUNCED ON TV LAST NIGHT THAT THIS ELECTION WAS CLEAN AND FAIR.

WE SEE NO PRESENT DANGER OF REVOLUTION OR COUP. MRS AQUINO CONTINUES TO MAKE INFLAMMATORY STATEMENTS TANTAMOUNT TO REVOLUTION. THIS MAY NOT CONSTITUTE AS DESTABILIZING AN INFLUENCE AS THE EFFECT OF UNREMITTING ADVERSE COMMENTS BY US OBSERVERS AND PRESS WHICH PEOPLE HERE SEE AS US POLICY. THESE TERMS HAVE A PERFECT RIGHT TO OBSERVE AND REPORT. THE FILIPINO PERCEPTION OF THEM IS THAT THEY ARE NOT ONLY PREJUDGING BUT THAT THEY ARE ARROGATING TO THEMSELVES THE RIGHT TO TELL THE FILIPINO PEOPLE HOW TO DEAL WITH THEIR OWN PROBLEMS.

AT THE END OF THE DAY THERE MAY BE GREAT ANIMOSITY BETWEEN ONE GROUP OF FILIPINOS AND ANOTHER. WHAT ONE WANTS TO AVOID IT SEEMS TO US IS THAT AMERICANS ARE NOT PERCEIVED AS BEING THE ENEMY OF BOTH AND CERTAINLY NOT OF THE WINNER.

WE ARE SENDING THIS MESSAGE TO AMB ROGERS AS WELL IN THE HOPE THAT ONE OF YOU CAN GET OUR CONCERNS TO PRESIDENT REAGAN. WE HOPE YOU CAN GET OUR MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT BUT IN ANY EVENT URGE THAT YOU DELIVER OUR MESSAGE TO SEN LUGAR ASAP.

ONE UNDOUBTEDLY SEES MANY THINGS ONE DOES NOT LIKE BUT ONE REMEMBERS THAT THIS IS NOT OUR FIGHT. OUR JOB IT SEEMS TO US IS TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR AMERICAN INFLUENCE TO REMAIN STRONG HERE. THE ALTERNATIVE IS TO SEE THE SOVIETS IN CLARK AND SUBIC AS THEY ARE IN CAM RANH BAY. THOSE MENTIONED ABOVE JOIN IN THIS TELEX.

REGARDS

BILL QUASHA

**National Security Council
The White House**

System # _____

Package # _____

DOCLOG _____ A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	_____	_____	_____
Rodney McDaniel	_____	_____	_____
Don Fortier	_____	_____	_____
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Florence Gantt	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Rodney McDaniel	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	1	_____	Staff
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____

I = Information	A = Action	R = Retain	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
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cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other RBW, WRP, DRE

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

647
4559

RECEIVED 14 FEB 86 14

TO POINDEXTER FROM OGLESBY, M B

DOCDATE 13 FEB 86

KEYWORDS: PHILIPPINES

CONGRESSIONAL

QUASHA, BILL

BURTON, DAN

SUBJECT: CY TELEGRAM RE PHILIPPINE ELECTIONS

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE:

STATUS C FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CHILDRESS

SABLE

PEARSON

FORTIER

MCDANIEL

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

(LB LB)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

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Johnson & Johnson

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JAMES E. BURKE
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY 08933

February 17, 1986

The Honorable Donald T. Regan
Chief of Staff and Assistant to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Don:

I am sure you may wonder why, with my own crisis to deal with, I would be presumptuous enough to write you about the one in the Philippines.

While I am heartsick about the TYLENOL problem, my anguish at this moment is also matched by my deep concern for our 800 employees and all the wonderful people in the Philippines where I visited in October.

It is in this spirit that I respectfully commend the attached to you and all those involved with this difficult decision.

Sincerely,

J. E. Burke

hh
Attachment

Put the Heat on Marcos

By W. Scott Thompson

WASHINGTON — President Reagan offered Ferdinand E. Marcos a carrot. Now he ought to wield the stick.

This is no time for Mr. Reagan to waffle. Washington holds the trump cards, as Mr. Marcos and his opponent, Corazon C. Aquino, are well aware. For Mr. Marcos, those cards are America's two military bases in the Philippines and the prospects for the Marcos family's personal and financial security once he leaves office — and perhaps the country.

Until Mr. Reagan turned up the heat on Mr. Marcos by raising democratic hopes in the Philippines, no one expected Mr. Marcos to respect the outcome of the voting. While Mr. Marcos called the election only after Mr. Reagan sent Senator Paul Laxalt to Manila to discuss American concern over the rate of deterioration of the country's security situation, he did so only to show that he continued to control the body politic and the state machinery. Besides, he has another year to go in his term of office and enough legal power to invalidate inconvenient results.

Even though Mr. Reagan not only gave Mr. Marcos fair warning but also promised a huge increase in aid

to the winner of fair elections, Mr. Marcos missed our point and failed his own election aim. He dramatically underestimated Mrs. Aquino, who reunited and galvanized the democratic center and demonstrated that she is tough enough to lead the nation. Her electoral groundswell was too great for Mr. Marcos to hide by using hoary election fraud.

Mr. Marcos's efforts to use the media to appeal to the American people, over the heads of the embassy and observer teams, by accusing his opponent of refusing to accept the dictates of democracy is ludicrous — this from the man who, as long ago as 1972, browbeat and corrupted a constitutional convention into ceding him powers to destroy democracy.

What cards can the Administration play? Economic and military aid have been shown to be insubstantial leverage. When America talks about its crucial military installations in the Philippines, Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base, it deals only with their international role. But the presence of those bases — from which Mr. Marcos could never oust us — and their sizable armed populations wield enormous influence over Philippine minds. We don't have to threaten armed intervention for Mr. Marcos to be aware that we could. Clubs are trump in the Philippines these days.

Washington also has a smaller but perhaps even more powerful card — the visa. In 1978, as the Shah of Iran was falling, I spent an evening with Mr. Marcos and Imela R. Marcos listening to their prescient analysis of

the Pahlevi family's dependence on Washington for its well-being and financial security in exile. The Administration ought to tell Mr. Marcos that if he wants our protection, he better play by the rules: hand over power. His billion-dollar fortune in this country is otherwise almost worthless to him. His personal safety is less assured in other countries: If he has doubts, he can recall the assassination in Paraguay of the exiled Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle.

If Mr. Reagan urges a coalition — who doubts that Mr. Marcos would continue to wield real power and continue his charade? — he may miss his greatest chance yet to encourage the world's democratic forces. Mrs. Aquino's supporters need all the encouragement Washington can give them if new Philippine leadership is to have a significant opportunity to tame the Communist insurgency and deal with the economic desert that Mr. Marcos and his cronies have created.

Mr. Reagan is custodian of the Philippines' only democratic solution. He must — under whatever cover or pretext — persuade Mr. Marcos to turn power over to the obvious winner, or face the consequences. Mr. Reagan told the British Parliament that democracy "is not a fragile flower. Still it needs cultivating." It also needs a chance. If not in a former American colony, where our influence is enormous and for whose electoral crisis and opportunity we bear responsibility and deserve some credit, then where? □

W. Scott Thompson, adjunct professor of international politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, is author of "Unequal Partners: Philippine and Thai Relations With the U.S."

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W. Scott Thompson, adjunct professor of international politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, is author of "Unequal Partners: Philippine and Thai Relations With the U.S."

Ag

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ROBERT R. McMILLAN

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February 8, 1986

Dear Pat,

Thank you for making the effort
to have me included on the Philippine
election team. While it didn't work
out, Senator Lugar expressed to me
the interest you had taken.

If I can ever be of service to
the President, please feel free to
call on me.

Best regards.

R McMILLAN

173 Kensington Rd.

Garden City, N.Y. 11530

Bob