

CIA Chief Casey Gives It To Him Straight **U.S. Presses Marcos for Early Elections**

See story on page 5



Senate Wants to Tie Future Aid to 'Democratization'

By JON MELEGRITO
Washington, D.C.

A prevailing view among an increasing number of people in the Philippines is that the United States is not acting as strongly as it might to encourage democratic revitalization," said Sen. John Kerry, a Massachusetts Democrat.

His remarks accompanied a sense-of-the-Senate amendment which links future aid to the Philippines to progress in democratic reforms and human rights.

The Kerry Amendment leaves untouched the Reagan administration's aid figure of \$180 million for 1986. But it demands the following preconditions for aid in 1987 and beyond:

- free, fair and honest elections in 1986 and 1987, or sooner should any such election occur;

- full, fair and open prosecution of the murderers of Benigno Aquino, including those involved in the cover-up;

- freedom of speech and freedom of the press;

- termination of the Presidential Detention Action;

- release of all individuals detained or imprisoned for peaceful political activities; and

- substantial progress in terminating extrajudicial killings by the Philippine military and security forces and the prosecution of those responsible for such killings in the past.

"The United States is viewed as being only interested in the bases, not the Filipino people, not the record of democracy in that region, not the broader interests of U.S. foreign policy, but only the bases," Kerry insisted as he introduced the amendment which passed overwhelmingly 89-8.

A STRONG SIGNAL

The senator noted that the "revitalization of democracy in the Philippines is of paramount concern" to the U.S. and its foreign policy and that the approval of his amendment will serve as a "strong signal" to that effect.

Kerry based his observations on a visit April 6 through 11 during which time he met with President Ferdinand Marcos, government representatives and a number of opposition figures. At that time, he noted the "frustration" of some American officials over the slow pace of reform.

"I can assure you the U.S. feels strongly enough about the issues that, if we don't see the responses we think ought to come all across the board . . . I think we're going to have a Congress in the U.S. that has become more restive and less willing to be patient."

A number of senators spoke in support
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Embargo, Renewed Contra Aid Bill

Reagan Pushes for Nicaragua's Destabilization



Reagan to contras (above): "We will never abandon you."

By WICKS GEAGA

Despite its increasing isolation internationally and inability to rally support from even the most trusted allies for its undeclared war to overthrow the revolutionary government of Nicaragua, the Reagan administration refuses to cry uncle.

On the contrary, Washington has even heightened its acts of aggression as witnessed by Reagan's May 7 imposition of a trade embargo on Nicaragua. The White House is also waging an all out effort in Congress to create a consensus that will support direct military intervention as a last ditch, and increasingly probable, option.

While the embargo is intended to tighten the noose around an already war-ravaged Nicaraguan economy, its declaration was Reagan's immediate response to the defeat of his contra aid bill in Congress a week earlier. Apart from \$14 million in aid, what Reagan really wanted was the mandate to pursue, out in the open, his efforts to overthrow the Sandinista government. A Congressional approval of the contra aid would have constituted that blank check.

With one stroke, Reagan slyly skirted his recent Congressional setback and regained the initiative in the battle over U.S. policy on Nicaragua. By declaring a state of "national emergency" and waiving the International Emergency Economic Powers Act of 1977, the chief-executive circumvented any congressional opposition to his unilateral move for embargo.

According to Reagan's executive order, "the policies and actions of the government of Nicaragua constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national secur-

ity and foreign policy of the United States."

To back up the claim, Reagan listed the same widely discredited charges that failed to win the congressional debate for contra funding, and some of which have even been refuted by his administration's own intelligence. For example, a U.S. intelligence report has admitted that the "massive arms buildup" in Nicaragua followed rather than preceded the U.S.-financed contra attacks.

Despite the dubious charges behind it, the embargo has gained considerable support from congressmembers including many who opposed Reagan's contra aid bill.

These opponents were especially vulnerable to Reagan's rhetoric against Nicaragua's "close military and security ties to Cuba and the Soviet Union." After the press covered Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega's visit to the Soviet Union in search of economic aid, a number of lawmakers immediately announced that they were reconsidering their vote against the contra aid proposal.

Nicaraguan officials refused to apologize for the visit (which was followed by a visit to European heads-of-state) saying that they will never allow their country's foreign policy to be held hostage by the whims of the U.S. government.

The growing defections from the anti-contra vote not only reveal the unstable congressional opposition to Reagan's interventionist stance but also the extent of anti-Sandinista prejudice within this opposition. What on the surface appeared to be a strong consensus for a peaceful political accommodation with Nicaragua is eroding in the face of the administration's unrelenting anti-Soviet rhetoric. Basically, the disagreement with the administration

is not over the desire to see the Sandinistas ousted but over the measures needed to accomplish that end.

Reagan strategists are confident that, ultimately, congressional critics will be won over to their view that direct U.S. military intervention is the only viable measure remaining, given the successive defeats of the contra forces at the hands of the Nicaraguan army and militia. The embargo raises the ante and serves to prod the waffling congressional opposition closer to that consensus.

EMBARGO IMPACT

While Reagan officials admit the embargo "is hardly enough by itself to make the Sandinistas cry uncle," its effects will nevertheless be felt by an already limping Nicaraguan economy. The brunt of the trade sanctions will probably be borne by agricultural and industrial sectors that rely heavily on U.S. machinery. Managua can possibly still obtain these items from U.S. subsidiaries operating outside the U.S., but undoubtedly at increased costs and added strain to its limited foreign reserves.

Nicaraguan exports to the U.S.—bananas, coffee, shellfish and beef—will also experience immediate aftershocks, even as Managua attempts to secure alternate markets for these goods.

Taking a cue from Washington's previous acts of economic sabotage, such as the blocking of loans from international lending agencies and the cutting of Nicaraguan sugar exports to the U.S. market by 90%, Managua early on adopted the prudent policy of expanding and diversifying its economic relations with other countries.

As a result, trade with the U.S. was reduced from nearly 50% in 1978 to

about 16% in 1984 for both imports and exports. At the same time, Nicaragua dramatically increased its economic exchange with Western Europe, Japan, and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

MANAGUA REACTION

Hardly surprised by Washington's latest action, the Sandinista government immediately vowed to challenge the embargo's legality in the World Court and the United Nations.

Nicaraguan leaders point out that while Reagan's executive order meticulously complies with the technicalities of U.S. congressional law, the action flagrantly violates the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade as well as the charters of the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

Aside from undertaking measures geared to soften the embargo's damaging effects, Managua is also waging a concerted effort to isolate Washington before international opinion.

In the United Nations, 37 out of 38 countries that spoke during a three-day debate on the embargo criticized the U.S. move. The critics included important U.S. allies. In order not to worsen its isolation in the world body, the U.S. refrained from using its blanket veto and was instead forced to call for a paragraph-by-paragraph vote on a Security Council resolution. As a result, the U.S. had to sign U.N. resolution 562 which contains among other provisions, the call for the resumption of bilateral talks between Washington and Managua. It was the first time the U.S. has formally committed itself to such negotiations before an international body.

Meanwhile, numerous countries have either criticized or condemned the embargo, including U.S. allies in Western Europe. Moreover, not one country has initiated moves to complement Washington's action. Instead, Italy and France pledged economic support to Managua, and in Brussels, the European Economic Community proposed a political cooperation pact with four Central American countries including Nicaragua. The Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries also pledged political and economic support.

In Latin America, the embargo was greeted coldly except by the U.S. client states of El Salvador and Honduras. Contadora states like Mexico, said the embargo undermines the process of peaceful negotiations for a political resolution of the Central American conflict. The Organization of American States condemned the use of sanctions among member states. In Venezuela on May 15, 24 Latin American states—members of the Latin American Economic System—demanded that the U.S. lift the embargo and vowed to help Nicaragua overcome its impact.

But even with the unpopularity of its Nicaragua policy, the Reagan administration is not expected to soften. Reagan has already made clear his imperial obsession: the overthrow of sovereign Nicaragua's democratically elected revolutionary government. On May 22, Reagan announced the reintroduction of his contra aid bill in Congress and predicted he will get the support of the liberals this time. □

PLO

Continued from page 15

gates acceptable to Tel Aviv—definitely excluding the PLO. Not surprisingly, the PNC has rejected the Reagan Plan.

RECTIFICATION

PNC chairman, Khaled Fahoum termed Arafat's actions "a flagrant violation of the rules of the PNC." Arafat's hostility towards Syria, his cultivation of a cult of personality and lack of collective accountability have all been criticized by the rest of the PLO's leadership.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, however, also triggered a process of political and theoretical assessment among revolutionary forces with the PFLP taking the lead. It criticized the PLO's tendency to ignore the impossibility of coexistence between the Palestinian people and the Arab nation on the one hand (there was only one Arab nation under the Ottoman empire before the imperialist division of the Arab world), and Zionism on the other. This irreconcilability with Zionism, PFLP

asserts, is a strategic question for the Palestinian revolution and central to its victory.

The PFLP criticized the DFLP for wavering in its commitment to a unified democratic secular Palestine state as the only resolution of the contradiction between the Jews and the Palestinian masses in Israel and the occupied territories. It also underscored the fact that the Palestinian liberation is bound up with Arab liberation, and that the PLO is part of the Arab liberation movement that has the Palestinian revolution as its vanguard component.

Based on these clarifications and the criticism of capitulationist tendencies within the PLO, a united front known as the National Salvation Front has been formed within the organization.

The NSF was formalized in Damascus early this year, joined by almost all of PLO's organizations and institutions except Arafat's faction of the FATAH and the DFLP. Abu Mousa and the PFLP jointly proposed the coalition after the groundwork was laid out by the PFLP. Extensive discussions and conferences led to its formalization.

The NSF aims to check the dangerous drift towards accommodation with the U.S., Israel, and Arab reactionaries among some PLO forces by strengthening its

nationalist, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist program. It democratizes the PLO and is forging a collective leadership.

Although Arafat's prestige, built over 20 years, makes it difficult for the masses of Palestinians to see his errors and places him in contention with the NSF's leadership, the latter has the political and organizational initiative to guide the PLO in carrying out its revolutionary tasks.

Reaffirming the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the NSF upholds all the resolutions passed by the legal PNC sessions. It specifically rejects the PNC convened by Arafat in Amman, Jordan, last February 11 which was attended by Arafat-appointed delegates. This rump meeting led to the Hussein-Arafat Agreement of February 13 authorizing King Hussein to negotiate with the U.S. on behalf of the Palestinians.

This recent development places the PLO in a much stronger position to stand up to Reagan and Hussein's attempts to derail the Palestinian revolution. It also sets the condition for rebuilding the PLO and its guerilla army. Already, the NSF has called for the intensification of the armed struggle in the occupied territories and the countries around Palestine. □

Sen. Simpson's New Immigration Dragnet

There he goes again. Wyoming Republican Senator Alan Simpson has created a new immigration bill that is even more repressive than the failed measure he co-sponsored with Rep. Romano Mazzoli last year. Simpson II wants stiff penalties for employers hiring undocumented workers and delays any legalization (amnesty) program until these sanctions have been proven effective.

Employers convicted of knowingly hiring undocumented aliens would be fined up to \$10,000 a worker or face criminal prosecution. Simpson II would delay any amnesty program until a presidentially appointed Legalization Commission ascertained that these sanctions had dramatically curbed illegal immigration.

In fine print this means there could be no amnesty at all because with such an ambitious goal, this commission surely would never be satisfied with the sanctions' actual results. Sanctions, of course, will work in one

way: stigmatizing all job-seekers who "look or sound" foreign, and institutionalizing terror in the workplace.

But assume illegal immigration had been miraculously stemmed by the sanctions. Simpson II then would begin granting temporary status to undocumented aliens who had lived continuously in the U.S. since before January 1, 1980. Would everything then be okay for these people who supposedly could become permanent residents in three years by learning English, U.S. history and government or by enrolling in programs to learn these things?

No, because what Simpson II giveth, it also taketh away. It would put a ceiling on federal reimbursements for the cost of local and state public assistance that would result from any legalization program. Last year Simpson/Mazzoli asked for \$1 billion-a-year for four years to be paid to all the states combined, and the states said "Not enough." Now Simpson II only wants to reimburse \$600 million-a-year for three years. Meaning, for the thousands of undocumented who would surface there could be no legalization at all because the states would not be able to help everyone.

The fine print reads however, that they would be at the mercy of immigration authorities who would already know their identities and whereabouts.

Who would Simpson II treat "kindly" then? The bill would allow seasonal agricultural workers to enter temporarily especially if growers needed them badly due to unexpected harvest conditions. The bold print reads: Only those willing to be openly exploited would be welcome.

Simpson II by whatever name, is the bigotted, repressive Simpson/Mazzoli bill and worse. But Sen. Simpson is not speaking only for himself. Attorney General Edwin Meese quickly praised Simpson II as "a fair, balanced and effective package."

The bill is the Reagan administration's immigration legislation. It has all the hallmarks of an administration that is hell bent on eliminating affirmative action, school integration, abortion rights, and anything it seems, that resembles civil rights. This bill should be opposed as the Simpson/Reagan bill. □

Letters

Readers are encouraged to write to AK. Please keep them brief. We reserve the right to edit for length and clarity, and will withhold names upon request.

Slippery

Anent "Fire in the House of FM Blazes On," May 1985, watch out for Johnny Ponce Enrile, the Minister of Defense. He is as slippery as any of them and I bet he has also ambitions to be number one. About Cojuangco, isn't he part of the conspiracy against Aquino? Keep going because I like what I read.

Gene Tubias
Jackson Heights, NY

Not Surprised

I have relatives in Biñan, Laguna and also in Muntinlupa, Rizal but I have not been home for almost twenty years and I want to visit sometime. What is the situation there now, are there NPAs in those places

Ang Katipunan

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Editor: Rene Cruz

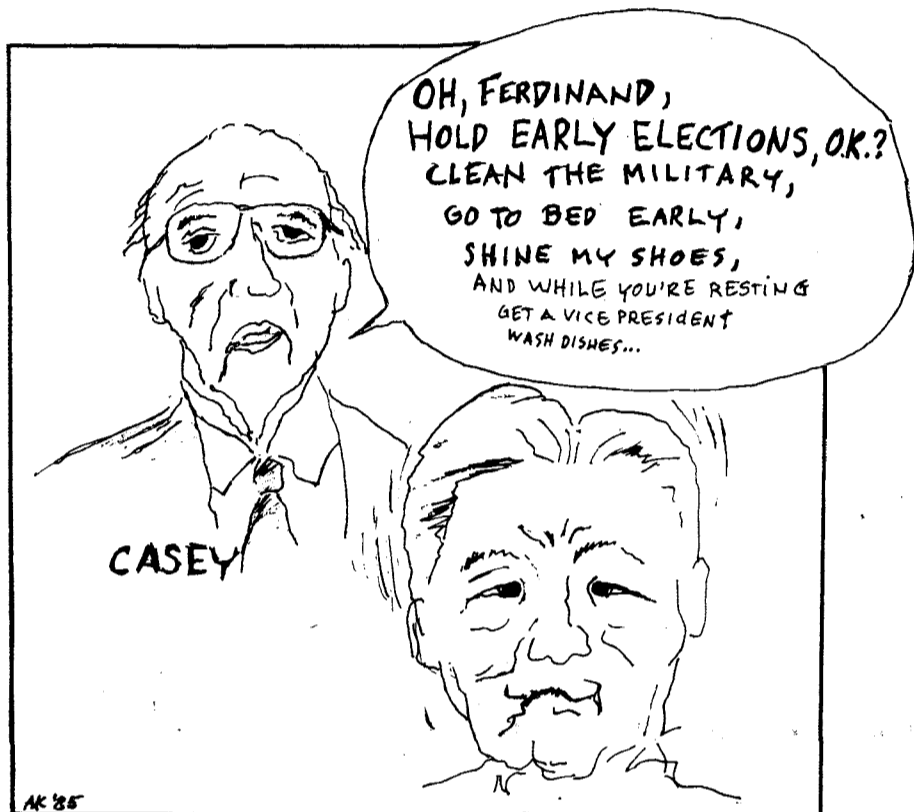
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U.S./International: Wicks Geaga, Eddie Escultura

Art and Production: Wicks Geaga, Nene Ojeda, Vince Reyes

too? I would not be surprised because many people there are poor but will you write something soon about Laguna province please. I would appreciate the information.

S. V. C.
Garden Grove, CA



Litter from Manila

The 'Laughing Guy'



By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

CIA chief Wild Bill Casey has no business "telling" our President when we should be holding our elections. \$180 million in U.S. aid does not buy Americans the right to do that! That amount only entitles them to hint. Now at \$300 million, they can "consult" and for half a billion, they can "suggest." But only for more than that amount can they "have frank discussions" with our chief. Of course, if they give us what Israel gets—about \$3 billion—why, they can start "telling." And for more than that, of course they can start "ordering" and "demanding"—and hey, what do they want us to do with Gen. Ver. But they should be taught how to treat us with respect. They should know that we Filipinos know the price of independence and its true value adjusted to inflation. Damn Yankees.

So, okay, the prosecution at the Aquino murder trial hit it big when the "Crying Lady" finally testified she saw a soldier shoot Aquino. The only reason the defense didn't cross-examine her is they are preparing a big counterattack. Dean Antonio Coronel, Gen. Ver's defense lawyer, confided to me that they are readying their secret star witness. Who could this be?

"He's the 'Laughing Guy,'" Coronel revealed. "We finally found him after a long search. He was rolling in the aisle while watching the National Assembly in session.

But how will the "Laughing Guy" debunk the "Crying Lady?"

"Ha. Ha. Ha. That's easy. The prosecution, you see, wants to show that the Crying Lady was crying at the airport because she witnessed something sad happen. But our witness was at the same place at the same time and he—get this—was laughing."

Hmmm, very intriguing I thought.

"Intriguing is right. These, mind you, are two very different interpretations of the same event. One of the witnesses is lying. I submit it is the Crying Lady who should've been laughing but who, for suspicious and unknown reasons, insisted on being lachrymose," Coronel explained.

"Not only that. According to the racist and biased foreign media, the Crying Lady told people around her: 'They already killed Aquino why are you still not crying?' But they deliberately refused to report that the Laughing Guy was just a few feet away saying a completely different thing.

"He said: 'They already killed Rolando Galman, the communist assassin whose nickname is embroidered in his underwear, who shot Aquino by jumping up first so the bullet could go on a downward trajectory, who had no prior links whatsoever to Gen. Ver who in turn was not under any instructions from President Marcos to kill Aquino. Justice is already done. Why are you still not laughing?' And that sir, was his complete statement."

An amazing testimony! It will more than bolster the defense's line of argument. The Laughing Guy will put the Crying Lady out of business.

"There is only one problem now, Mr. Delihencia. The guy has suddenly stopped laughing and we need your advice. We've brought in clowns, comedians, the labor minister, but to no avail. He might have fallen in love with the pretty Crying Lady, who knows, but if he starts crying too we're ruined! Gen. Ver's fate depends on his sense of humor. So, have you heard any good jokes lately?"

How about "Why did Mrs. Marcos feel insulted when she got the invitation to President Tancredo Neves' funeral? Because he didn't sign it personally." Ha! Ha, ha, okay, Coronel didn't get it. So, I just told him to give it straight to the Laughing Guy. Arouse his patriotism. Tell him the public's belief that President Marcos killed Ninoy has even forced the First Lady to declare she's not running for president.

"Muwahahahahaha! That's a good one! Yaahahoo! Thank you, Mr. Delihencia. Our guy will lap this up for sure and we'll get that acquittal in the bag!"

Always glad to be of help but, I still don't get the joke.

He too, has been a victim of the usual accusations of graft and corruption in office but Manila's Mayor Ramon Bagatsing is really a kind and God-fearing man. As he has done every Lenten season for several years now, the hizzoner checked in for a three-day retreat at the Manila city jail last April, *Bulletin Today* reported. His stay with hardened criminals has always been a much-awaited event for the inmates who receive from the mayor gifts like free haircuts, new bed sheets, and meals of lechon and other native delicacies. But the material benefits they enjoy are dwarfed by the moral and spiritual ones. The mayor gives them expert advice on how to avoid a life of crime.

"Well, it's not really that ambitious," the ever-modest mayor even corrected me. "Just expert advice on how to avoid jail."

For his superb project of rehabilitation-by-example, Bagatsing has received a pile of letters from enthusiastic constituents urging him to check in at the city jail more often and for longer times. One admirer wrote: "Because of all the things he has done in office the mayor should turn this Lenten gesture into a lifetime project. I don't know about the city jail, but it would do the city a lot of good." How about it Monching?

What's Happening in the PLO?



Arafat

Habash

Hawatmeh

Nogues/Sygnia

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

What's happening to the Palestine Liberation Organization? Since 1964, the PLO has functioned as the effective umbrella for several armed organizations, trade unions, students' and women's groups, and various institutions united in the struggle for a democratic secular state in all of Palestine which embraces the whole of Israel, the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip. But in recent years, the PLO has been weighted down, torn, and buffeted by tribulations so awesome that one must conclude its persistence is simply heroic.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 was so ruthless that it led Western commentators to foolishly conclude that "the PLO is finished." Of course, it emerged again but only to be shaken by a violent internal strife.

Now, the Zionists are retreating from Lebanon, affording the Palestine resistance valuable time and space to regroup and rebuild its strength. But fundamentalist Shiite militias, erstwhile allies, have suddenly turned their guns on the Palestinians, apparently intent on wiping out the PLO bases—a task the Israelis failed to accomplish.

Palestinian men, women and children are resisting valiantly but these recent attacks have added another challenge to the battle-scarred but not battle-weary liberation movement.

Despite the constant difficulties, or more appropriately because of them, Palestinian revolutionaries are undertaking heroic efforts to set the PLO on stronger political foundations and to defeat "capitulationist elements" led by Yasser Arafat himself.

TESTS AND TRIUMPHS

Needless to say, the PLO's history is replete with both tests and triumphs. It has built and kept an extensive political, military, and economic infrastructure linking up bases in Lebanon, Syria and the West Bank. During its early years, the PLO set extensive bases in Jordan only to suffer from King Hussein's infamous 1969 Black September massacre that killed 10,000 PLO cadres and Palestinian refugees.

In the West Bank the PLO had built such a formidable base that virtually all its supporters who ran for office in the 1976 elections conducted under Israeli occupation won. Three elected PLO mayors, however, would be disabled by a bomb planted by Zionist terrorists. Now, all mayors are appointed by Tel Aviv.

The PLO has enjoyed the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and that of the progressive Arab governments of Syria, Socialist Yemen, Libya and Algeria. It has even earned a permanent observer status in the United Nations. In 1974, the Arab conference in Tunisia, recognizing an accomplished fact, declared the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Expectedly, the PLO's growth has always worried Tel Aviv no end. Zionist troops have crossed into neighboring countries many times to destroy PLO bases, sacrificing Palestinian refugee communities at the altar of "Israeli security."

The same goal impelled Israel to invade Lebanon in 1982. This time it was made easier with the assurance—under the Camp David Agreement—that Egypt, the most militarily and economically developed Arab state, would not come to the aid of the PLO.

Although the unexpectedly fierce resistance from the

PLO and the patriotic forces in Lebanon eventually forced the Israeli troops out of Lebanon, the invasion was clearly a setback for the Palestinian movement. It forced the PLO out of Beirut and southern Lebanon and caused serious disorientation in its leadership.

LEBANON SETBACK

Until 1982, the biggest armed group in the PLO was the FATAH, founded by Yasser Arafat in 1965. A nationalist organization, FATAH represents the views of the Palestinian bourgeoisie and middle class. Its politics is diverse, ranging from the views of national democrats such as Abu Mousa to the rightwing politics of Hani Hassan who is close to the Saudi Arabian monarchy and tends to accommodate Western overtures on the Palestinian issue. Arafat vacillated between these two tendencies.

Now, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, founded by Dr. George Habash in 1967, is probably the largest and most active armed group. It is also the leading Marxist-Leninist organization in the PLO. Unlike the FATAH which relies heavily on the Arab regimes for support, the PFLP counts on the Arab masses as its strategic allies, along with the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, and other national liberation movements. It views the Palestinian struggle in the context of the anti-imperialist movement and the liberation of the whole Arab world.

The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which split from the PFLP in 1969, is another group in the PLO that considers itself a Marxist-Leninist organization. Headed by Nayef Hawatmeh, the DFLP is at times open to the "two state solution" as the ultimate solution to the Palestinian question. This proposal calls

for the establishment of two separate (Jewish and Palestinian) states.

Another split-off from the PFLP is the PFLP-General Command which sees the Palestinian struggle in purely military terms. Other armed components of the PLO include such nationalist organizations as Sa'iq ("Lightning") Arab Liberation Front, Popular Struggle Front and the Palestinian Liberation Front.

The invasion of Lebanon widened the division in FATAH. Its military commander, Abu Mousa, and his supporters criticized Arafat's individualistic brand of leadership, his increasing closeness to King Hussein and openness to Reagan initiatives. A costly military confrontation drove Arafat out of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

Habash, calling Arafat the "Sadat of the PLO," has supported Abu Mousa's attempts to democratize FATAH and check its rightward drift. But the PFLP has refrained from direct intervention in FATAH. Though critical of Arafat, the DFLP called the rebel forces in FATAH "criminal."

Syria aided FATAH's rebel forces in expelling Arafat's fighters from Bekaa. Now Arafat's army has been scattered in various countries and become virtually inactive. Both the Soviet Union and the Lebanese Communist Party called for an end to the strife and the restoration of anti-imperialist unity.

ARAFAT TURNS RIGHT

Arafat has in fact, moved dramatically to the right. With the PLO setback in Lebanon, he has lost confidence in the armed struggle and shown more pronounced reliance on the reactionary Arab regimes. He believes the Arab regimes can extract concessions from the U.S. by using oil as leverage. He has embraced King Hussein, the butcher of 10,000 Palestinians, and made up with Hosni Mubarak in violation of the boycott of Egypt by the Palestinian National Council, the Palestinian parliament.

Arafat has just about accepted the U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 which seeks Palestinian recognition of Israel's "right to exist" in exchange for Palestinian "self-determination." It is a proposal already rejected by the PNC.

Arafat is also leaning toward the Reagan plan which is merely an extended version of Camp David. It calls for a five-year transition in which the Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza Strip will have "autonomy." The proposed Palestinian entity would be tied to a confederation with Jordan under King Hussein.

Given the extent of Israeli settlements in these territories, the Palestinians would be confined to scattered small pockets of land—certainly not sufficient to accommodate the repatriation of the Palestinian refugees. This autonomous territory will have no economic base since the present Palestinian residents there serve mainly as a pool of workers and reserve labor for Israeli industries.

At best, a "leopard spot" mini-state or a group of "bantustans" could evolve—lorded over by Jordan and surrounded by the Israeli military.

Under the Reagan plan there is no mention of the PLO which Israel and the U.S. do not recognize. The U.S. simply authorizes King Hussein to head the "Palestinian" delegation and choose Palestinian dele-

Continued on page 16

A Stolen Homeland

Palestine was known in ancient times as Canaan, the birthplace of Christianity and the site of the ancient city of Jerusalem. It is bounded by the Mediterranean in the west, Syria and the Jordan River in the east, Lebanon in the north, and Egypt in the southwest.

Until the turn of the century Palestine was populated almost exclusively by Palestinian Arabs. But the Zionist movement, looking for "a land without people" to settle "a people without a land," namely, the Jewish minorities in various parts of the world, cast its eye on this ancient land. Zionist mythology depicted Palestine as an uninhabited desert—a reflection of Zionism's essentially racist underpinnings and its almost century-old attempt to "invisibilize" the Palestinians.

This Zionist search for land coincided with the imperialist need for an outpost in that part of the world to ensure continued flow of Middle Eastern oil to Western industries and war machines. Thus, in 1947 the United States rammed through the United Nations a plan for the partition of Palestine into a Jewish state and a Palestinian state, as well as Jordanian control of the West Bank, and Egyptian administration of the Gaza strip. Although only six per cent of the population of Palestine at the time were Jews, despite generations of Zionist efforts to establish Jewish settlements there, 56% of the land was appropriated for the Jewish state.

But even before the plan could be implemented

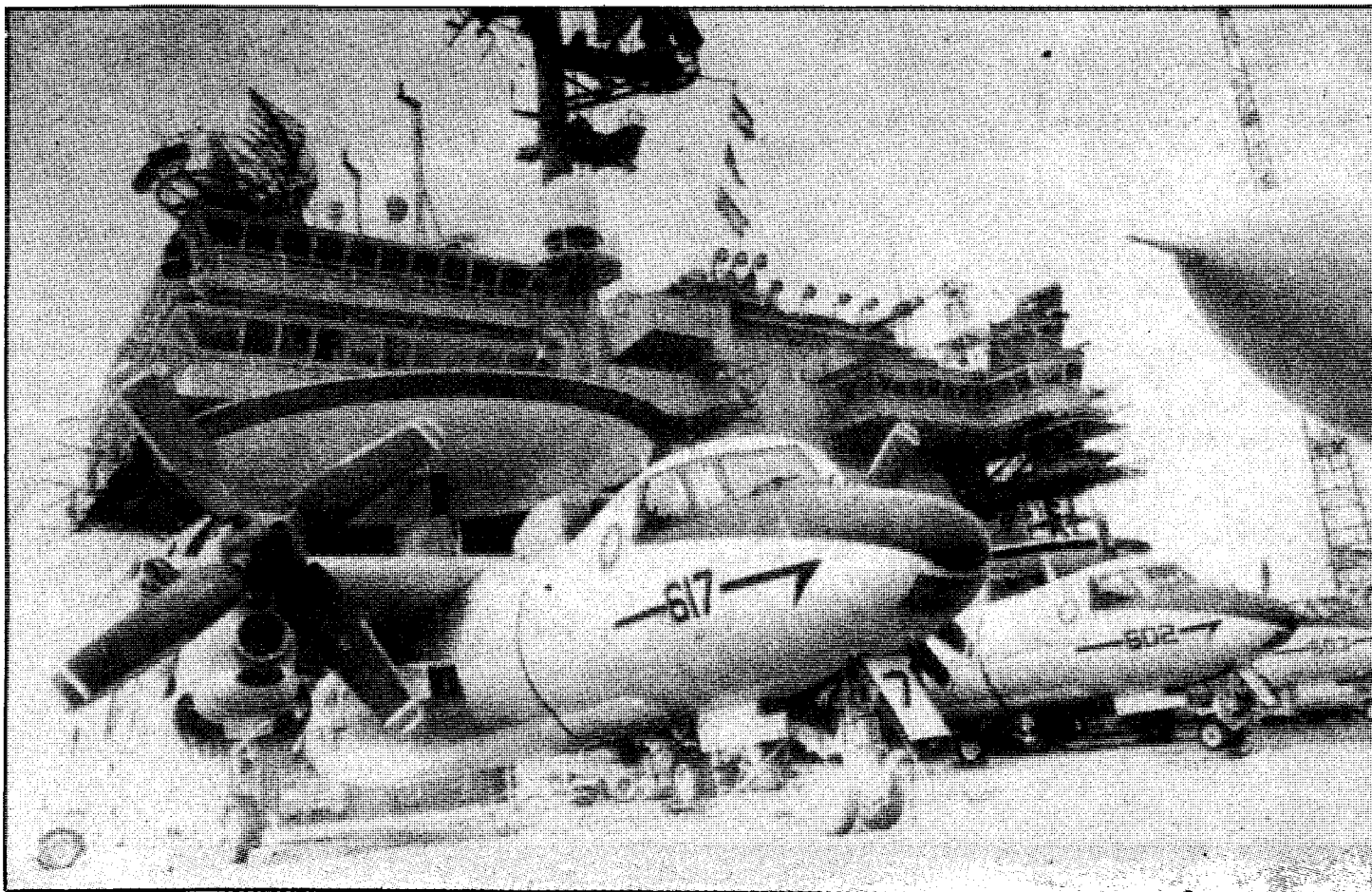
the Zionists moved quickly to establish political authority over Palestine by military means, grabbing Arab land well beyond that mandated by the U.N., and expelled hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. Thus was born the Zionist state of Israel (a settler state much like South Africa's) in 1948 and the Palestinian state never saw the light of day.

In 1967 the Arab-Israeli war further extended Israeli rule into Syria's Golan Heights, the West Bank and Gaza Strip and Egypt's Sinai region (which has been returned since then under the Camp David Agreement). Thus, 1.3 million more Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza strip alone came under direct Israeli occupation.

Now some three million Palestinians are scattered as refugees throughout the Arab world. One and a half million bear King Hussein's tight control in Jordan while 400,000 remain in Lebanon, 300,000 in Kuwait, 220,000 in Syria, and 125,000 in Saudi Arabia. Only 600,000 Palestinians remain in Israel—as second class citizens—among the 3.5 million Jews.

Just as the creation of the state of Israel was preceded by massive immigration of European and U.S. Jews sponsored by Zionist organizations worldwide, Tel Aviv has again established widespread Jewish settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza strip to make Israeli annexation a *fait accompli*. The plan envisions 400,000 Jewish residents in the West Bank alone by 1987. □

U.S. Bases Expand, Marcos Postures



Filipino Times

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

A solemn Labor Minister Blas Ople last April announced that President Ferdinand E. Marcos was prepared to terminate the entire U.S.-R.P. Military Bases Agreement should the U.S. refuse to recognize Philippine sovereignty over the U.S. bases.

Few took the statement seriously given its timing. In Washington, U.S. aid to the Philippines is once more on the congressional agenda and it is time for nationalist posturing. The annual bluff and bluster is all part of an effort to discourage cuts by liberals from the Reagan administration's generous allotments.

Ople dropped his intended bombshell at the induction of new officers of the Clark Federation of Civilian Employees. In attendance were members of the U.S. military community.

Major contingency plans, he claimed, have already been developed for the areas occupied by Clark and Subic Bay Naval

Base. Various ministries are working on alternative economic strategies to back up a "go-it-alone" policy.

But the U.S. military establishment was not impressed. For while Ople railed, the U.S. was deep in the process of digging in—expanding its military facilities with some work at Clark Air Base in Pampanga already completed, in fact.

RUNWAYS, HOUSING EXPANDED

According to information from the Concerned Citizens of Pampanga, the so-called "patch-up jobs" on Clark's two-mile runway built in 1948 have turned out to be part of an expansion project designed to accommodate additional aircraft. Philippine Rock Products (PHILROCK), a contracting firm, claims to have undertaken the work for ₱4,968,000. The goal: to produce a runway which can service any type of aircraft currently being used by the U.S. military.

Clark sources add that base aircraft and personnel redeployed to other sites during

the construction were recalled upon the March 22 completion of the work.

PHILROCK's claims are supplemented by news that new on-base housing is currently being built to accommodate an expansion in U.S. forces. This, says the C.C.P., points to "a more lasting U.S. presence in the country."

NEW NUCLEAR STOCKPILES

C.C.P.'s news comes on the heels of a secret report written by William M. Arkin, director of the Arms Race and Nuclear Weapons and Research Project in Washington, D.C., which was leaked to opposition newspaper *Malaya* in mid-March.

The Arkin report revealed that the U.S. military establishment has been authorized by President Reagan to deploy nuclear weapons to eight nations without informing their governments. Of these, the Philippines is to receive the largest number of nuclear warheads, including 32 anti-submarine B-57 nuclear depth bombs, 80 other nuclear naval weapons of unspecified

types and 115 other nuclear bombs.

The Arkin report stirred up a storm of protest in the Philippines upon its release. Former Supreme Court Justice J.B.L. Reyes denounced the planned deployment as a "violation" of the bases agreement. Together with opposition leader Aquilino Pimentel, he called on the Marcos government to protest the U.S. scheme.

CAM RANH BAY WARNINGS

Both the expansion of Clark's facilities and the enlarged U.S. nuclear armory are part of the Reagan administration's tough military posture. The U.S. for years dominated Southeast Asia militarily both through its bases in the Philippines and the ANZUS military pact.

It now feels "threatened" by the reported transformation of Cam Ranh Bay into a major Soviet base. Vietnamese authorities have denied similar reports in the past. According to U.S. military officials, this huge installation, built originally to service the U.S. during the Vietnam War, has now evened the balance of military power in the region.

As a result, the U.S. should stop entertaining thoughts of abandoning its Philippine bases, these officials argue. At one time, a minority countercurrent within the U.S. military establishment proposed withdrawing from the politically shaky Philippines to establish bases elsewhere on firmer, though perhaps militarily less than ideal ground. That voice is increasingly less audible these days in the era of hyped-up U.S. militarism.

"Subic is now all the more indispensable because we sit across the waters from Cam Ranh Bay," Rear-Adm. Louis Chatham, Commander of the 7th Fleet Battle Force told the *Far Eastern Economic Review*. "To move out of Subic would abdicate the South China Sea to the Soviets."

The revival of Cam Ranh Bay anti-Soviet warnings by U.S. bases officials came at a time when Congress opened deliberations not only on the Pentagon budget, but on aid to Marcos—aid stipulated by the bases agreement. (They coincided with sudden alarms from Philippine military authorities that unidentified aircraft, presumably Soviet, have penetrated Philippine airspace in recent weeks.)

These warnings, observers note, serve as handy justifications for the continued stay of the bases, the expansion of their facilities, and obliquely—for continued aid to their host who expects to be paid for his hospitality. It all goes to show that Labor Minister Ople has failed to corner the market on self-serving rhetoric. □

Senate Ties Aid to Democratization

Continued from front page

of Kerry's measure from the floor. "The amendment before us today, though not as strong as I would like, would make clear that U.S. interests require a rapid release of the stifling grip with which the Marcos regime throttles democracy," commented Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.).

"If we look ahead a year or two, we are sitting in this body, and we see that little progress is being made along these lines, it will then give us a basis at that time to have a more radical look at the situation and then perhaps a more harsh change of policy," noted Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.).

NON-BINDING

In the House, there are reports that Rep. Tony Hall (D-Ohio) plans to introduce a parallel amendment from the floor this month when that body takes up the debate on foreign aid.

Neither resolution will be binding. But, as Filipino lobbyist Odette Taverna put it, "The challenge facing Congress is to move from non-binding pronouncements to binding ones."

Taverna, Director of the Congress Task

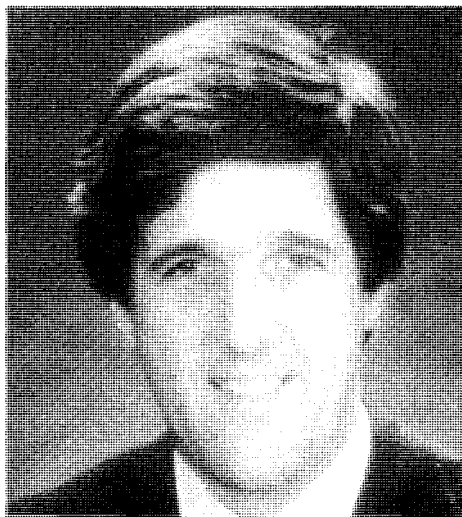
Force, lobbying arm of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network, was testifying last May 17 before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the House Appropriations Committee.

Testifying with her were Mike Posner, Executive Director of the International Human Rights Lawyers Committee, and Larry Minear, member of the board of the Interfaith Action for Economic Justice.

"The Philippine opposition, representing all the different political strains . . . is united on the fact that President Marcos must go and that his repressive apparatus should be dismantled," Taverna told the subcommittee. "However, the opposition contends that it is the continued financial support that President Marcos receives from this country that keeps him in power."

In her prepared statement, Taverna insisted that the Reagan administration's policy towards the Philippines "falls short of addressing the real problems facing the Filipino people." Instead, Reagan policy "mainly attempts to shift the source of the problem away from the problem itself."

It is quite apparent, she added, that



Sen. John Kerry



Rep. Tony Hall

Force, lobbying arm of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network, was testifying last May 17 before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the House Appropriations Committee.

'GIVING TYRANNY A BAD NAME'

The CTF head cited testimony by both academic witnesses and a former Carter administration official during recent hearings by the Asia and Pacific Affairs Committee. "They had a consensus that there can be no expectations that reforms will actually transpire while President Marcos is in power," she noted.

In fact, she insisted, "whatever forms of liberalization occurred in the last two years are mainly due to the continued pressure effected by the broad democratic

opposition in the Philippines."

Challenging congressional liberals, Taverna warned of "the continued harping on the communist problem by the Reagan administration" which is fond of bringing up "East-West conflicts whether they are relevant or not." She said this tactic "essentially blocks debate with liberals since the communist spectre is immediately raised."

Subcommittee chairman David Obey was sufficiently impressed by the testimony to suggest the possibility of holding hearings on human rights.

"Marcos," he jokingly told Taverna, "gives tyranny such a bad name." □

HELP US SEND MORE AKs TO THE PHILIPPINES

The newspaper, of course, not the assault rifle. For years now we have been giving free AK subscriptions to readers in the Philippines. They are mostly movement organizers, free or imprisoned; human rights advocates; members of the opposition press and personnel of educational institutions.

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KMU

Continued from page 7

national leadership, but certainly there will be more salvaging and arrests of local and regional leaders.

On a personal level, how has this experience affected you? What impressions were you left with?

Well definitely, I've become more committed to the idea that trade union activists in the U.S. should educate themselves more deeply about the situation in the Philippines and extend international solidarity to its people.

I was really impressed by the level of political consciousness of the rank-and-file. During visits to strike sites, we talked to the workers and not only did they speak of deep hatred for the capitalists of their work places, they understood the broader national policies—such as the U.S. economic role, the IMF, and the government—which are at the source of their oppression.

In one action, bank employees held a banner denouncing the IMF for their economic woes. I saw the kind of stuff there, you would never imagine happening here despite our political freedoms.

I was very moved by the total involvement and commitment of whole communities in workers' struggles. There is a support network for strikes in the workers' communities. Here we think of pickets in terms of one to eight-hour shifts in a day. There it is a 24-hour operation, where whole communities are involved, because the outcome is a matter of survival for them.

One thing that the trade unions here ought to learn is how to build political alliances with groups and sectors around broader political issues and demands, not just labor concerns. That's a real plus for the Philippine workers movement.

What can be done in terms of gaining international recognition for the KMU, and building solidarity?

I think it is possible to get a number of national unions to recognize the KMU perhaps not on the level that it is *the* labor federation but on the basis of the fact that it is an important labor federation because of the role it plays. There are labor centers which recognize the KMU in Australia and New Zealand. It is possible to get recognition from national unions such as the Service Employees International Union. Certainly at the level of locals, official recognition and fraternal ties are feasible, such as the statement of support I brought

back from my local and the same with the brothers from the Local 5 in Hawaii.

We can raise the issue of the Philippines in broader labor forums. A California conference of the AFL-CIO is coming up in October and this can be a forum to raise a resolution in support of Philippine labor, to gain respect for the KMU. □

First Vietnam

Continued from page 9

hair was white. They fairly tottered, they were so feeble under the weight of years. To my horror and that of the other men in the command, the order was given to fire and the two old men were shot down in their tracks. We entered the village. A man who had been on a sickbed appeared at the doorway of his home. He received a bullet in the abdomen and fell dead in the doorway. Dum dum bullets were used in the massacre, but we were not told the name of the bullets. We didn't have to be told. We knew what they were. In another part of the village, a mother with a babe at her breast and two young children at her side pleaded for mercy. She feared to leave her home which had just been fired—accidentally, I believe. She faced the flames with her children, and not a hand was raised to save her or the little ones. They perished miserably. It was a sure death if she left the house—it was sure death if she remained. She feared the American soldiers, however, worse than the devouring flames."

Aghast at the cruelty of the U.S. war effort, some soldiers began forming political conclusions that contradicted official truisms. One soldier wrote:

"The longer I stay here, the more I see and think of the matter, the more fully convinced I am that the American nation was and is making a blunder. I do not believe that United States is equal to the task of conquering this people, or even governing them afterwards. . . I don't think I would miss the truth if I said more noncombatants have been killed than actual native soldiers. I don't believe the people in the United States understand the question or the condition of things here or the inhuman warfare now being carried on. Talk about Spanish cruelty: they are not in with the Yank. Even the Spanish are shocked. Of course I don't expect to have war without death and destruction, but I do expect that when an enemy gets down on his knees and begs for his life that he won't be shot in cold blood. But it is a fact that the order was not to take a

prisoner, and I have seen enough to almost make me ashamed to call myself an American."

...TO RESISTANCE

Tom Crandall of the Nebraska Regiment, tired and frustrated over the senseless devastation, asked to be sent home. He merely echoed the growing sentiment in his ranks for an end to the war:

"Their patriotism is wearing off. We all want to come home very bad. . . They will be fighting four hundred years, and then never whip these people, for there are not enough of us to follow them up. . . The people of the United States ought to raise a howl and have us sent home."

Another soldier from the Nebraska Regiment was even more politically clear about his demand:

"We came here to help, not to slaughter these natives; to fight the oppressor Spain, not the oppressed. It strikes me as not very fair to pursue a policy that leads to this insurrection, and then keep us volunteers out here to fight battles we never enlisted for. I cannot see that we are fighting for any principle now."

In Vietnam, GI resistance to the war became deepest among conscripted Black soldiers whose collective resentment was captured by the observation that no Vietnamese had ever called them "niggers." In the Philippine-American War, a similar dynamic emerged. In 1901, William Simms, a Black soldier from Muncie, Indiana was staggered by the wisdom of a little Filipino boy whose words to him captured the contradictions of a man of color carrying out the policies of "democracy" with a Krag rifle:

"I was struck by a question a little boy asked me, which ran about this way—'Why does the American Negro come from America to fight us when we are much a friend to him and have not done anything to him? He is all the same as me, and me all the same as you. Why don't you fight those people in America that burn the Negroes, that made a beast of you, that took the child from its mother's side and sold it?'"

In both wars, as resistance among the U.S. soldiers grew, legends emerged and even these were strikingly similar. In Vietnam, there were recurrent "sightings" of "Salt and Pepper," purportedly white and Black GIs fighting side by side with guerrillas of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front. In the Philippines, there were reports of Black soldiers—probably struck by the same question the Filipino boy asked trooper Simms—who defected to the Filipino revolutionaries to fight their common oppressor. □

D.C. Leaders

Continued from page 11

mational booth aimed at educating the community on its charitable and humanitarian projects.

The organizers—led by Dodong Tecala, Nick Relacion, Bernie Villanueva, Romy Dacquel, Roger Saplan, Jun Pedery and Cecilio Leonin—then wrote Angkan, in effect telling the group to desist because "people who would be at the park may not want to be saddled with the 'hurts' and 'ills' back home while celebrating."

Angkan responded: "You are masters of your event and we are thankful for asking us to participate in it. But we respectfully maintain that, given the alarming extent of malnutrition, poverty and the need for educational and rehabilitative resources in our country, we must appropriately temper any grand celebration."

The group was effectively barred from the celebration.

MAKING WAVES

The rift within this year's coordinating committee emerged in March when pro-government partisans forced the chair, who willingly acquiesced, to call for a vote for a proposal to have the ambassador as a speaker for the Independence Gala Ball. Despite objections from the independent members, the pro-Marcos camp succeeded in forcing a vote, ignoring reasoned pleas for more discussions.

"There's no need for any discussion," Pedery, former president of the Combined International Philippine-American Association (CIPAA), a pro-Marcos organization, declared. A motion was quickly placed, seconded just as quickly by another CIPAA stalwart, Ruben Curameng. And just as quickly, over 26 hands went up for the ambassador despite the chair's ruling that only authorized representatives could vote. The secretary's roll showed only 19 authorized representatives. The record was later modified to read 12 in favor, five dissenting and two abstaining.

Independent members attended com-

mittee meetings for the last time on April 16. After criticizing the "undemocratic manner in which decisions were being made," they withdrew from further participation and walked out of the meeting room. Stunned, committee leaders unsuccessfully tried a few days later to woo them back to the fold.

The dramatic walk-out created waves in the community. Another community organization, the Quezonians, scheduled their own picnic on the same day as the embassy's *barrio fiesta* and refused to reschedule it to accommodate the embassy-sponsored event.

In Baltimore, the largest Filipino-American organization, *Katipunan*, rebuffed the overtures of the Philippine Independence Week Coordinating Committee by giving its emissary a cold shoulder. "I was humiliated," complained committee chairman Dacquel when he reported on his failed mission.

Belen dela Peña's organization, PACAS, is now bitterly divided over its newly-elected president's intention to participate in the embassy's affair. One mother whose children belong to the PACAS dance troupe, declared, "I'm not going to allow

my children to dance for an embassy event."

The sentiment is apparently shared by a number of other parents who were irked by Consul Villamor and his wife's arrogance when they literally gate-crashed a PACAS cultural event by refusing to pay the tickets like everybody else.

Meanwhile, there is a growing feeling among independent community leaders that the embassy's "community strategy" can't go on unchallenged.

"If they are really interested in promoting the welfare of the Filipino-American community here, the embassy should not be wasting all its efforts on picnics and dances. We can do that ourselves," said Remo de la Peña. "But then, there are more important issues to be concerned about."

"We can't afford anymore to sap our energies with beauty contests and fashion shows that lull the community into a false sense of comfort. But the embassy doesn't want us to think of what's happening back home, that's why all we hear from them is celebrating unity. Coming from the embassy, that word has a foul smell, indeed!" he said. Several other leaders listening to him nodded in approval. □



BAYAN

By ELI ANGELES

BAYAN is short for *Bagong Alyansang Makabayan*, the new people's alliance that is a popular democratic coalition. Its Founding Congress was last April 26-27.

What makes BAYAN different from other alliances? For one thing, it seeks to establish a unified and centralized collective leadership as an instrument for the opposition to attain its objectives. This leadership will determine strategy and tactics, lay down policies, draw up plans, direct and supervise campaigns and actions, and decide the procedure for choosing opposition candidates with binding force on the opposition.

This leadership can provide the systematic and immediate direction necessitated by the heightening level of the people's struggle in the urban centers. Likewise, it can provide the solid political coalition or front that is necessary in the struggle towards the unification of the opposition and even in the face of disuniting maneuvers of the traditional elite politicians.

BAYAN realizes that in order for the urban struggles to be more effective, these struggles must be in conjunction with the efforts of all patriotic and freedom-loving Filipinos including those still within the government bureaucracy and military, those in exile and those who have taken up extralegal forms of struggle. It is part of the process to build the necessary organization aimed at unifying all the forces that are struggling to dismantle the dictatorship.

It is a step towards what the PLARIDEL PAPERS No. 2 envisions as a new popular coalition composed of the traditional legal opposition and the clandestine and armed revolutionary opposition "as the truly representative alternative to Marcos." It is a step towards solving what Horacio "Boy" Morales describes as "the problem of reflecting the existence of a revolutionary opposition in what is a legal committee." As J.V. Bautista writes, "the groups of democratic power and mass organizations which do not enjoy legal status

must be reckoned with, as they are existing and numerically significant political forces, whose support or cooperation in a provisional coalition government may prove crucial if not indispensable."

The principles and bases of unity of BAYAN, as culled from those of COMPACT, CORD, NAJFD, KAAKBAY, ATOM and SANDATA, among others, are popular democracy (as distinguished from both elite democracy and national democracy), nationalism, people's welfare and national unity. Its program of action consists of the effective combination of popular mass struggles and popular electoral mobilization.

BAYAN seeks to prepare for the coming elections as well as for any other eventuality, including the equally real possibility of a military junta. A military takeover might catch the people's movement by surprise if it narrows down its concerns to an exclusively electoral option.

Since electoral politics is still largely under the control of the Marcos regime, prerequisites to participation must first be satisfied. The guiding principle should be that participation should contribute to the advancement of the people's movement. Engaging in the electoral struggle must prove to be responsive to the people's demands, and the conditions should be able to provide a reasonable probability of electoral victory for the people's chosen candidates.

Otherwise, under conditions that will merely prop up the dictatorship or where reasonably free and fair elections are not possible, there is no alternative but to mobilize the people in a militant boycott.

Where BAYAN decides to participate, it seeks to develop a progressive and mass-oriented approach to elections. □

ELI ANGELES is the pen-name of a young Filipino lawyer. Before martial law, he was a student activist, a member of the Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan (SDK) in Manila. During martial law, he was detained for several months. He has since been involved in alliance work.

Factory Girls

in the Philippines
women sell their bodies
to buy rice.
they live in
factory dormitories
along the "free trade zone."
free

trade
zone

freedom for business
less freedom for women
incarcerated inside the
barbed wire labor camps.
at Mattel toy "motel"
women are told
to lay down or
lay off
free trade

free women's bodies.
at Subic navel base
Filipina flesh is worth
\$7 U.S. money
in america they're worth
at least fifty.

on the news today another
woman is kidnapped
via male-order bride
domestic help
secretarial employment.
U.S. fronts for
sexual slavery
free

trade
zone

in the Philippines
the earth is red
death lurks
in revolution
sisters Alma, Puri, Mia and Lorrie
murdered
by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.
the sisters died
with their guns
in hand
murdered
by the
free

trade
zone

Chea Villanueva

The Web is Cast

City sky playing solitaire
Burned-out buildings hiding silhouettes
Man with stilto waits
Woman with stilleto heels walks
The web is cast

Chea Villanueva

Chea Villanueva, a writer, lives in New York. More of her poems will be featured in coming issues.

TO OUR READERS:

Send your essays, satires, poems, short stories, photos of your paintings, sculptures, or woodcuts, photo art, etc. Send also a brief description of yourself as a writer or artist.

1. Contributions must be generally progressive in content. However, all written materials accepted for publication are edited only for length. The contributors are responsible for the political opinions expressed in their work.

2. Essays, feature articles, or short stories, should not exceed 2,000 words. All articles must be typed double spaced and received by us within the first week of the month. Only articles with self-addressed stamped envelopes will be sent back if not accepted for publication.

3. Photos of art work will be sent back upon request by the contributor.

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



FREE MILA AGUILAR!

On August 6, 1984 Mila Aguilar, Filipina poet, teacher and journalist, was arrested and accused of subversion, a charge quickly dismissed by the civil courts. But she continues to be imprisoned under a presidential decree which, according to the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International, nullifies the constitutional system of justice. For the good name of the Philippines, we appeal for her immediate and unconditional release.

AMIRI BARAKA ROBIN BLACKBURN BETH BRANT NOAM CHOMSKY MICHELLE CLIFF REV. HARVEY COX
MARGARET CRUIKSHANK TOI DERRICOTTE E.L. DOCTOROW RENATE DUELLI KLEIN ZILLAH EISENSTEIN MONROE ENGEL
NADINE GORDIMER LINDA GORDON STEPHEN JAY GOULD MARILYN HACKER DOROTHY RAY HEALEY WILLIAM HINTON
RUTH HUBBARD RUSSELL JOHNSON GLORIA I. JOSEPH HETTIE JONES DUNCAN KENNEDY MARTIN KILSON MEL KING
OENISE LEVERTOV GENNY LIM AUDRE LORDE DON LUCE S.E. LURIA JUDITH A. McDANIEL HARRY MAGDOFF
NORMAN MAILER MANNING MARABLE PAULE MARSHALL ARTHUR MILLER KATE MILLETT NICHOLASA MOHR
CHERRIE MORAGA ROSARIO MORALES TONI MORRISON BISHOP LYMAN C. OGILBY GRACE PALEY HILARY PUTNAM
ADRIENNE RICH REV. NANCY ROCKWELL BISHOP PETER S. ROSAZZA DANIEL B. SCHIRMER RAYMOND SIEVER
BARBARA SMITH HENRY STEINER MOST REV. WALTER F. SULLIVAN PAUL SWEETZ KITTY TSUI ALICE WALKER
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Urge your Congresspersons to write directly to President Marcos to demand the release of Mila Aguilar.

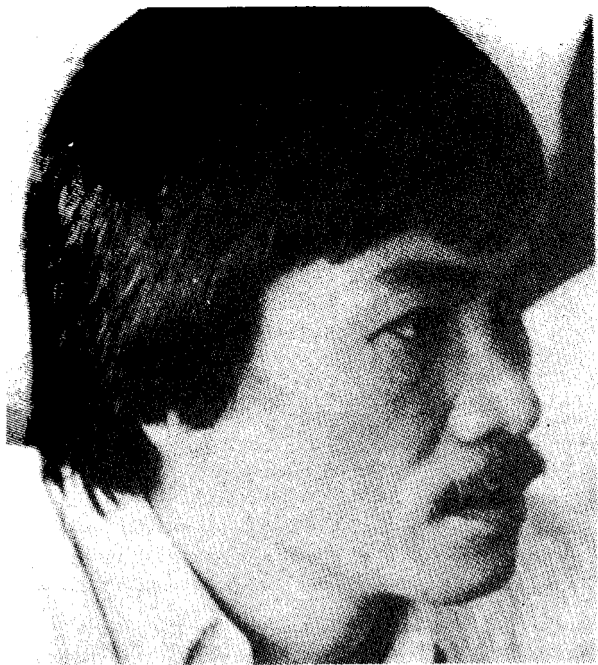
To request more information, please write:

COMMITTEE TO FREE MILA AGUILAR
P.O. Box 1726, Cambridge, MA 02238



We would greatly appreciate donations of any amount.

Satur Ocampo Escapes At Last



For many present in the NPC building, the escape livened up an otherwise dry election. Ocampo's father-in-law Dean Armando Malay was glad: "It was his decision and I respect him for it." Many colleagues though taken by surprise at the turn of events felt the same and numerous articles and editorials wished Ocampo "good luck."

ONLY ROUTE TO FREEDOM

In the United States, the CAMD/PSN some of whose chapters had been working for his release said in a statement that Ocampo deserved to be free and that no apologies to the authorities are necessary.

Escape seemed to have been Ocampo's only remaining route to freedom. For several years religious groups, US congressmen, press and humanitarian organizations in the Philippines and abroad appealed to president Marcos again and again to release Ocampo for humanitarian reasons. Only hours before his escape, the 800-member NPC passed a resolution once again calling for Ocampo's release. Even Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile asked Marcos in 1983 to release the prisoner but to no avail.

Ocampo was subjected to torture and solitary confinement soon after his arrest. He was accused of participating in the celebrated Andrea-Karagatan arms smuggling operation. Ocampo's case, before Military Tribunal No. 25, was only afforded four hearings and has remained in limbo. Intelligence officials also placed Ocampo on the Communist Party's central committee, making his chances for acquittal or eventual release virtually nil.

So when repeated paging failed to produce a long-delayed Ocampo from the polling booth, one of his six military escorts burst into tears. All are in detention

and face court martial for "infidelity of custody of a prisoner."

'TEMPORARY LEAVE'

Enrile vowed to recapture Ocampo: "He is only on temporary leave. We will meet him again." He added that the escape would have been impossible without the aid of communist cadres.

The defense minister believes Ocampo is still in Metro-Manila, waiting for the intensive manhunt to dissipate before "joining his comrades in the hills." However, he did not blame the NPC for the incident.

Tony Nieva, re-elected president of the NPC, offered apologies for what happened. "We did not expect this thing to happen." Nieva further warned of a military backlash that the escape could unleash.

Just at the start of "Press Week," Nieva spoke of the increasing harassment of media men, especially those in the provinces. He noted that seven journalists who have voiced opposition or exposed local government fraud and corruption, have been murdered. All these cases have remained unsolved.

By contrast, one recent case of a media man falling victim to political violence has received prompt attention from the government. Charlie Aberilla, radio commentator and sometime magazine columnist, was in the middle of his early morning show April 29 in Iligan City when listeners heard gunshots and his dying moans. Aberilla's assistant, sitting in another room, saw three armed men commit the shooting. Enrile quickly blamed a New People's Army sparrow unit for Aberilla's death. Aberilla had been fanatically attacking the growing mass movement in the south. Authorities are, of course, trying hard to bring his attackers to justice. □ NO

By WICKS GEAGA

Negros: On the Brink of Upheaval

Recent economic convulsions in Negros Occidental, the sugar bowl of the Philippines, are throwing the Marcos regime in a state of near panic. Government officials are becoming distressed, not so much over the poverty and unemployment epidemic gripping the area, but over the insurgency they fear the crisis has fueled.

Government troops on the island were recently placed on full alert just before an estimated 170,000 sugar workers (over two-thirds of the 291,000 sugar industry workforce) were laid off. Soon after, an extra army battalion was deployed to the island supposedly to discourage the New People's Army from "exploiting the situation."

But unrest has already unfolded. Aside from the increased presence of NPA guerrillas and organizers, observers have taken note of "sustained mass protest mobilizations" at times involving 50,000 people over the last year.

GRIM SITUATION

There are compelling reasons why Sugarlandia is not just brewing molasses at this time. Except for the island's tiny group of affluent sugar barons, including Marcos crony Roberto Benedicto, life for the overwhelming majority of landless laborers has always been grim.

But the continuing mass layoffs is making it even grimmer. The death rate from starvation is high, especially among the island's children. Some reporters noted that funeral processions are now an everyday occurrence in most barrios.

A Bacolod City bishop spoke of receiving an average of 1,000 farm laborers a week in front of his convent who seek protection from hunger and military abuses.

The island's economy, which is 90% dependent on sugar exports, has been severely hit by a prolonged slump in the world sugar market. Because of low world prices, which began plummeting as far back as 1975, landlords have drastically reduced sugar production by nearly 40% this year.

Financial speculation and price manipulation by Marcos cronies, notably Benedicto who controls milling and marketing,



Sugar workers: Grim life and bitter harvest.

have exacerbated the crisis angering even the island's traditional plantation families.

The conditions plaguing the average peasant or rural laborer in Negros are only slightly worse than those afflicting most of the country's rural families. According to the government's own surveys, the incomes of rural families even in times of relative "prosperity," are hardly enough to meet daily subsistence needs.

Rural poverty has always been characteristic of the Philippine countryside, dating back to prolonged Spanish colonial rule and preserved by the dominant landlord-peasant system. But since American occupation and subsequent domination of the country's economy, a process of increasing landlessness has been observed in many places over the past several decades, simultaneous with the transformation of many peasants into rural workers.

Where indebtedness to the landlord was the scourge of the rural peasant, now unemployment, underemployment, or meager wages are increasingly becoming the tormentors. The export-oriented economy has led to an over-exploited labor force in

agricultural exports production, workers who are further victimized by the shocks of the international capitalist market.

NOTHING BUT PRESS RELEASES

In response to the recent mass layoffs in Negros, Malacañang immediately announced the formation of a special interagency task force reportedly to deal with the problem. But given the central government's own financial crisis, most observers seriously question its ability to lend assistance.

Others are more cynical. "The government comes out with big press releases and nothing else," said Leonardo J. Gallardo, Jr., executive vice president of the Negros Economic Development Foundation. "Nothing ever happens at the local level."

Manila may be lacking the necessary funds to economically bail out the beleaguered province, but it is moving full speed ahead with a military response.

Lt. Gen. Fidel V. Ramos, acting Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) chief-of-staff, formed a new task force dubbed "Sugarland" early May to centralize the

military's counterinsurgency efforts. The force has under its command two full army battalions, a ranger company, nine constabulary companies as well as all police units on the island.

NPA INFLUENCE

But this has only raised fears about the possibility of increased military atrocities—including rape, murder, torture and looting—against the local countryfolk. As Monsignor Josefino Iledan, a parish priest in the southern town of Kabankalan, observed, "In the barrios, people are more frightened by the military than by the New People's Army."

While the NPA reportedly had only 30 to 50 armed regulars in Negros in 1982, the current military estimate of the present rebel strength has brought that number up to 1,000. Brig. Gen. Isidoro de Guzman, AFP regional commander for Western Visayas cited the towns of Candoni, Hinigaran, Ilog, Cauayan, Kabankalan and Sinalay as "critical" areas of NPA influence.

De Guzman reported that the NPA has an estimated 135,000 supporters in the area who willingly provide food, shelter and valuable military information. The NPA's own estimates show a significantly larger number of sympathizers, many of whom have been won over to its national democratic program after over a decade of painstaking education and organizing work by the revolutionaries.

Demonstrating the increased sophistication of its military operations, the NPA recently pulled off its largest weapons raid since its attack on the Philippine Military Academy in Baguio more than a decade ago. NPA commandos two months ago seized over 400 high-powered rifles, carbines and submachine guns from the Visayan Maritime Academy in Bacolod. In another big raid, the NPA captured nearly 100 firearms from the Marinduque Mining and Industrial Corporation in Sinalay.

Given the deteriorating economic situation and the regime's almost purely military response, Negros is expected to become a major flashpoint, making sugar one of the bitterest of the archipelago's bounties. □