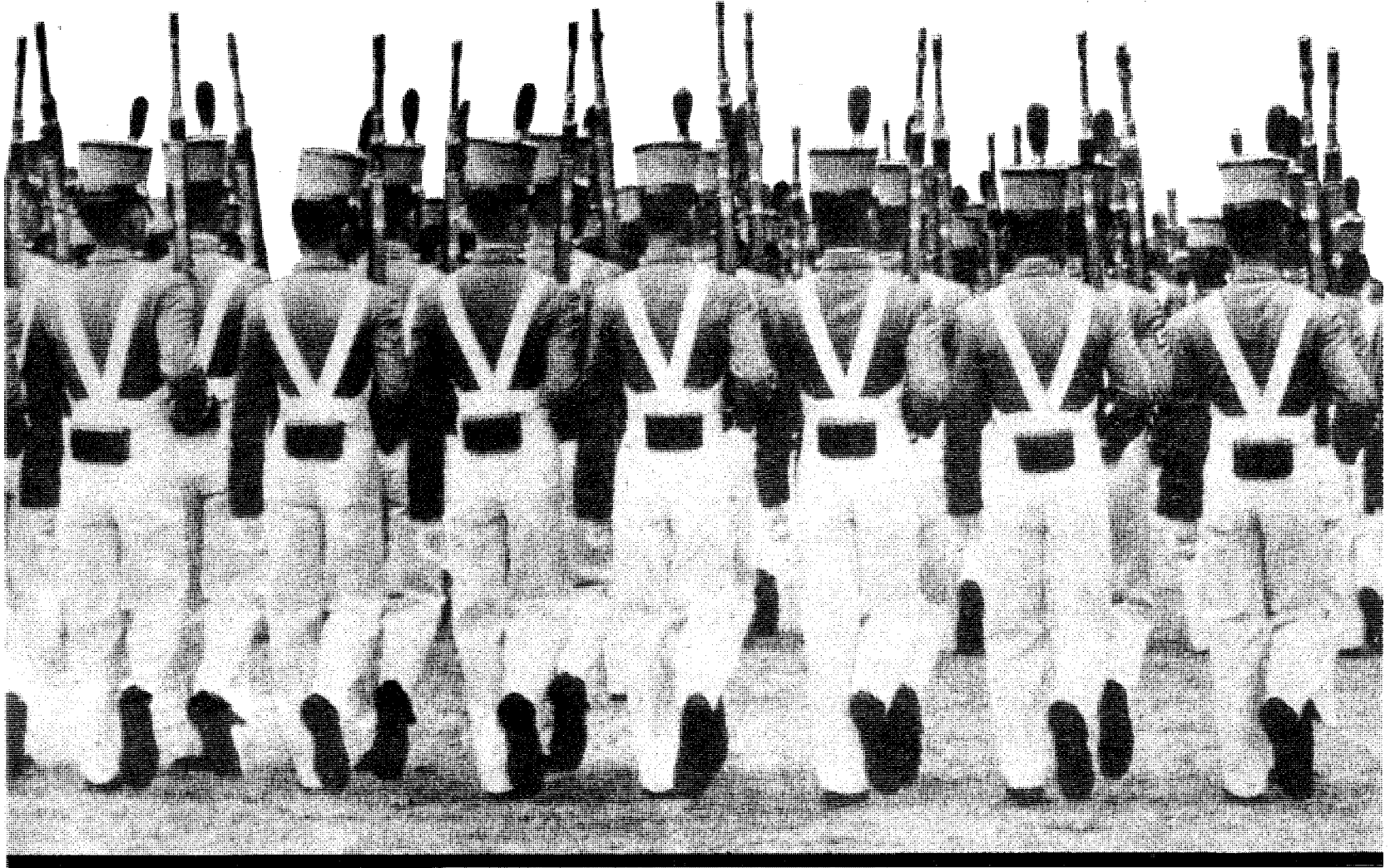


Reform? In the Military?

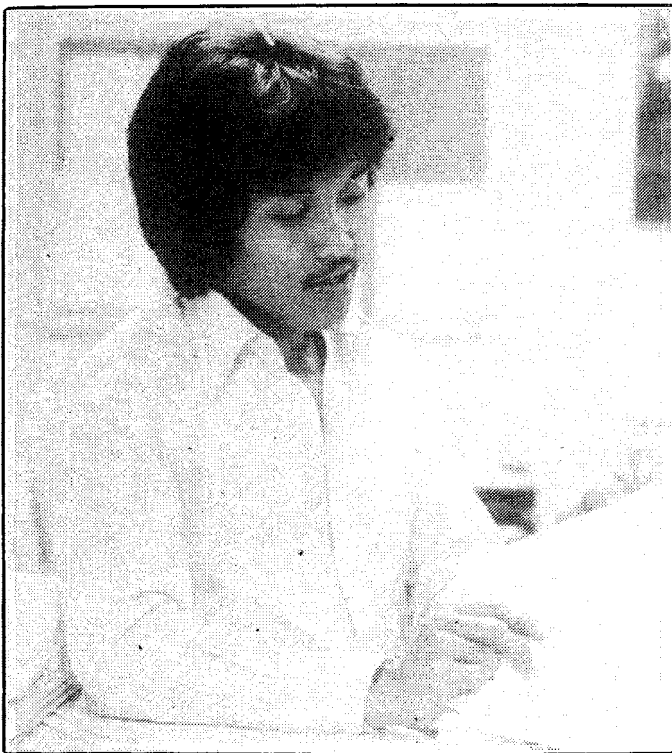
See story on page 5



INS Abuse:

Tales From A Lawyer's Files

By MADGE BELLO



Atty. Crisostomo Ibarra

It has never won a popularity contest among immigrants, and definitely not even the consolation prize for being "the most congenial." The Immigration and Naturalization Service, *la migra* to Latinos, INS to others, has always been like the unreasonable, iron-faced Nazi SS colonel in World War II flicks. Now, ever since the Reagan administration started shooting off about how America should be protected from "feet people" from Central America, and how "illegals" are taking jobs away from Joe Citizen, it's been like a horror movie. America's upright leaders are stumbling over each other as to who can propose the strictest immigration law. The INS, the *contra vida*, has positively become even more heartless—merciless to the undocumented it can round up and downright arbitrary even to folks with legitimate visas.

Mexicans have the worst time of all with the *migra*, followed closely by refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala and other Central American countries. They are flushed out in factory raids, bushwhacked by border patrols, sniffed out in airports and bus terminals, and rounded up in neighborhood checks. Somewhere between the raided factory, the sensitively guarded airport and the zoned out neighborhood or bus stop, Filipinos, being the second largest immigrating group next to

Continued on page 10

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See Inside: CIA's Philippine Escapades page 3

TERROR v. DECENCY?

As in the days of the Iran hostage crisis, the Beirut TWA hijacking promises to lead to a paroxysm of extreme patriotism here. Sympathy for the civilian hostages is easily blending with inflamed great-nation pride. Already, yellow ribbons and American flags are out there again, accompanied by the irrational cry, "Nuke Beirut!"

Many will therefore not understand the *desperation* underlying this coldly calculated and well-planned act of terror. The U.S.-backed state of Israel had taken 764 mostly Shiite hostages (!) to cover its retreat from Lebanon and there was hardly an outcry in the West. By taking hostages of their own, the Amal militants took the option they believe would bring them to military parity with the strongest military power in the Middle East which is backed by the strongest power in the world.

One can disagree with the effectiveness of this option especially in light of its impact on American political consciousness. The Shiite militants' broader goals are also unappealing and their brutal attacks on the Palestinians in Lebanon demand condemnation. But it would still be a mistake to describe the hijacking as simply a case of terrorism against an injured and innocent United States.

It is too simplistic to say that this is merely a case of savagery against humanity, or worse, a case of Eastern barbarism v. Western decency. This hijacking is an attempt to equalize the balance of terror to achieve an immediate gain. It will happen again and again, often victimizing innocent civilians. For as long as the U.S. government provides billions to terrorist regimes and subversive movements, there will be attempts by some of its militarily weaker adversaries to temporarily change the balance of power with desperate tactics that in the long run may even prove counterproductive.

But it will happen again unless the U.S. government stops being perceived as a promoter of war, a subverter of nations and an enemy of liberation. A TWA woman hostage who was released cried on TV: "Peace, peace, we must have peace among people!" World peace would indeed be the best medicine, and its biggest obstructor must be held responsible for the present disorders. □

Litter from Manila



PITY THE MILITARY

By INIDORO DELIHENCIA

While most people are against child abuse and even animal abuse, no one has really stood up against military abuse. Our poor armed forces continue to be victimized as a result. It's unwanted, regarded with suspicion, called ugly, brutal and subjected to all forms of rejection. As one who has studied psychology, I should know that this is bound to have lasting effects on our military's *esprit de corps*, or spirit of the corporation. As in child abuse, military abuse leaves scars in the subconscious of our colonels and generals. In fact, the military is now wracked with neuroses like dementia praecox (fear of demotion), obsessive auto-eroticism (overwhelming desire for imported cars) and homophobia (fear of losing a home in Dasmariñas Village). The military persona, or personnel, has split many ways: the raging reformer, the whimpering complainer, and what-have-you. The venerable AFP is now but a poor copy of what the 1973 Constitution meant it to be which is a principled, dedicated group of professional killers. It's decline is depressing.

Take Brig. Gen. Areglado Camaganac who used to be a well-rounded soldier's soldier. Due for retirement 15 years ago, he has stayed in active duty—a longevity he attributed to being from Ilocos where the air is purer, the diet simpler and native sons stay presidents longer. Now, he is just a bundle of nerves. He came to me with that faraway look. Like the whole military, he was on the verge of a breakdown.

HIM: "May I lie down on your couch, Mr. Delihencia? I promise not to overstay."

ME: "After you put that in writing, relax and put your trust in me. Go ahead, tell me what's bothering you."

HIM: "You know the military is in turmoil, right? Well, I've been thinking, thinking hard and I've come to a very painful realization . . ."

ME: "Yes? Tell me."

HIM: "That . . . that deep down, in reality . . . we

LETTERS

Mabuhay!

On behalf of all political detainees here in Camp Crame, we would like to thank you very much for all your help and support for all of us. With all our struggle, freedom, justice, and peace will be born, not only here in the Philippines, but all over the world. We wish you all the best. Mabuhay!

Milleth Sortano
Political Detainee
Camp Crame, Philippines

A Waste

This is in response to your May 1985 article "Is Unity Around the Corner?" It is unsettling to see the tragic sacrifice of Sen. Aquino go to waste with the disunity of the traditional Philippine opposition leaders! Rather than use their prestige to ensure a fair trial in the Aquino assassination—such as the protection of helpless witnesses—these oppositionists are now more engrossed in scrambling for their personal political ambitions!

This disunity, which has become truly traditional is characteristic of political-

salesmen, or the sell-out-your-people-type of leaders who have prevailed throughout our history, instead of the true men of ideals, nationalism, and principles! Unity can only be found by the Filipino people themselves at such time when they have leaders who have truly sprung from the masses, rather than from these irrelevant Philippine opposition personalities!

Robert I. Antonio
Orange County, CA

Errors

I would like to correct some mistakes in the article featuring your interview with me about the KMU. The errors may have been mine.

1. The name of the organization I referred to which is organizing international labor support within trade unions in Northern California is the Committee for International Support of Trade Union Rights.

2. The April 23-May 2 event sponsored by the KMU that we attended was *not* a National Conference; it was an international labor solidarity program, specifically designed for foreign labor delegates.

3. Local 5 in Hawaii is *not* ILWU; it is a Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union.

4. It was not KMU officials who said there was a split within the TUCP over publicly celebrating May Day without Marcos; Don Phillips of AAFLI, the

AFL-CIO's affiliate in Asia that financially backs the TUCP, said that. Nor did I say the TUCP leaders who joined the Malacañang Labor Day event "made it clear they were there as individual TUCP members"; I don't know if that is true or not.

Otherwise, the article seems to be accurate. Thank you for the opportunity to be interviewed for publication.

Ed Kinchley
San Francisco, CA

Ang Katipunan

Published monthly by the Union of Democratic Filipinos

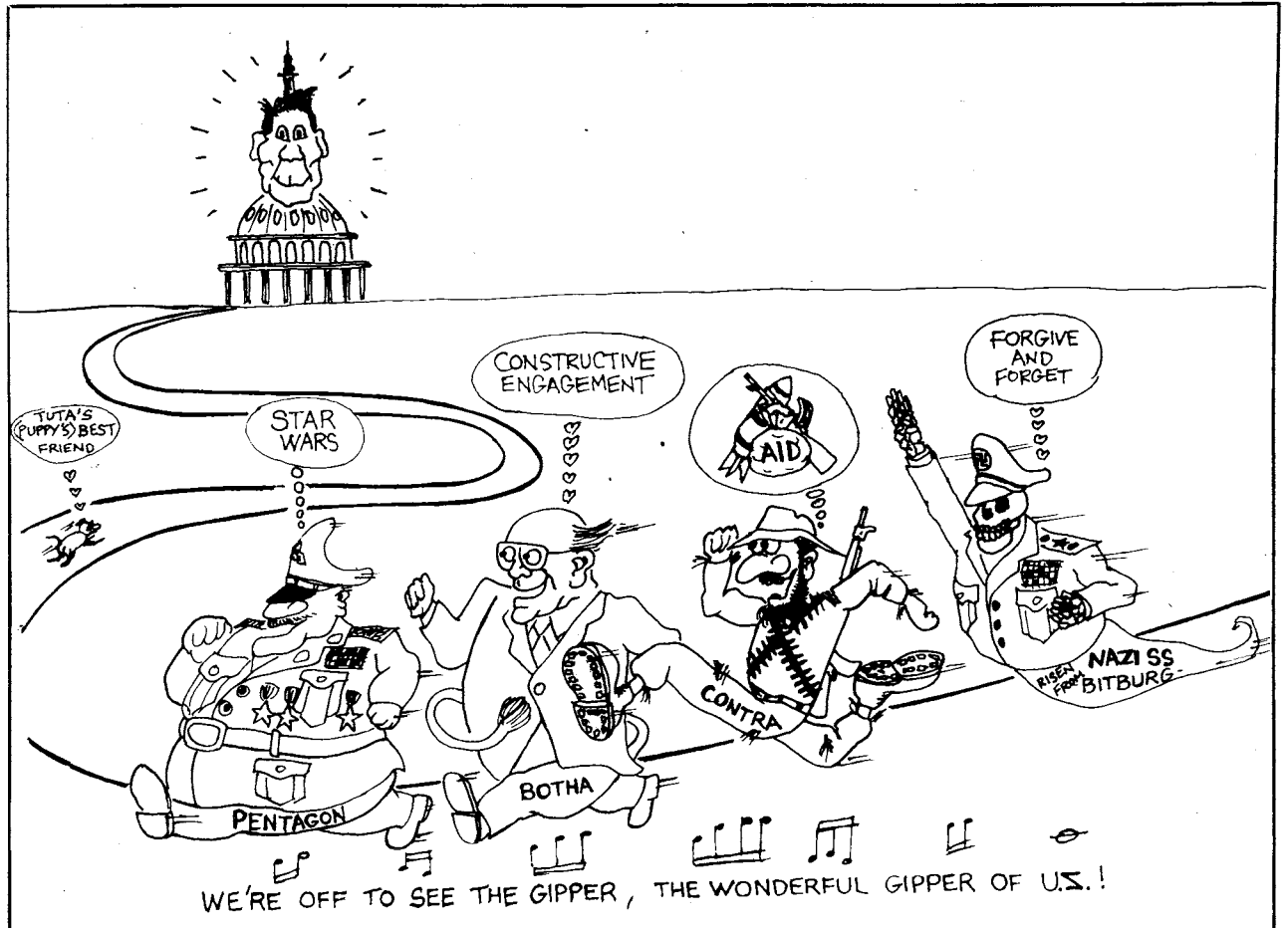
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in the military really hate our mother . . . land."

ME: "You hate your mother land. Now, now, that's a perfectly common syndrome among . . ."

HIM: "Ooohh, the pain, the abuse. Everytime I see the people I have this uncontrollable urge to hurt them . . . hurt them really bad for the way they rejected us . . . 'Don't steal!' 'Don't touch our women!' 'Respect our rights!' 'Don't do this!' 'Don't do that!' Oh it's stifling. I hate it, hate it. Many of us in the armed forces feel the same way."

ME: "Did the military have a happy childhood?"

HIM: "I must tell you a secret. The Philippine military is a bastard child, a G.I. baby sired by American occupiers during the Filipino-American War. At first it was just a fling with counter-revolutionary Macabebe mercenaries, then it became the Philippine Scouts. The AFP became the outcome, or *anak-sa-labas* of that dalliance."

ME: "Did it ever know its real father?"

HIM: "Of course we knew who Dad was although he was supposed to be only our uncle, Sam. He sent child support every year, you know—military aid. Sometimes he would send us to school at West Point or Fort Benning. But he was distant because we were not his real . . . ooohhh!"

ME: "And you never forgave *Inang Bayan*, Mother Philippines for letting that happen and then you feel guilty feeling that way."

HIM: "Yes oh yes . . . until President Marcos came along and became our father figure, Da Apo who forced Motherland into submission and told us to be men. 'Stick to your guns,' he said, so we stuck them at everyone and felt really good."

ME: "Naturally, 'Stick to your guns' did it. Da Apo unwittingly triggered that old phallic identification reflex. A Ferdian slip on his part, if you may."

HIM: "Wow! You really know your stuff! But now we've got bigger problems. President Marcos' authority is eroding. Some of our younger officers

are now against us. We can't even mark an anniversary without them protesting. We can't even have a good time as brothers. In fact, it's brother against brother now."

ME: "I see, repressed sibling revelry or the tendency to raise Cain among Abel-bodied men. So this is what this movement, Restore Ethics, Fair-mindedness, Order, Righteousness and Morale in the Armed Forces of the Philippines or REFORM AFP is all about! The troublesome 'We Belong' group. What do they have against you?"

HIM: "They say that as PMAers and West Pointers, they're better educated than us but we ROTC Marcos-appointees are the only ones promoted."

ME: "Feeling superior schooling-wise, eh? I think ex-education minister O.D. Corpus will agree a strong O.D.pus complex is detectable here."

HIM: "Yeah? Well what about when they accuse us of buying multi-million dollar homes as if they were peanuts?"

ME: "Peanuts envy. Definitely peanuts envy. Boy, these people are sick! What will you do about them?"

HIM: "They're strong right now. Another faction is trying to build a united front with them. It's called RAMOS or Return to American Military Ordinance and Supervision. When we became too close to Da Apo, they became Dad's . . . err, Uncle Sam's favorites."

ME: "Do you have allies?"

HIM: "We're building a bloc with a group called VER or Very Entrenched Retireables. But we must neutralize an opportunistic group called Engineers of Nice Relations with Intelligence and Logistics (units) and Anyone or ENRILE. This faction of fence sitters includes some badly

Continued on page 6

"When there begins to be evidence that a country is slipping and a Communist takeover is threatened... we can't wait for an engraved invitation."

Allen Dulles, former U.S. Central Intelligence Agency director, 1954, referring to the CIA-sponsored coups in Iran and Guatemala.

William Casey, current director of the Central Intelligence Agency, apparently needed no invitation to deliver some tough talk to Ferdinand Marcos last May. Both men knew that the Philippines, once the testing ground for the CIA's craft of covert action in the 50s, has again become a made-to-order situation for CIA low-jinks in the '80s. Its mission: to make sure American interests do not sink with Marcos' storm-lashed ship-of-state. Its method: anything that would prevent the "showcase of Asian democracy" from spinning off the U.S. political and economic orbit, backroom deals and dirty tricks not excluded.

With the Reagan White House prepared to ask the aging Marcos to walk the gangplank, the CIA no doubt, is busy lining up a prospective pro-U.S. successor government, hopefully with the cooperation of the dictator himself.

Casey's bold-faced questioning of Marcos' health, and his insistence on presidential elections earlier than 1987 betray the extent of the agency's concern over the rapid deterioration of the political situation. The growth in influence and armed might of the national democratic left is definitely giving the CIA the willies. Casey's directness underscores the fact that the office of the Philippine president is hardly sovereign and neither is the state of the presidential kidneys a private matter.

Casey's intelligence agency might find that convincing Marcos to work out a reconciliation with some of his moderate opponents is not an easy task. In that case, it might have to resort to more drastic means of persuasion. But it will not have a hard time gaining collaborators and gofers in the shadowy world of traditional politics.

The cracks corroding the Marcos regime make the task of information gathering a breeze. There are enough disgruntled and corrupt officials willing to sell inside dope for the right price. There are enough military hotlines to Pentagon patrons that can be activated and ambitious politicians willing to plot against colleagues. The bureaucracy is filled on all levels with ne'er-do-wells willing to rat on everyone else.

The country is "an ideal" location for covert action of all types, if the criteria of former CIA deputy director Richard Bissell are to be used: "Because [Third World] governments are much less highly organized, there is less security consciousness; and there is apt to be more actual or potential diffusion of power among parties, localities, organizations and individuals outside the central government."

After 18 years of centralized power, the Marcos regime might have once looked impenetrable but the aftermath of the Aquino assassination bared the fissures in the Marcos camp. And according to Victor Marchetti, a former agent-turned-critic of the CIA, "In the frequent power struggles within such governments, all factions are grateful for outside money. . . . Relatively small sums deposited [for their leaders] in Swiss bank accounts, can have an almost magical effect in changing volatile political loyalties."

The Philippines is familiar terrain to the CIA, a fact that will certainly help its present-day schemes. To the agency, the country is an old stomping ground, a laboratory that once produced breakthroughs in the covert action department. It was after the war, and the U.S. was bolstering its position as the pre-eminent world power. The U.S. National Security Act had just established the Central Intelligence Agency in 1947. In satellite "democracies" of the "Free World," national-

The CIA's Philippine Escapades

ist peoples' movements, anti-colonial rebellions, and communist insurgencies, raged. In the Philippines, the *Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan* (HMB) was successfully galvanizing peasant grievances against landlord rule. Enter the CIA to attain what the U.S. failed to achieve through diplomacy and fair play: the defeat of a communist-led people's movement.

Lt. Col. Edward Lansdale (USAF) was dispatched to do anything to shore up the Philippine government. Combining talents with former congressman

overcast days, a light aircraft outfitted with a bullhorn, would reconnoiter in the storm cloud, broadcasting anti-communist messages. This was meant to convince people who feared "God's voice" to end their Huk sympathies. Psywar teams also used the "Eye of God" to neutralize Huk supporters. Psywar teams would slip into a barrio at night and paint a mesmerizing eye on the wall of a house fronting the suspect's abode. These "apparitions" convinced God-fearing folks to turn away Huks who sought shelter.

With fresh victories in the field, Magsaysay turned



Col. Lansdale (left) with President Magsaysay during CIA's heyday.

Ramon Magsaysay, defense secretary under President Elpidio Quirino, Lansdale honed the art of psychological warfare and counterinsurgency that was to be a staple in all of America's "dirty little wars." Lansdale's capers became so legendary that his lifestory was fictionalized in the movie "The Ugly American."

Magsaysay, on the otherhand, was attuned to the "mentality of the rural Filipino" and faithfully implemented the "social amelioration" component of the CIA's anti-Huk crusade. For example, the Economic Development Corps was established in December 1950 to resettle Huk surrenderees in the virgin lands of Mindanao. Another CIA innovation was the Civil Affairs Office (CAO), the psychological warfare division of the Defense Department.

Lansdale helped organize the CAO and train its personnel in combat psywar. He takes pride in having coined the term "civic action," the supposedly brotherly disposition soldiers must display towards the masses. Lansdale gave psywar a new meaning, expanding the scope of its trickery. His method consisted of studying the superstitions and lore of different cultures and adapting counter-revolutionary tactics to indigenous forms.

One such infamous scare tactic, was the bogus *asuwang* (vampire) gambit. A combat psywar team supposedly drove Huks away from a contested area by first planting rumors that a vampire lived in the vicinity and then snatching a suspected Huk, puncturing his neck with two holes, draining his body of blood and leaving his corpse on the trail. This supposedly cleared the area of Huks immediately.

Lansdale was fond of targeting barrio guerilla bases in Huklandia with his special psywar campaigns. During

his eyes on the presidency. The CIA, aware that a malleable head of state was needed to complete the pacification drive, groomed him of course. Up until then, Philippine presidents were picked from the nation's political elite, landed families with histories dating back to the turn of the century. Magsaysay's candidacy broke this tradition. A Liberal, Magsaysay at an opportune moment switched to the Nacionalista Party and won the party's nomination. His candidacy was backed by expert CIA financing and machination.

Gabe Kaplan, a Park Avenue public relations expert was sent to run his grassroots campaign. An army of volunteers was put to work against incumbent President Quirino. Kaplan's team also promoted campaign jingles like Raul Manglapus' "Malacañang Mambo," and "My Guy Magsaysay" slogans. The CIA organized the "non-partisan" National Movement for Free Elections (NAM-FREL) to ensure voter turnout.

Magsaysay won by a three-to-one margin. The making of a president did not end with his inauguration. Lansdale was retained to advise Magsaysay on matters ranging from cabinet appointments to policies and programs.

When Magsaysay came under heavy fire from Claro M. Recto, a respected nationalist, the CIA found a new target. Recto was smeared for his role as Jose Laurel's foreign secretary in the puppet government during the Japanese occupation. Recto, who ran for president with Lorenzo Tañada under the Nationalist Citizens Party in 1957 was labeled a communist. Years later, according to former CIA agent Joseph Smith who was assigned to the Philippines towards the end of the Garcia presidency, envelopes containing defective condoms bearing "Compliments of Claro M. Recto—the People's Friend" were retrieved from the files of Manila's CIA station.

Lansdale's successful Philippine experiment was so highly touted that U.S. Defense Sect. John Foster Dulles dispatched him and his team to another Asian hotspot—Vietnam. The CIA's Operation Brotherhood (later to be supplemented by the Philippine Civic Action Group during the early Marcos years) employed scores of Filipino support personnel.

Another "legend" on Lansdale's team, was Col. Napoleon Valeriano, who flew many of the "god's voice" missions over Huklandia. Valeriano was fond of scorched earth tactics and gained notoriety in Pampanga. When Vietnam flared up, he accompanied Lansdale, spiriting away at the same time, the wife of a prominent businessman. The enraged businessman put a contract out on his life, so Valeriano had to take up permanent residency in Washington, D.C. Valeriano later figured in the training of Cuban Bay of Pigs "invaders" and the subsequent cover-up of the aborted operation.

A Notorious Plotter

"In carrying out its foreign policy, U.S. imperialism utilizes a special agency which is detested by the peoples of the world, and which the American people themselves mistrust or are ashamed of. This is the Central Intelligence Agency, or the CIA.

With a budget of billions of dollars, the CIA directs tens of thousands of its personnel scattered around the world to undertake two principal tasks.

Intelligence and data analysis are just one area of concern for the CIA. Its other line of specialization are operations that destabilize and subvert on a world scale. It plots and acts to weaken or overthrow governments that are perceived to be against U.S. interests, and helps shore up governments that serve these interests.

Its methods include staging coups d'etat; assassinating certain heads of state, other politicians and opinion leaders; building up personalities and institutions that are useful to U.S. interests; making blatant or subtle distortion of information (dis-

information); employing blackmail and bribery; and instituting such military actions as bombings, open assaults with the use of mercenaries, and other blatant forms of aggression and subversion.

The CIA recruits local citizens in the countries where it operates. CIA agents may be found in government, in the military, in research and education institutions, in political parties, in the mass media, and in U.S. embassies and various other U.S. agencies. The CIA even sets up companies, foundations and other institutions to serve as cover for its operations.

The CIA is an imperialist institution and is totally ruthless. It can kill anybody without hesitation, even its own agents, if its long- or short-range interests or operations warrant. In fact, in defiance of the United States' own laws, the CIA also victimizes the people of its own country."

Ang Bayan, April 1985

Continued on page 15

May Marked by String of NPA Raids

By EDDIE ESCULTURA

The New People's Army marked the last two weeks of May with almost simultaneous offensives on a nationwide scale involving, in some cases, several hundred troops. So effective were the large-scale raids that two Armed Forces of the Philippines commanders were immediately relieved of their posts for "failure to observe security measures."

In what AFP Western Visayas regional commander Brig. Gen. Isidro de Guzman called the military's biggest setback [in the region] in terms of casualties, truck loads of NPA guerillas launched a devastating daylight attack May 26 in Isabela, Negros Occidental. The rebels overwhelmed a military camp housing the elite 3rd Scout Ranger Company, in this remote town of 40,000 people.

Wearing uniforms complete with patches and fully armed with M-16 rifles and grenade launchers, the guerillas poured off the sandbagged cargo trucks and stormed inside the camp firing at the barracks.

A grenade mortally wounded the commander, 1st Lt. Emmanuel Arroyo. The NPA fired armalites and hurled grenades at the Scout Rangers' quarters, the municipal hall and at a bus loaded with some of the wounded soldiers. After an hour of battle which killed 12 Scout Rangers, two members of the Civilian Home Defense Force, one policeman, and four civilians caught in the crossfire, the guerillas withdrew. There was no known NPA casualty.

HUGE ARMS HAUL

At the municipal jail, the NPA released eight prisoners, including three suspected

NPA members who joined the shooting after being supplied with firearms. The rebels carried off several pieces of equipment from the barracks including an anti-aircraft gun. From the police station, they took two .30 calibre carbines, five shotguns, and one two-way radio set.

The raid was the second major NPA attack in the island. On March 25, just four days before the 16th anniversary of the NPA's founding, guerillas cleared the Visayan Maritime Academy of 429 Garand rifles, 10 carbines, nine Thompson sub-machine guns, three grease guns, one .22 calibre rifle and several rounds of ammunition (See AK, Vol. XI, No. 5).

Plane loads of reinforcement and supplies, including 450 soldiers, were rushed to Isabela. Col. Isagani de los Santos was removed by Acting AFP Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos from both commands of the newly-created Task Force Sugarland and the 4th Brigade, 3rd Infantry Division in the province.

De los Santos was blamed for failing to observe security measures and detect the 400 guerillas who attacked in broad daylight. According to government columnist, Jesus Bigornia, the NPA "would have stuck out like many sore thumbs at barrio assembly points." Bigornia said the breakdown in intelligence stems from lack of cooperation by the civilian population which have been "alienated by abuses and injustices."

Another military commander, Lt. Col. Cesar Ulsal, was removed from his post following the NPA raid on a Philippine Constabulary-CHDF patrol base in Maslog, Eastern Samar on May 24. Six PC soldiers and one militiaman were killed while nine



NPA raid in Quezon: Trooper lies dead as guerillas collect arms.

others, including four civilians, were wounded. The guerillas took two M-16 and one M-1 rifles and a two-way radio set.

A BUSY MONTH

In the month of May the NPA encounter landscape looked like polka dots extending from Kalinga-Apayao in the north to the Visayas and Mindanao in the south:

May 15. Three hundred NPA guerillas using M-16s, 81-mm and automatic rifles swooped down on a 22-man PC patrol at Calapagan, Lupon, Davao at dawn, killing two and wounding nine in an eight-hour gun battle. The military claimed killing 21 rebels and recovering 16 Armalite rifles, two M-79 grenade launchers and two Browning automatic rifles.

May 25. Two hundred NPA guerillas raided the northern town of Kabugao, Kalinga-Apayao province. Eight government soldiers and two civilians were killed while the military claimed 12 guerillas dead. The raid was reportedly led by Catholic priest-turned-rebel Conrado Balweg.

May 26. Two hundred NPAs attacked Lugait, Misamis Oriental, killing Sgt. Pedri-

to Obicto of the 34th Army Brigade, two security guards of Mindanao Steel Corp. and wounding eight others. The firm's president is missing. Clad in fatigue uniforms, the NPA simultaneously laid siege to Mindsteel, the military detachment and the municipal hall.

On the same day, 100 NPAs attacked an army patrol in Anticala, 18 kilometers from Butuan City, Agusan. At the same time, 30 rebels attacked a logging camp just outside the city limits while another group of 40 attacked a CHDF detachment. After a three-day battle, the military claimed eight NPA dead.

Sixty NPA rebels attacked the PC patrol base at Fabrika, Hamlik, Antique, killing one government soldier and wounding three others. The military claimed three NPA dead. The NPA took an M-16 rifle and a .45 calibre pistol. Two hundred NPAs overwhelmed a PC patrol base in Tacloban City killing 20 government soldiers and wounding 19 others.

May 27. Fifty NPAs raided the Ministry of Human Settlements in Claveria, Misamis Oriental, burning the office, staff

Continued on page 15



Ex-Army sergeant Abinsay.

By MONICA FERIA
Reprinted from VERITAS

After serving the Armed Forces of the Philippines for 10 years, disbelief and disillusion with the government made him defect to the rebel side:

"Nakita ko na ang army malayo sa masa, na mga sundalo lang kami (noon) ng mga mayayaman... samantalang ngayon ito, mabuti sa tao," explained Sgt. Benjamin Abinsay in his characteristic direct and serious tone. (I saw that the army was alienated from the masses, that we were merely soldiers of the rich... while this [NPA] is good for the people.)

Sgt. Abinsay was a former member of the Army's 28th Infantry Brigade who saw combat with Muslim rebels during the early years of Martial Law. He later served in the administrative staff until his belief in the government waned. In the latter half of 1982 he became what the government calls an insurgent.

Unlike most of the Visayan-speaking rebels operating in the mountain ranges of Eastern Mindanao, he spoke good Tagalog and was older than the average 16-22 year-olds in the rebel unit.

The defection of "Sarge" as he is fondly called was not a simple decision. When he was vacationing in his native Surigao, he

was approached by friends and relatives who had contacts with the NPA. Some relatives, he learned, had been victims of military-linked "salvagings." Still, he reported for work in the army barracks for another six months before he made the final move to "go to the mountains."

While the Communist New People's Army, estimated to number 10 to 12,000, is still insufficient to engage the 240,000-strong government armed forces in formal combat, the conditions obtaining in the country favor the NPA's continued growth and influence.

"While the rebels have acquired less formal training, they have acquired through actual combat experiences better skills than the regular army man," observed Sarge.

The hardships they are encountering now will lead to better opportunities for his poverty-stricken relatives and friends and there will be less government bias towards the rich and foreign multinational plantations. These visions are what inspire Sarge to continue with the struggle.

Sarge often picks wild *sili* along jungle trails and eats this with mixed rice and corn mush for meals. For all their sacrifices, the rebels get only ₱7 each daily. ₱25 for cigaret allowance and they are provided with detergent soap.

"Dito sa bundok, sinasanay namin ang sarili sa hirap... pero pagdating ng araw bawi rin," he comments. (Here in the mountains we are tempering ourselves in hardship... but when the Day comes, it's all worth it.)

In the rebel-held mountain areas, no alcohol and drugs are permitted. Before, moderate drinking was tolerated but after some bad experiences of rebels firing in the air, the top command absolutely pro-

hibited drinking for combatants.

Sarge compares: "Ang mga leaders dito bata pero mas disiplinado kaysa sa military. (The leaders here are very young but they are more disciplined than the military)."

When Sarge joined the rebels, leaving an AWOL mark on his army record, he was first assigned to planting rice and tubers in a rebel "production base." "I knew they would not trust me right away and I do not blame them for being cautious," he said in Tagalog.

After six months on this grind he was assigned to what is called a "semi-legal" team. These teams are the "door-to-door salesmen" of the rebel cause. They knock on five to ten houses a day introducing themselves as NPAs and explaining their mission to the village folk.

Again he stayed in this work for six months before he was promoted to the "front guerilla unit." By December last-year he was sent up to the "main regular guerilla unit," which is a mobile full-time rebel company.

Recently, Sarge who is a platoon leader was assigned as training officer for new recruits. "I share my experiences with them in their initial one-month casual training," he said. Remembering his 18-month military training in Cagayan de Oro in 1972 before Martial Law was declared, he comments, "Training here is simplified and discipline is imposed through close personal relationships and not so much on a strict command line."

Sarge is known as a specialist in commando operations and wields a sure-spinning knife which is useful during surprise assaults.

There have been several close calls along the way. He recalls one encounter where the commanding officer and his

assistant were felled by army bullets right beside him. Sarge took over and finished the operation. He remembers how he was able to take back seven armalites, a Browning automatic, a garand and a carbine rifle to their jungle camp.

"Right now, we can already form an army," Sarge boasts. But he adds that it is not yet their strategy to call the scattered units in one campsite. Today, too, the NPAs can afford to be more selective. "We have pegged a 17-year old age requirement. Before, many joined when they were only 14 or 15 years old."

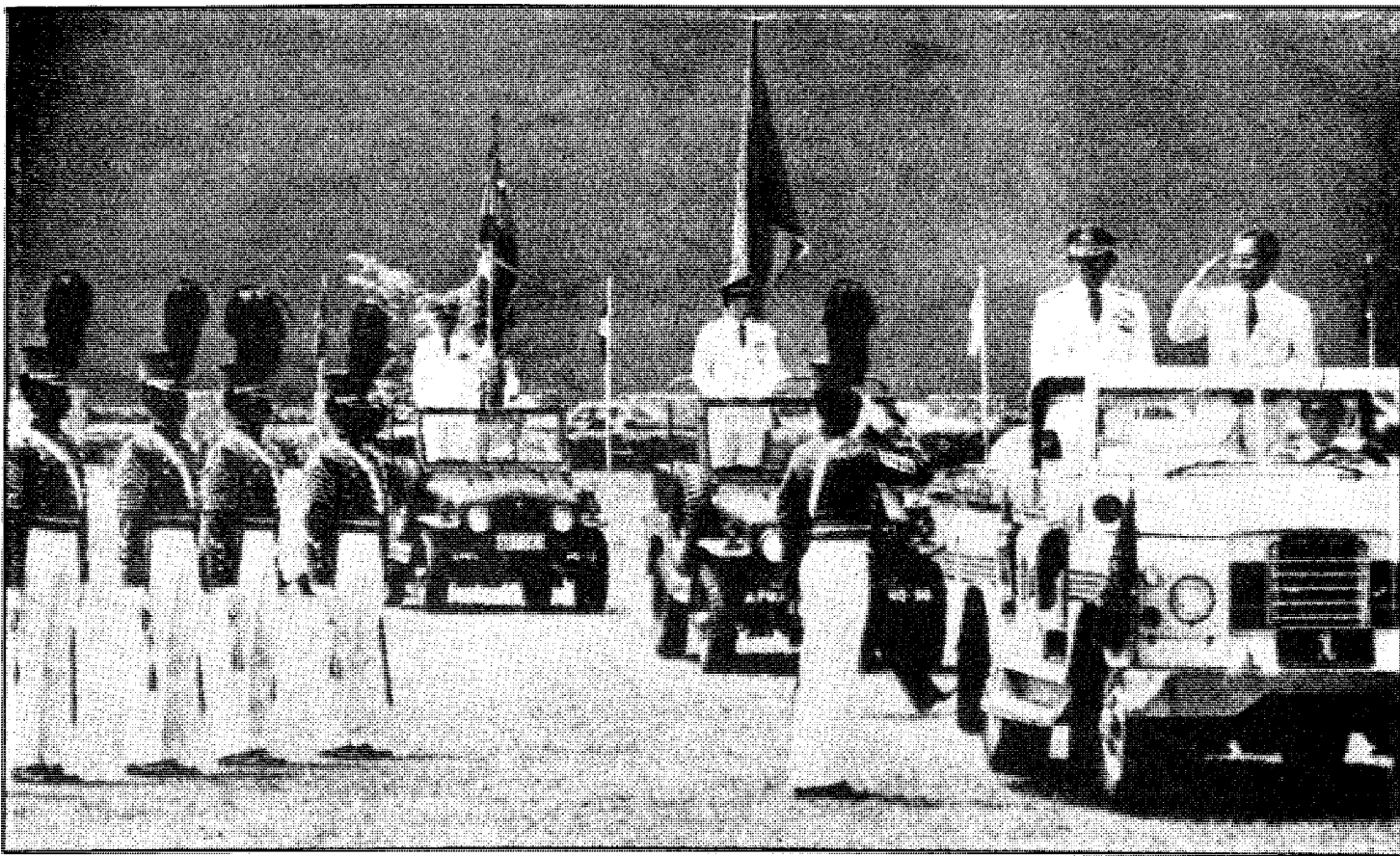
There is another army defector in his company, he says but at the time of the interview he was out on patrol. "Scout ranger siya," adds Sarge. His commanding officer is a 22-year old lad named

"Jing." "He is good," comments Sarge and realizes the importance of accurate intelligence work. There are two women in his company and "they fight as hard as we do and demand no special privileges," he says proudly.

Although the NPAs agree that they have a long way to go, their complete knowledge of the terrain, their friendship with the upland villagers and their high discipline and morale give them a fighting chance.

Already, with the increased troop formations of 100 to 200, it is difficult for the military to move against them lest a battalion is fielded. But more than this, the government military troopers will have to match their discipline and dedication. For more than military exchanges, it is, as all agree, a battle for the hearts and minds of the people. The force that can win not only the friendship of the people but also their imagination for a better future will emerge the winner. □

The Defector



General Ramos and President Marcos review troops.

Reform? In the Military?

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

It was a rare, even astonishing event. Gathered June 4 to meet the press were all three heads of the Philippine military services together with acting Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos. The subject: reform of the Philippine military.

"For us in the Navy, we are for reform, and this is the reason why we have accomplished the mission given us," insisted Rear Admiral Simeon Alejandro.

"Reform is a continuing program," echoed Air Force chief Gen. Vicente Piccio. Reform is a "common concern" of all the military branches, added Gen. Josephus Ramas, Army Chief of Staff.

The simultaneous appearances of the top brass was unusual enough, but their common worship of "reform" was stranger still. For while Ramos has made no secret of his interest in upgrading the Philippine armed forces, Alejandro, Piccio and Ramas are another kettle of fish.

All three are appointees and supporters of Chief of Staff Fabian Ver who is currently on leave to stand trial as an accessory in the Aquino assassination.

They and their mentor are seen by most as among the foremost targets of the snowballing movement for reform within the officer corps.

The June 4 press conference seemed to indicate that what had begun as a movement of disgruntled officers pressing for legitimate change has now won over everyone in the top echelons. But has it?

'WE BELONG'

An apparently spontaneous reform movement came to light last February when anonymous graduates of the Philippine Military Academy circulated a "Preliminary Statement of Aspirations" at the annual convention of the PMA Alumni Association. Ranking officers dismissed the manifesto and accused the authors of "hiding behind a cloak of anonymity" and of being cowards.

On March 15, the still-anonymous group issued a far more detailed "Statement of Common Aspirations" which claimed, "We have searched for leaders among our seniors, but then most, if not all, are too high to be non-partisan, too comfortable to be interested or too wealthy to care. Or perhaps it is their way of admitting that they no longer have the moral right to lead." It went on to list nine demands, among them:

- Cleanse the AFP of undesirables; "incompetence, inefficiency and corruption shall not be countenanced;"
- Maintain a high standard of discipline;

- "The basis for promotions, assignments, schooling and other related matters must be devoid of favoritism or *bata-bata*, *padrino* system and other personal considerations";

- Restore camaraderie and esprit de corps;

- "Loyalty must be directed to the constitution, not to any individual or group of persons."

Six days later, to illustrate the breadth of the reform movement to their senior officers, graduates of the PMA took an unprecedented step. As they passed before the reviewing stand in their full-dress uniforms for their annual alumni parade, they unfurled two huge banners.

"UNITY THROUGH REFORMS, RESTORE DIGNITY IN THE AFP," read one, while the other read simply, "WE BELONG." Dozens of young officers appeared in T-shirts emblazoned with "We Belong" to take credit for the contents of the March 15 manifesto.

A STAB AT VER

Spokesmen claimed that a full 70% of the PMA officers in the military constitute the "mass base" of the loosely structured group which emerged in May as the REFORM AFP Movement. The acronym stands for Restore Ethics, Fairmindedness, Order, Righteousness and Morale.

According to military insiders, members of the PMA class of 1971 initiated the movement. Its membership currently includes officers from the classes of 1972 through 1985—in other words, field officers who implement the government's counterinsurgency programs.

"The military is rotten and we want to do something about it," temporary spokesman Col. Hernani Figueroa, an experienced intelligence officer, told reporters. While denying that the movement amounts to a "mutiny" within the armed forces, Figueroa spoke with urgency. Morale is so bad, he claimed, that not long ago a general in Cagayan de Oro City was roundly booed by his men.

According to Figueroa, the movement opposes graft and corruption within higher command echelons, the use of the military in elections, and abuses committed against civilians. It wants improvement in discipline, training, promotions, assignments and "changes in the tactics and doctrines in the government counterinsurgency efforts."

Many read this as a stab both at Ver's Regional Unified Command system and the network of overstaying retirement-due generals who maintain his shadow command while he remains technically on leave.

'TWO SPECIFIC AUDIENCES'

The growing movement thus falls clearly on the side of Ramos and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile in the emerging power struggle in the Philippine military.

Speaking to the graduating PMA class of 1985 the day after the alumni parade their sentiments, Ramos echoed the reformers' call for "professionalism instead of personalism, self-discipline to the point of self-sacrifice, cost-effectiveness instead of extravagance."

Ramos, a West Pointer and touted by American admirers as the military's Mr. Clean and as the most "professional" among Marcos' officers, emphasized "concern for the rank and file to replace elitism, merit and performance as the basis for advancement instead of favoritism, and fairness in dealing with others with respect for the law."

"We now strive for reform," he added as President and Mrs. Marcos looked on.

"They are trying to head off Ver's return to the AFP chief's post without saying it publicly," observed *Malaya* columnist Alfonso Policarpio.

Added Marites Danguilan-Vitug of *Business Day*, "The reform movement is... perceived to be conveying messages to two specific audiences: Gen. Fabian Ver... and the U.S. government."

A DISTURBING COINCIDENCE

"The movement would like to tell the U.S. that increased military aid should be given since reforms are taking place under the leadership of Ramos," Danguilan-Vitug wrote.

The U.S. government, to no one's great surprise, has shown a great deal of interest in the reform movement.

"No one quarrels with the legitimacy of [the movement's] objectives," mused *Metro Manila Times* columnist Conrado Aruige, "until one finds a remarkable—and disturbing—coincidence between them and the demands of Washington on our government."

The columnist referred to the secret interagency report on the Philippines and recent testimony before the U.S. Congress which found the Philippine armed forces in dismal shape.

Aruige said that the U.S. may have decided to play a covert role in developing the initially small and spontaneous movement into a powerful force within the military. The hint of U.S. sponsorship has forced Enrile to issue a sort of disclaimer. "We will do our own reforming at our own behest," he snapped.

This is not the first time the U.S. has manipulated the Philippine military to achieve its political ends. The CIA's

use of the armed forces in bringing about the rise of President Ramon Magsaysay is the classic example. (See story, page 3.)

PROMISES OF PROSECUTION

"Short of staging a coup, a militant group of officers in the armed forces, particularly those in command out in the field, can be very persuasive on behalf of any cause it decides to adopt," Aruige noted.

Marcos appears to have gotten the message. In spite of his frequently-voiced pro-Ver sentiments and rumors that he is irked by the reform movement, the dictator has treated the young officers with due respect.

On April 20, at Marcos' behest, the movement's representatives met formally with Ramos and laid out specific goals and demands. Four days later, they consulted with Enrile.

The president himself staged a formal meeting with the group May 31. He promised immediate prosecution of dishonesty, graft and corruption by members of the AFP. Marcos told the group to gather evidence of such problems, but warned them not to subject anyone to trial by publicity.

Meanwhile, Col. Irwin Ver, acting chief of the powerful Presidential Security Guard and Gen. Ver's eldest son, claimed he was interested in the movement. He complained, however, that he felt unwelcome among the reformers.

MARCOS AND IMELDA IRKED

Observers view the Marcos-Ver faction's new openness to reform as yet another tactic. They predict a process of welcoming the movement, riding on it, then attempting to neutralize it. This would represent a more sophisticated approach. Earlier efforts to squelch the reformers included letters to Marcos discrediting the movement and fake movement manifestoes.

Insiders confirmed that Marcos is indeed peeved with the movement. He has reportedly insisted that its existence is a reflection of Ramos' "poor leadership." Even more annoyed is the First Lady, long associated with Ver.

In recent Cabinet meetings, Mrs. Marcos has claimed that her husband's party, the *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan*, has always been at the forefront of reform so the "reformers" have no business complaining.

Marcos' ambivalence reflects the genuine tension running through the Philippine officer corps and the fact that coopting the reformers may be altogether impossible.

Though uniformly anti-communist, the military is politically polarized between the Marcos-Ver cronies and the "professionals." To successfully coopt the latter, Marcos would have to hack off significant portions of his own overstaying, heavily Ilocano powerbase.

Then there is the U.S., which, to the regime's irritation, is using the reform movement as leverage to gain its own ends. While the officer corps is the source of Marcos' power, for the U.S. it is also a potential source of his demise. No matter how many times the group swears loyalty to the president, renounces the use of violence and rejects the idea of a military takeover, the clout it wields stems precisely from that incipient threat.

It is clear at this stage that no one wants to see a coup in the Philippines. But aware that Philippine society is rapidly polarizing with the left gaining greater and greater influence, the U.S. may at some point decide that Marcos is not moving fast enough to become "part of the solution," as the U.S. interagency report put it.

At such a time, there is nothing like a large, well-organized group of "professionals" to remove him surgically from the political scene. But then it would be change American-style.

The big question is whether the opposition can link up with the military reformers to fuse their efforts with the broad democratic grassroots movement and lead them away from the designs of U.S. and oligarchical kingmakers. Short of this fusion, the REFORM AFP movement will be nothing more than an attempt to make the military a more efficient guardian of a corrupt and decaying social order. □

POLITICAL VIOLENCE GOES UNCHECKED

Political violence continues to plague several Philippine cities even as grassroots communities are vowing to organize in self-defense.

Ex-beauty queen-turned-politician Aurora Pijuan's campaign manager, Rodolfo Diestro, was shot dead in San Lorenzo Village, Metro Manila early last June. Pijuan's first campaign manager was also slain in the aftermath of the 1984 elections where she ran as an opposition candidate for the National Assembly. One thousand mourners marched towards the Makati Municipal Hall to protest the killing. They also refused to bury Diestro until the police released Leo Macariola, interim chairman of the Manila Solidarity Alliance, who was picked up for alleged illegal possession of weapons.

In another incident, Emelito Fomarcán, 34, a puto vendor, was dragged by secret marshalls as he was quietly sleeping on a bench outside his house in Sampaloc, Manila last May. He had decided to sleep outside so as not to disturb his wife and children when he wakes up early in the morning to sell *puto*.

A block away from the Fomarcans, at about the same time, Rosauro Santos, 22, a Baptist pastor's helper, was walking home from a bible class when he was grabbed by five armed men including Pat. Oscar Padilla, a secret marshall. Fomarcán and Santos turned up dead. Pat. Leonardo San Sebastian, a secret



Davao scene: Military v. civilians.

marshall was named as their killer. They allegedly tried to fight the policemen when picked up for allegedly leading a riot on Jhocson and Forbes Streets. Neither Santos nor Fomarcán had a criminal record.

Two thousand protesters joined the funeral march for Santos and Fomarcán. An impressive array of prominent figures including Jaime Cardinal Sin, newly-installed Ricardo Cardinal Vidal, Manila Mayor Ramon Bagatsing, human rights lawyer Joker Arroyo, MABINI lawyers Rene Saguisag, Fulgencio Factoran, Jr., assemblymen Orlando Mercado, Gonzalo Puyat, Lito Atienza and former senator John Osmeña have joined the call for the investigation and dismantling of secret marshalls. In the shanty towns of Manila, the urban poor have reportedly formed "vigilante squads" to fight the secret marshalls.

In far-flung places, meanwhile, the Civilian Home Defense Force is just as active in terrorizing the population. The Ecumenical Commission for Displaced Families and Communities reported that the government military operations have displaced 1,040,206 families in 1972-1984. These brutalities, especially in Mindanao and eastern Samar, have intensified since the 1984 elections.

The National Democratic Front's Preparatory Committee in Southern Mindanao charged that a government memorandum dated November 6, 1984 ordered barangay captains to "kill one of those priests or nuns and frighten thousands." As a result, Fr. Tullio Favali, an Italian Missionary was killed last April by the sons of a barangay captain in Cotabato. The National Council of Churches, Pope John Paul II, Jaime Cardinal Sin and other church leaders denounced the killing of Fr. Favali. Meanwhile, Fr. Mariano Beling, Rev. Elpidio Sumanil and Pastor Magnifico L. Osorio were among the church workers killed recently. Pastor Osorio of the United Methodist Church worked with the poor minorities of Palawan where he was clubbed and shot to death last March 29.

In Cebu, gunmen shot and killed Nabokodnosor Velez, 47, a commentator for the labor-run station DYLA as he watched his daughter compete in a beauty contest. Velez was the second commentator from the station to be slain in five months and the 11th journalist to be killed since January 1984. A security guard companion of Velez was also killed.

Meanwhile, 5,000 lawyers are poised to boycott Mindanao courts in protest of the arrest of three human

rights lawyers last May. Marcos Risonal, Jr., Laurente Ilagan and Antonio Arellano of the Legal Assistance Group have been detained in connection with a transport strike that paralyzed 70% of the region early May. The detention touched off a series of pickets and demonstrations including the march by 7,000 protesters in Davao City on May 16. □

BENEDICTO'S SWEET VICTORY

Reorganizing the highly mismanaged Philippine Sugar Commission did not result in changing its mis-managers. Sugar czar and presidential crony Roberto Benedicto retained the reins following the May 18 elections of the six private-sector seats in the nine-member board of the government agency overseeing the sugar industry. The reorganization was ordered by President Marcos in the midst of a parliamentary inquiry into the Philsucom and the state sugar monopoly, the National Sugar Trading Corp.

The industry, already depressed by the world slump in sugar prices exacerbated by agency mismanagement, plunged its dependents—some 3.5 million Filipinos—into an economic abyss. The abolition of Nasutra and Philsucom's reorganization were seen as the government's last ditch effort to turn the industry around.

But the election was a foregone conclusion. An opposition slate led by planter Carlos Ledesma contested four planters and two millers seats in Benedicto's camp and objected to certain election procedures. Open balloting, proxy voting and other election guidelines were formulated by the previous Philsucom board led by Benedicto. Ledesma charged that several planters' groups were excluded from the voters' list. He further charged that the incumbents used Philsucom resources to solicit proxy votes. Ledesma and his slate withdrew from the fight the night before the balloting.

The opposition bloc also led an election day boycott. But this did not prevent the polls from proceeding, with all ballots cast even before the originally scheduled 1 to 4 p.m. vote. The winners were Benedicto and Fred Elizalde representing millers; Armando Gustilo, Roberto Montalban, Ramon Durano, and Manuel Nieto for the planters. Benedicto, Gustilo and Elizalde have been in the Marcos-appointed Philsucom since 1978.

The election represented what appeared to be a brewing rivalry between Marcos cronies. Ledesma was reportedly backed by another close presidential friend coconut king Eduardo Cojuangco. Cojuangco was said to have fallen from favor following an almost fatal dip in the coconut industry. Marcos himself was said to have stepped in to mediate between him and Benedicto (see *AK, Vol. XI, No. 4*). Cojuangco is chairman of the San Miguel Corp., one of the largest industrial users of sugar in the Philippines. □

JACKSON CALLS U.S. AID 'WASTEFUL'

The Rev. Jesse Jackson condemned the Reagan administration for its proposed plans to boost military aid to the Philippines by 150% to the staggering sum of \$200 million. Speaking in Chicago on May 27 and Washington, D.C. on June 6, the civil rights leader and former Democratic Party presidential contender said military aid funds would be better spent in the U.S. on job training for youth.

Inidoro

Continued from page 2

educated officers, if you ask me. It is headed by the Minister of the fence himself."

ME: "How about your faction? What's it called?"

HIM: "Forget Every Reform Demand Immediately or Else—or FERDIE. It overlaps with VER. We are called 'We Bulong' for short, for whispering to the President the names of trouble-makers."

ME: "Will you survive?"

HIM: "Survive?! In due time we will hit our enemies so hard they will be scrambled and confused. RAMOS will be something that just ROAMS around powerlessly. ENRILE will be REELIN' from what hit it and REFORM AFP

Jackson argued that the record budget deficits are a direct result of a "dramatic increase in wasteful, corrupt and unproductive military spending." He further charged that excessive military spending in countries like the Philippines, South Korea and South Africa disrupts not only the U.S. but also the entire world's economy.

Citing the Marcos government's human rights violations, Jackson noted that "Americans almost daily read or hear of the torture, disappearance and 'salvaging' of civilians by the Philippine military" and "according to our government's reports, the Philippine's military record of corruption, poor leadership, lack of discipline, and human rights abuses continues unabated in 1985."

Jackson added that aid should only be "given to help to stabilize the Filipino economy, not to destabilize the people through attempted military repression." Any future aid, Jackson stated, should be "conditioned upon an end to human rights abuses and a return of political rights to the Filipino people."

Jackson's Chicago press conference was sponsored by the "Campaign Against U.S. Aid and U.S. Oppression in the Philippines," a coalition including the Friends of the Filipino People, Movement for a Free Philippines, Philippine Forum, Ninoy Aquino Movement, Church Coalition for Human Rights in Asia, Philippine Democratic Party, and a number of Chicago church groups.

The Washington, D.C. event was hosted by the Philippine Human Rights Lobby and the National Rainbow Coalition. Joining Jackson at the podium in Washington were Walden Bello and Charito Planas, along with two members of the South Korean opposition. □

NEW CARDINAL APOLITICAL?

Named by Pope John Paul II as one of the 29 new Princes of the Catholic Church April 24 was Filipino Ricardo Vidal, archbishop of Cebu. Vidal will join the 120-member consistory of cardinals and bishops presided over by the pontiff. He is the fourth Filipino to be named cardinal, the others being the late Rufino Cardinal Santos of Manila; the late Julio Cardinal Rosales, also of Cebu; and Jaime Cardinal Sin of Manila.

Vidal believes his elevation to be "a tribute to the Filipino clergy and a recognition of the deep religiosity of the Cebuanos." Others see more to it. The recent appointments of Pope John Paul II, viewed as the most conservative pope following Vatican II, were clearly political. Vidal joins the likes of Archbishop Miguel Obando, a critic of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and Archbishop Henryk Roman Gulbinowicz of Poland, an ardent supporter of Solidarnosc.

Thus when none other than Imelda Marcos headed the 100-man delegation of Filipino clergymen, nuns and politicians to witness the new cardinal's installation May 25, Vidal's leanings became suspect. The First Lady attended as *ninang* to Vidal, and many believed he would take the place of staunch Imelda backer Cardinal Rosales and act as foil to Cardinal Sin's often critical pronouncements against the Marcos government.

So far however, Vidal, the "prelate of the poor," has maintained his "simple, humble and pious" image. He told reporters as he left for Rome May 13 that he would tell the pope of the strife in Mindanao. Vidal also stood by the Catholic Bishops Conference's stance against the secret marshalls. Vidal called the presidential order deploying shoot-to-kill plainclothes police as "immoral." But of the priests who have gone underground to fight the injustices of the current government, Vidal said, "They are on their own." He added that the pious should pray for these priests' souls. □

will be FORMER AFP. In the end FERDIE-VER will prevail!"

ME: "Will you be national democrats politically?"

HIM: "You mean nat dems? No."

ME: "Social Democrats?"

HIM: "You mean soc dems? No."

ME: "Will you be liberation theologians?"

HIM: "You mean God dems? No, no. After we arrest all of dem, FERDIE-VER will be a tandem, ruling and sharing privilege jointly and forever. Wow! What do you call this feeling in psychiatry?"

ME: "Greed, General. It means you've gotten your old self back!"

You see, there's hope for everyone. If child abuse is now a crime, if even abusing animals is now prohibited in some societies, why can't we stop abusing the military? After all, they're animals too. □

U.S. Troops If, No U.S. Troops Unless

By NANCY F. ROCAMORA

It could have been a case of foot-in-mouth disease. President Ferdinand Marcos stated early this month that he might be called upon to ask for U.S. combat troops to fight local insurgents. This made headlines internationally and provoked an almost immediate rash of clarifications domestically.

Marcos was asked directly by an interviewer for the Paris-based Gamma Television network if he would ever call for U.S. or ANZUS help against the growing insurgent movement within his country. He replied that, "if the infiltration and subversion is so massive that it gets out of control, then we might."

Reporters immediately sought comment from Undersecretary Michael Armacost, the U.S. State Department's number three man. Armacost, formerly Ambassador to the Philippines, just happened to be in Manila on a brief and supposedly private visit at the time.

He expressed doubt that "foreign troops are the answer to that kind of problem, particularly in the absence of support being provided to what is an internal insurgency."

CLARIFYING CLARIFICATIONS

The U.S. is known to be more than willing to supply troops to "friendly countries" confronted with "that kind of problem" once the crunch comes. Armacost's open comment was a slap in the face to Marcos and Malacañang quickly shifted gears to "clarify" the president's comment.

Information Minister Gregorio Cendana quickly issued a formal statement. What the president meant was, it explained, "If the integration of aid and foreign trained troops is so massive that it is the equivalent to outright attack, then we may have to ask for the help of allied troops as provided for in the mutual defense pact."

Further clarification explained that under the pact, "the Philippines and the United States would come to each other's

aid, in accordance with their constitutional processes, in the case of external aggression."

Acting Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos then clarified the clarifications. Philippine troops he told the press, are capable of handling the insurgency. The president really meant that, "if there is foreign support of significance," he might be compelled to invoke the pact.

SENDING A MESSAGE

Puzzled observers noted that Marcos had never before admitted the possibility of needing outside assistance in containing the New People's Army or the Muslim insurgency in the south. He has repeatedly insisted that his military is capable of handling the problem even if it grows.

Many believe that Marcos was sending a message to the U.S. that "We're in this together." He had been angered by pressures to clean up his act and phase himself out of the Philippine political scene.

Marcos was particularly annoyed by the controversy in Congress over military aid, and was probably warning the U.S. that less military aid means less ability to counter the insurgency and more direct U.S. involvement.

'OPERATION PHOENIX'

Meanwhile, news from both Manila and Washington reveals that U.S. pressure on Marcos have not abated.

A letter brought to Manila by Central Intelligence Agency chief William Casey on his unannounced visit in early May allegedly insisted that Marcos call for presidential elections next year before the political situation in the country polarizes too thoroughly. Presidential elections are currently slated for 1987. Unconfirmed reports claim that Manila is now crawling with CIA agents.

At the same time, Jose Concepcion and Jaime Cardinal Sin both visited Washington last month. The prelate and Mr. Concepcion represent the type of opposition Washington loves—anti-Marcos, but staunchly anti-left as well.

Concepcion is particularly appealing,

The successful businessman heads up NAMFREL—the National Movement for Free Elections. NAMFREL was brought into being in the 1950s by the CIA. It disappeared from the scene through the '60s and '70s but came back to life last year with the elections for the *Batasang Pambansa*.

NAMFREL's latest project, Concepcion explained in his Washington speech to the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, is to form Peace and Order Councils on the barrio level. The goal is to redress the injustices of the poor and keep the population away from the NPA.

In Davao, he is cooperating with Marine Col. Rodolfo Biazon, the military's newest "knight in shining armor." Biazon's tactical diagram depicts cooperation with civilians like Concepcion as a component of his counter-insurgency or "scramble for mass support" program.

Concepcion's proposal smacked suspiciously of at least one aspect of the CIA's infamous "Operation Phoenix" during the Vietnam War—the more so since he revealed that the key area for testing the plan would be Negros. This region, devastated by the plunge in international sugar prices, has recently become fertile

recruiting ground for the NPA.

'BLACKMAIL'

Regime supporters resent Washington's varied attempts to alter the situation in the Philippines to suit its own strategic interests with or without Marcos' support. They are outraged by the Senate resolution sponsored by Massachusetts Democrat John Kerry which ties future military aid to improvement on the human rights front, a credible trial in the Aquino assassination, free elections and military reform.

The Kerry Amendment broke with Reagan policy by making the pressure open and public rather than leaving it under the table and behind closed doors.

Members of Marcos' party in the Batasan drafted a resolution condemning the amendment. Pro-Marcos publications raked the young senator over the coals. Officials denounced the amendment as "arrogant, presumptuous and tantamount to blackmail."

Marcos brushed Kerry aside. He said in an interview that he deals with the U.S. President and not the Congress. The Kerry Amendment, he claims, is baseless since the reforms it seeks were begun long ago. □

R.P. & U.S. Opposition: Stop U.S. Aid Now!

Oppositionists in the Philippines and the United States sent the following joint statement to the U.S. Congress late June:

"As members of the opposition in the Philippines and the United States, we urge the members of the U.S. Congress to end Reagan's support for Ferdinand E. Marcos. Continued U.S. aid is an obstacle [to] the democratization we long for unless it is preconditioned on verifiable reforms such as:

- repeal of Amendment 6 and abolition of all repressive decrees promulgated by Marcos;
- full restoration of the writ of habeas corpus;
- general amnesty to all political prisoners and offenders and release of all these prisoners;
- justice in the Aquino murder trial;
- reforms in the military and retirement of generals who have enriched themselves and abused their authority;
- permanent resignation of Gen. Fabian C. Ver as Chief of Staff and head of the National Intelligence Service Agency;
- revamp of the COMELEC and holding of free and honest elections;
- drafting of a completely new Philippine constitution.

"Symbolic gestures are not enough to pressure Marcos into dismantling his one-man rule.

"Americans who are for justice and democracy must rally behind the Filipino people in opposing aid to the Marcos regime and bring closer the day when freedom and true democracy will flourish in the Philippines."

The statement was signed by Emmanuel Soriano, Jovito Salonga, Ramon Mitra, Cory Aquino, Butz Aquino, Tito Guingona, Lorenzo Tañada, Reli German, Ramon del Rosario, Narz Lim, Bonifacio Gillego, Sonny Alvarez, Charito Planas, Geline Avila, Steve Psinakis, Gaston Ortigas, and several other opposition figures.

Pols Want Early Polls, Unity Bids Hit Bumps

By CHRISTINE ARANETA

Elections, both the 1986 local and 1987 presidential varieties, have so preoccupied ruling party and opposition politicians alike that 1985, an off year, may prove to be the decisive year in determining the outcome of the polls. In the meantime, the latest attempts to forge opposition unity have hit new bumps on the road even as leaders have not entirely given up their efforts.

Former senator Salvador Laurel said opposition members of parliament are sponsoring proposals to hold "synchronized" that is combined, local and presidential elections in 1986. The move, according to its backers will save the government money in the face of an economic crisis, and take the steam out of the leftist momentum.

Meanwhile, *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan* Assemblyman Antonio Diaz has filed a similar bill with a different twist: the elections of 1986, 1988 and 1990 be synchronized and held in 1990 but that the 1987 presidential election proceed as planned. The Diaz proposal aims to buy time for the KBL incumbents (who will sit in power for the next five years), and for the party as a whole to concentrate its

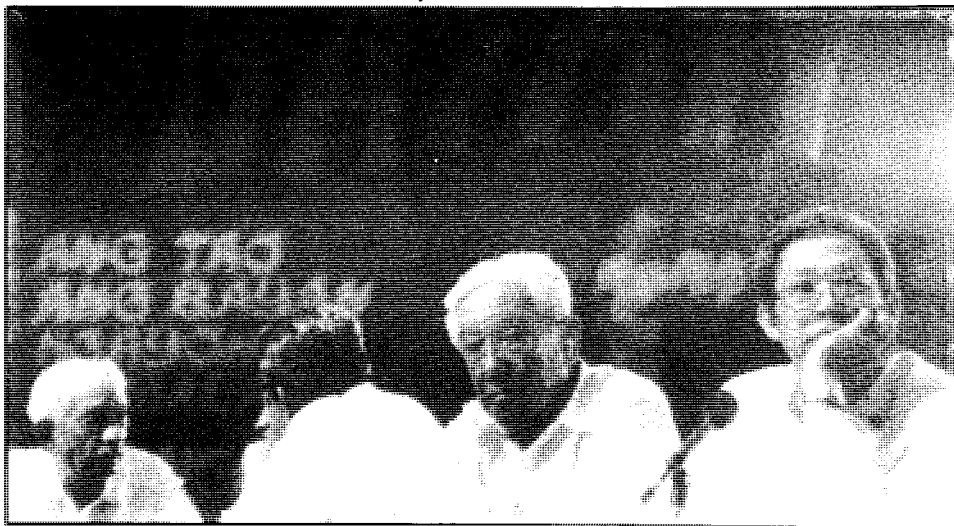
efforts in getting Marcos another term in 1987.

"Early elections" have become the buzzwords in political circles ever since Washington bosses CIA director William Casey and State Department Undersecretary of Political Affairs Michael Armacost, dropped in on Marcos last month to suggest that he hold elections soon. Washington apparently wants early presidential and vice presidential elections to provide some openings to Marcos' moderate opponents and offset the threat of the New People's Army coming to power in two to five years.

While publicly rebuffing the U.S. prodings as "ridiculous" and "underhanded," Malacañang is said to be carefully weighing the pressures. So far, Marcos has rejected the "synchronization proposal" claiming that the constitution would have to be amended. "Everyone should instead attend to the economic recovery programme and the fight against insurgency," he told reporters June 14, or else "we will end up quarelling over nothing."

LATEST MURMUR

But the latest murmur from Malacañang is that the 1987 elections may be advanced and that a KBL caucus led by Political Affairs Minister Leonardo Perez will be



BAYAN leaders (l-r) Roces, Tanada, Aquino: Back to the drawing board?

called to revise the election code. Perez, said May 14, that the ruling party is not discounting the possibility of "snap" elections. The strongest proponents of this move are loyalists bent on securing the party nomination for Marcos as standard bearer and Imelda as his vice-presidential running mate.

KBL loyalists point to a nationwide election survey conducted by an independent market research team, which concluded that Marcos enjoys a five-point lead over Laurel, another contender for the presidency. Early elections, KBL leaders argue, will see another Marcos victory over the divided and undecided opposition.

Thus far, other KBL contenders for the throne—Labor Minister Blas Ople and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile—are

neutralized, but share with other factions mortification over Imelda's ascendant role. While denying claims that her candidacy is in the works, the First Lady has done little to douse the rumors with her highly-visible role in KBL caucuses.

The idea behind the "snap" elections according to *Veritas*, an influential Catholic weekly, is that the interests of the Marcoses would be protected even if the ailing chief executive died or was incapacitated before his next six-year term had expired.

"There would be no logic if the president were to wait until he is totally incapacitated before calling an election, because his wife would face stiffer competition from some cabinet members for the party nomination," the paper said.

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'U.S. Foreign Policy Means Aggression, Subversion'

(This article appeared in the April 1985 issue of *Ang Bayan* with the title "U.S. Imperialist Foreign Policy Means Aggression, Subversion." *Ang Bayan* is the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The article appears to be the most recent exposition of the CPP's views on the U.S. role in world politics, the U.S.-Soviet conflict, and on the international situation in general.)

Although U.S. foreign policy undergoes changes in focus and form at different periods and places around the world, its basic imperialist character is constant. It remains interventionist, hegemonistic and aggressive, dovetailing with the nature of imperialism as a world system.

Imperialism, as a system, subsists mainly on the sweat and blood of other countries. It flourishes on exploitation on a worldwide scale. And to this corresponds imperialist foreign policy which is extremely oppressive of other countries, nations and peoples.

Because of its greed for superprofits and obsession for world domination, imperialism recognizes no national boundaries, it skips no opportunity for its hegemonist schemes and holds no respect for the sovereignty of any other country. Upon this nature is rooted the violent character of imperialism, as well as its preoccupation with war as a natural thrust of its foreign policy.

At the core of U.S. foreign policy is the interest of monopoly capital for world domination and hegemony. The paramount interest of the U.S. is to maintain its position as the No. 1 imperialist power and to safeguard its strategic interests in various parts of the world. As the imperialist country with the widest sphere of hegemony and with the most dominant position in the world stage, the U.S. is also the most zealous and most rabid advocate of the most aggressive and most ruthless imperialist foreign policy. It goes to extremes to endanger the peace of the entire world.

Since its emergence as an imperialist power at the start of this century, the U.S. has consistently pursued a foreign policy of interventionism, hegemonism and aggression.

It launched its colonial policy through the use of violence in its war of aggression against Cuba and the Philippines and some parts of China. Since then, its foreign policy has been dripping with blood. This is evident today in its policy of aggression towards the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Grenada. It seems not to have learned any lesson from its historic defeats in Korea, Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos. In its history since becoming an imperialist power, there has hardly been a year that the U.S. was not directly involved in one war or another in some parts of the world.

Not a single country in the world is spared from its intervention, subjugation and hegemonist designs. Even the most obscure and smallest countries such as Samoa and Grenada do not escape its schemes.

It tries to force its will even on the more advanced capitalist countries which are fellow imperialist, such as Japan and West Germany. But it reserves its most arrogant bullying for socialist and anti-imperialist countries and for semi-colonies where there exist strong liberation movements.

The methods of U.S. foreign policy range from clandestine intervention in elections to the staging of bloody coups d'etat as in Chile and Indonesia; from simply bribing leaders of various governments to assassinating or plotting to assassinate leaders as in Cuba, Iran and Zaire (formerly Belgian Congo); from imposing economic blockades on newly independent and socialist countries to the launching of outright military aggression as in Korea and Vietnam in years past and now in Nicaragua and Grenada; from coercion while in the process of negotiations to threats of nuclear warfare against the socialist countries; from undertaking an anti-communist campaign on a world scale to taking advantage of splits among socialist countries; and from entering into alliances with fellow imperialist countries against socialist and anti-imperialist countries and movements to using coercion in economic competition with its fellow imperialist countries.

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

Although its nature remains the same, U.S. foreign policy has been trying to adjust to important developments in the world situation and to its changing role amidst these developments.

After World War II, with the economies of the other imperialist countries devastated, U.S. imperialism emerged as the foremost imperialist power. At the same time, a strong socialist camp came into being even as liberation movements surged in various parts of the world upon the conclusion of the war. In those circumstances, U.S. imperialism launched the so-called Cold War as its basic foreign policy.

This took the form of a global anti-communist campaign directed mainly against socialist countries, the liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies, and the proletarian movements right within the capitalist countries. A conspicuous feature of this aggressive anti-communist foreign policy was the so-called "brinkmanship," under which the U.S. carried confrontation with the socialist countries to the very brink of war; arrogantly, it tried to blackmail these countries with its nuclear monopoly, which was later reduced to mere nuclear superiority. U.S. objectives at that time were to consolidate and expand imperialist domination, bully if not crush the socialist countries, defeat the liberation movements, and use the other imperialist countries in these schemes.

At the onset of the 1970s, U.S. foreign policy shifted to detente. From a bellicose policy of anti-communist confrontation, it affected a posture of being receptive to "negotiations" with socialist countries purportedly to defuse world tensions. In fact, this was an admission of the failure of its Cold War policy and an adjustment to new conditions.

Instead of being crushed during the period of the Cold War, the socialist countries and liberation movements gained strength. Although the socialist camp broke up as a result of contradictions among some member-countries,

letariat within the capitalist countries, and among the imperialist countries themselves. Complicating the world situation further are the contradictions among the socialist countries.

U.S. SOVIET CONFLICT

U.S. foreign policy today is most conspicuously geared towards confrontation with the Soviet Union and with the liberation movements. This direction of U.S. policy influences in a large way its handling of other particular international questions and its dealings with individual countries.

Generally, the conflict between the U.S. and the Soviet Union is headed towards intensification. For U.S. imperialism, this conflict plays a crucial role in its scheme to maintain, if not restore the previous level of, its domination in the world. The expression of this conflict in the sphere of arms superiority is closely linked to U.S. imperialism's conflict with the liberation movements and to its effective control over the ranks of imperialist countries—both of which have to do with the question of U.S. domination over world politics.

The U.S. today is frantically increasing and improving the quality of its nuclear weapons to restore its effective superiority over the Soviet Union. While expanding its arsenal, it wants to block the Soviet Union from expanding its own arsenal.

A relative parity in nuclear arms adversely affects U.S. imperialism's schemes to blatantly intervene in other countries, especially in semi-colonies where there are strong liberation

NATIONAL LIBERATION

There has been an upsurge of national liberation movements since the victory of the peoples of Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, and the anti-imperialist movement in Iran, and since 1975 when the peoples of Indochina threw out U.S. imperialism and liberated their countries. Foremost among these have been the liberation movements in El Salvador in Latin America, and in the Philippines in Asia.

U.S. imperialism is also worried over the intensifying competition among the imperialist countries, and over the weakening of its hegemony over the other imperialist countries.

There is fundamental unity among the imperialist countries in their objective of crushing the liberation movements and the socialist countries. This the Reagan administration's foreign policy tried to drum up in its strident calls for an "anti-communist crusade."

But because of the inherent contradictions among the imperialist countries, especially since the economies of Europe and Japan have fully recovered, U.S. imperialism can no longer effectively insist that the other imperialists follow its lead in foreign policy. This is particularly true vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the liberation movements, although generally the lesser imperialist countries still eagerly follow the U.S. lead.

But the strategic interests of each imperialist country in its dealings with the rest of the world continue to develop, giving rise to differences which are prejudicial to the U.S.'s position as the No. 1 imperialist power. In many instances, these other imperialist countries have been insisting on their own analysis and policies vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, the countries of Eastern Europe, and the liberation movements such as that of the Palestinian people. And with the collective economic power of the Western European countries as expressed in the European Economic Community (EEC), and with Japan developing its own economic clout, inter-imperialist conflicts have been intensifying. These conflicts revolve around the balance of payments, rates of interest, protectionism, technology transfer, etc.

The U.S. insists on recapturing its nuclear superiority, and pursues a generally aggressive foreign policy, both to woo and to coerce its fellow imperialist allies to support efforts to revive its strength which was grossly undermined by its debacle in Indochina. The U.S. is hoping that through this, it could once more emerge effectively dominant over the imperialist ranks, although such a hoped-for development runs against the current of on-going events.

Right within the other imperialist countries, the popular movements opposed to this direction in U.S. foreign policy, as well as to their government's accession to this policy, are growing stronger. The same is true right in the U.S. where revived popular movements are opposing the Reagan administration's aggressive foreign policy. Movements in the U.S. supporting liberation movements in U.S. semi-colonies are also gaining strength.

IN THE VARIOUS REGIONS

U.S. foreign policy has its particularities according to varying conditions and according to its interests in various regions of the world. Following are capsule summaries:

In the Middle East, U.S. interests is centered on the supply of oil. It uses Zionist Israel primarily, and some Arab governments, to isolate the Palestinian people, block Soviet influence, and safeguard its free entry into the Persian Gulf. Since the overthrow of the fascist puppet regime of the Shah of Iran, the U.S. has had to rely mainly on Saudi Arabia.

In Latin America, the focus of U.S. attack are Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador because of its fear that strong socialist countries may emerge right next door to its own territory. The U.S. is strengthening and using the puppet regimes in Honduras and Costa Rica to attack Nicaragua, and is trying to undermine the emerging anti-imperialist unity of the Contadora Group and other countries in the region.

In Europe, where the U.S. has its biggest investments and markets outside of its own territory, its policy is to impose its leadership on the imperialist alliance, and to confront the Soviet Union. While wooing the countries of Eastern Europe in an effort to co-opt Soviet influence, it is trying to prevent its allies on the continent from dealing with these same countries.

In the Asia-Pacific region, the U.S. is trying to consolidate its strength to oppose the Soviet Union and also China (should their current

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the socialist and anti-imperialist countries became stronger and more numerous. At that time, the U.S. war of aggression in Indochina was clearly headed for a crushing defeat, a historic debacle that was later to strike a stunning blow on U.S. imperialist power and reputation worldwide. At the same time, the U.S. was using its effective nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union. And China was expanding its diplomatic relations worldwide after several decades of U.S. attempts to isolate that country. An added factor was that the economies of the other imperialist countries had fully recovered from the devastation of World War II, and a new period of inter-imperialist competition was coming about.

At the start of the present decade, U.S. imperialism, through the Reagan administration, undertook another shift in its foreign policy. It revived the confrontational stance of the Cold War, while retaining some of the features of detente. Again, this was an admission of the failure of detente and an attempt to adapt to the new world situation which was extremely unfavorable to U.S. imperialist interests.

The Reagan administration's foreign policy has been a desperate scheme of U.S. imperialism to arrest the erosion of its power and dominant position in the world, although it continued to maintain its position as the world's top imperialist power. It is now moving to restore its effective superiority over the Soviet Union in nuclear weapons and war machinery, while taking advantage of contradictions among the socialist countries. It is also scheming to aggressively block the upsurge of liberation movements while propping up puppet regimes, and to recapture its former level of hegemony over the other imperialist countries which are being rocked by intensifying inter-imperialist competition.

All these have been in the context of complex developments in the basic global contradictions between imperialists and socialist countries, between the imperialists and the countries they oppress, between the bourgeoisie and the pro-

movements. This scheme serves its objectives to strengthen and expand its domination. The U.S. is worried that its intervention in other countries may provoke an untimely escalation in its conflict with the Soviet Union, especially if this threatens the Soviet Union's own interests and security. Relative parity also reduces U.S. influence over the other imperialist countries, as the latter are obliged to play a balancing act in the circumstances. Without effective nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, it cannot prevent the Soviet Union from helping some of the liberation movements. In sum, there has been a lowering of prestige of the U.S. and of its nuclear umbrella, in the eyes of its fellow imperialist allies.

Concerning its schemes to stop the advance of liberation movements, the U.S. has three classifications of countries it controls as colonies or semi-colonies. First are those countries in close proximity to the U.S. where, if the revolutionary forces attain victory, these would be considered a threat to its own security. In this category are the countries of Latin America which the U.S. regards as its "backyard." Second are the countries that form part of its worldwide security network, the loss of which would greatly weaken its existing structures for aggression and defense. The Philippines is in this category. And third are all the other countries from which its monopoly capital and the other imperialist countries extract superprofits.

The U.S. adjusts its specific policies according to the level of development of the liberation movements in the various countries—crush them where they are still weak; contain and weaken them where they have grown strong. Conversely, it seeks to strengthen the puppet regimes through massive aid to the reactionary military, some economic assistance, and cosmetic reforms. Towards the liberation movements that have already attained victory, its policy is to sabotage, undermine and subvert them. And to all these, it poses the threat of direct aggression with the use of U.S. troops.

Trial Letting Ver Off The Hook?

By NENE OJEDA

The way things are going in court, Gen. Fabian Ver, on leave from his post as Armed Forces Chief of Staff to stand trial for the murder of ex-Senator Benigno Aquino and fall guy Rolando Galman, may be going back to his job soon.

In a blow to the prosecution, the Sandiganbayan—a three-man court appointed by President Marcos to try the suspects in the conspiracy to murder Aquino—refused to accept as prosecution evidence on June 13 the testimonies Ver and seven other defendants gave before the Agrava Commission.

In addition, when two of the judges, Justices Augusto Amores and Bienvenido Vera Cruz, were caught passing notes to the defense during the cross-examination of key witness Rebecca Quijano, it was

her complaining lawyer who was cited for contempt. Sandiganbayan presiding judge Manuel Pamaran still has to rule on Chief Prosecutor Manuel Herrera's June 18 petition calling for the removal of the two judges.

The Sandiganbayan said its refusal to recognize Ver's Agrava board testimony is true to the presidential decree that created the investigating commission. The decree stated that no one is excused from testifying before the Agrava board but testimony could not be used later against a witness.

Findings of the Agrava Commission formed the basis of the trial and Ver's testimony was a major element in the prosecution's case. Twenty-six military men and a lone civilian are charged for conspiring and implementing the August 21, 1983 murder of opposition figure Aquino and the subsequent coverup with a lone gunman theory justifying the slaying of

alleged assassin Galman.

FATAL BLOW

The Agrava commission indicted Ver as an accessory after his testimony. Ver denied monitoring Aquino's movements abroad and plans to return to Manila, but he was contradicted by other testimonies and hard documents. With the basis for his indictment removed from the Sandiganbayan trial, Ver's attorney, Antonio Coronel plans to call for a dismissal of charges. "You don't defend yourself against nothing," Coronel said.

The court's decision, as Judge Amores later admitted, was a fatal blow to the prosecution. Weakened by missing or recanting witnesses at the trial's opening late February, the prosecution did not rally until the appearance of "the crying lady" Quijano.

Quijano debunked the government's lone gunman theory and was the first witness to claim she saw one of Aquino's

soldier-escorts shoot the opposition leader. With her testimony the prosecution prepared to rest its case.

But a later Supreme Court ruling upheld the defense's petition to recall Quijano. The defense had waived cross examination following Quijano's stunning four-hour testimony May 2. The defense claimed that "new evidence" prompted her recall.

In the five-hour session that followed on June 6, the defense sought to present Quijano as not an entirely honest and stable witness. Quijano, they charged, had previous bouts with the law (10 cases of fraud and car theft) and had episodes of mental instability (two attempted suicides while detained in a Hong Kong jail).

In a further bid to erode Quijano's credibility as an eyewitness, defense lawyer Raul Jimenez, pressed her to recall every detail of the actual murder.

How many steps did it take to get to the window where Quijano allegedly saw the soldier point a gun at Aquino's head? What was the distance from the exit door to the window? Did other passengers block her way to the window?

Of the vital moment of the shooting, Jimenez asked Quijano if she saw the barrel or grip of the hand gun; if the gun kicked back after Quijano heard the shot; if the gunman used his right or left hand.

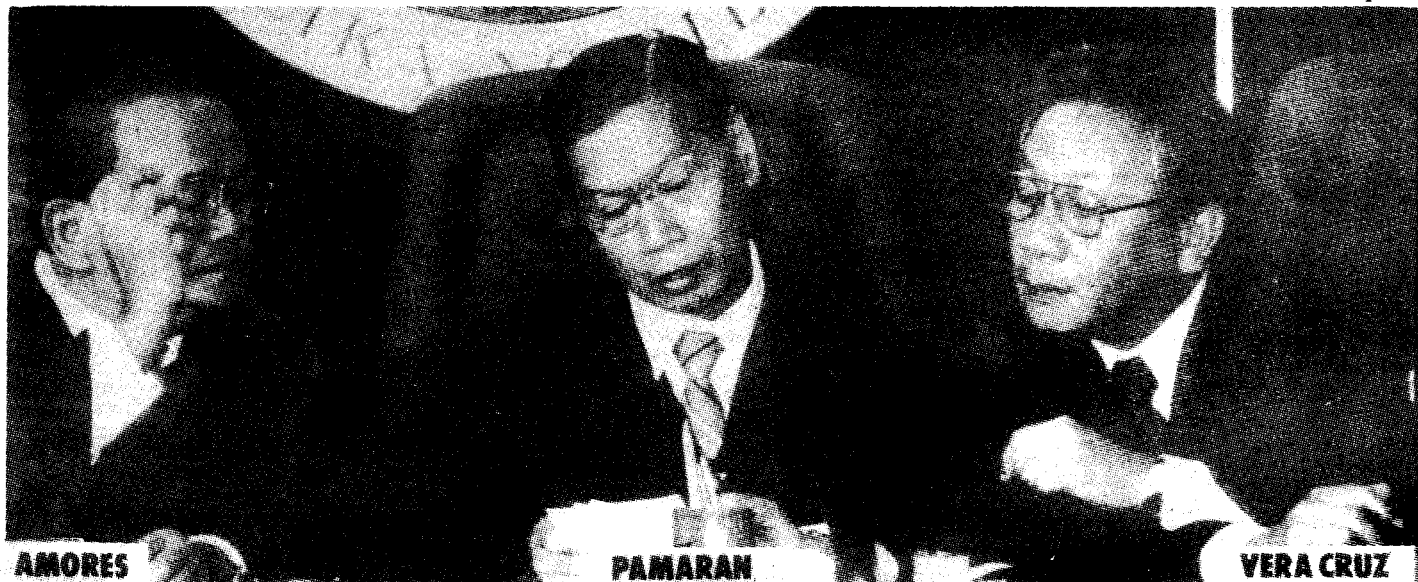
PASSING NOTES

The emotionally exhausted Quijano countered that all the charges filed against her except for the pending car theft charge, have all been dismissed. She refused to retract her testimony. In tears, she said: "Even if I am the most evil person in the whole world, this does not change what I saw."

Jimenez appeared pleased at Quijano's inability to remember the details of the murder. But her reappearance undeniably boosted Quijano's credibility.

Prosecutor Ernesto Bernabe said Jimenez'

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Sandigan judges: Coaching the defense?

Pols Want Early Polls

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On the opposition front, the maneuverings of the UNIDO, the umbrella organization headed by Laurel, are creating strains on other opposition parties' effort to develop a unified opposition program and slate for 1987.

'DISMANTLE UNIDO'

Former senator Eva Estrada Kalaw, a staunch Laurel ally in the early months following Benigno Aquino's assassination has suddenly called for the "dismantling of UNIDO" as it is now "irrelevant."

Kalaw, national chairperson of the United Liberal Party, said UNIDO officials should register back with the Nacionalista Party and join the unification efforts under the National Unification Committee, an umbrella of various opposition parties. Kalaw said that UNIDO and the Nacionalista Party "appear separate, but are in essence only one."

The hot words stemmed from UNIDO's attempts to gain accreditation with the *Batasan Pambansa* as the "dominant opposition party." The Philippine Election Code only certifies two parties but during the 1984 elections, this was changed to accommodate regional alliances and independents resulting in a 30% opposition win in the parliamentary elections.

Kalaw, until recently an officer of UNIDO, argued that the majority of opposition leaders want the NUC to be the dominant opposition party and has sponsored legislation to secure the NUC's accreditation. "The UNIDO no longer deserves the accreditation in 1984 because the political conditions have changed. The NUC is a bigger umbrella group supported by most opposition leaders and followers."

Kalaw added that the Liberal Party, the PDP-Laban and defectors from UNIDO have committed their efforts and resources to working out the political unification of the opposition through the NUC.

Other key forces, such as MP Cecilia

Muñoz-Palma, Assistant Minority Floor leader Marcelo Fernan, and former senator John Osmeña, echoed the same sentiment. The call for unity, however, was tantamount to asking Laurel to re-consider his presidential ambitions and has fallen on deaf ears.

On June 11, 45 of the 59 opposition MPs came out in support of the UNIDO bid for accreditation. The bid gladdened the KBL which is well aware of UNIDO's vulnerabilities on the local level. The counter-bid sponsored by Kalaw-Palma forces, would most likely fizzle in view of the UNIDO majority in the *Batasan's* opposition flank.

HARMONIOUS PLATFORM?

In the meantime, it remains to be seen if the NUC is truly becoming the dominant opposition coalition. Since its founding conference last March, the NUC has been negotiating with the Convenors Group headed by Jose Diokno, Lorenzo Tañada, and Cory Aquino. The two groups have worked out a common platform and must now choose a common presidential candidate from a field of four possible standard bearers.

Unity enthusiasts, including Marcelo Fernan of Cebu, have lauded the common platform: "Except for a few areas of disagreements, the programs of UNIDO, Nacionalista, Liberal, PDP-Laban, and Convenor Group, harmonize with each other." In the popular parlance, the NUC is described as "moderate" and the CG "hardline."

The crucial issue dividing them had been the proper stance towards the Communist Party and the U.S. bases. Forces associated with the CG, have called for the removal of U.S. bases and the legalization of the Communist Party. NUC leaders have hedged on the role of the bases and conditioned the legalization of the CPP on its renunciation of armed struggle. Laurel and Kalaw have favored the retention of

U.S. bases and viewed the CPP with hostility.

But the common enthusiasm for unification in recent months appears to be blunting these differences. It seems that the NUC's call for "political pluralism" and even UNIDO's new program calling for an end to the "core and periphery relationship" between industrialized and underdeveloped nations, leave room for leftist positions.

To consistent nationalists the issue of U.S. imperialism is really a central one. Reflecting this stand, Liberal Party members belonging to the Salonga-Macapagal wing announced they are opposed to the decision of LP president Jovito Salonga to reconcile with the Kalaw faction. Led by former Education Secretary Alejandro Roces, Rey Fajardo, and Antonio Olmedo, the faction said they viewed the pending reconciliation as deeply inimical to the party's interest.

"The reconciliation would substantially weaken the nationalist and anti-imperialist position and posture of the party; the reconciliation would subject the party to suspicion that it has been infiltrated widely by forces widely suspected of playing into the hands of the U.S. and Malacañang; and the reconciliation will be misconstrued by LP rank-and-file who boycotted the last elections and who are for the imminent dismantling of the military bases."

BUMPY ROAD FOR BAYAN

While the traditional parties have a long way to go in clarifying their unities, the more cause-oriented organizations to the left of them are also busy patching up their differences.

The May 4-5 founding congress of BAYAN (*Bagong Alyansang Makabayan*), had been a landmark in unifying the mass-based cause-oriented organizations around a unified political front. A total of 1,068 delegates representing 500 organizations approved a political program of popular democracy calling for an end to the Marcos dictatorship and to U.S. or any other foreign intervention in the Philippines.

"A principled alliance of all major

social classes and sectors, effected through their organizations and individual leaders, which could generate the power to neutralize U.S. government support for the regime, defeat the dictatorship, and transform our society," is how BAYAN described itself. It was the first of its kind.

BAYAN, however, soon hit a bumpy road. The hottest controversy at the congress which continues to send aftershocks was over the election of the National Council. Charges from the liberal democrats and social democrats that the national democrats were playing the "numbers game" led to a boycott of the election for the positions of chairman and president by some 200 delegates belonging to around 10 "moderate" organizations.

The same criticisms of "disproportionate" representation were echoed by *Manindigan*, an organization of professionals and business executives based in Makati. It was charged that regional representatives would invariably reflect the left, inasmuch as moderate groups were mainly centered in Manila. Manindigan was overruled and withdrew at the last minute.

Association of Concerned Teachers leader Etta Rosales described the walkout "as another indication of the inherent distrust and conflict of interest between the middle and upper classes and the masses, represented by the mass-based organizations."

When votes were finally counted, the National Democrats wound up with a majority of seats on the National Council. The ascendance of the organized left has produced a disquiet in the moderate section of the organization. New alliances and realignments are anticipated by ATOM leader Butz Aquino.

Despite the controversy, Ed Garcia, a University of the Philippines professor said that BAYAN was a step forward "from which there could be no more retreat because we can hold groups to this."

"BAYAN," Garcia adds, is merely "a beginning, a long laborious birth process." If BAYAN survives its nature and limitations as a federation representing cross-class interests, it will indeed be a leap forward in the efforts to make the opposition movement more politically and organizationally coherent. □

Trial Date Set in Domingo v. Marcos Suit

Seattle Federal Court Judge Donald Vorhees has set an October 1986 trial date for the Domingo v. Marcos civil suit. The civil suit, originally filed in 1982, charges Philippine and U.S. government involvement in the June 1981 murders of Local 37 ILWU trade union officers Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes.

The setting of a trial date was only one of a series of victories scored by the families of Domingo and Viernes within the last few months according to Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes spokesperson Cindy Domingo.

The trial date decision was preceded by the Philippine government's formal legal response to the allegations in the civil suit. "Although denying any involvement in the murders, the fact that they responded strengthened our suit's standing in the courtroom," said Domingo.

MANILA RESPONDS

There were doubts whether or not Manila would respond to the suit even though a Ninth Circuit court of appeals decision ordered it to do so. An affidavit filed in April by Phil. Minister of Justice and Solicitor General Estelito Mendoza, had requested additional time for them to decide whether to answer the complaint or suffer the default judgement.

Mendoza cited the "difficult questions of policy and principle" raised by the U.S. discovery practices and the "implications for the Republic of its further participation in the litigation." Lawyers for the CJDV



Marking the 4th anniversary of the slaying of labor leaders Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes.

stated that the Marcos government is worried about either perjuring itself or admitting its own involvement.

To pressure Manila to admit or deny allegations surrounding the Domingo/Viernes murder conspiracy, lawyers for the victims' families filed a formal "request for admissions" containing 51 questions in May this year.

The Marcos government refused to admit or deny whether certain individuals named in the murder conspiracy provided information to Philippine agents. It declined to respond on the grounds of governmental privilege, stating that "any response would have a serious prejudicial impact on its

[Philippine government] ability to carry out lawful intelligence activities to protect its national security."

Admitted by the Philippine government was the fact that Tony Baruso, a key figure in the murder conspiracy and president of Local 37 at the time of the murders, met with Philippine agents in San Francisco and Seattle. The CJDV alleges that Baruso is a Philippine agent and has links with U.S. intelligence agencies.

MEMORIAL HELD

Meanwhile, more than 200 people in Seattle celebrated these victories at the Fourth Annual Memorial for Domingo

and Viernes last June 1. Terri Mast, emcee and current president of Local 37 said:

"It seems very appropriate that while we gather together to memorialize Silme and Gene, we are also celebrating a new juncture in our justice efforts. While we have established the political verdict around these murders, the court has finally given us the green light to pursue a legal verdict."

Statements of support from the Seattle chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, the family of slain ambassador Orlando Letelier and the Committee to Obtain Justice for Henry Liu urged the CJDV and its supporters to continue its struggle.

The memorial also served as an educational forum on repression in the 1980s as guest speaker Saul Landau—a historian, filmmaker and senior fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.—showed how national security is linked with modern day international and domestic repression.

Landau said, "National security is the apparatus of repression. It is a state apparatus that thinks about coups and ways of maintaining control. It thinks about assassinations, destabilization and murders."

Domingo urged supporters to remain vigilant and agreed with Landau that the present political atmosphere brought on by the Reagan administration is resulting in the loss of civil liberties in the name of national security. Domingo stressed that the CJDV's work is even more relevant than it was four years ago.

"We began this work to get justice for Silme and Gene but now we return with a new optimism and sense of urgency and political motivation. We intend to continue this work not just for Silme and Gene but for the protection of the democratic rights of people who continue working for peace abroad and justice at home." □

By ABE IGNACIO
Honolulu

Hawaii Church to Tackle Filipino Issues

When a Honolulu diocese-led task force announced it was going to help opponents of the Marcos regime and assist Filipino immigrants victimized by discrimination in Hawaii, the word quickly got around. Close to 80 Filipinos packed St. Theresa's Rectory hall last May 6 wondering if they should believe their ears. Some lauded the church's decision to "finally get involved." Others wanted to know how far the church was willing to go. A few were vehemently opposed to any church involvement in "politics."

On February 19 this year, the Justice and Peace Commission of the Diocese of Honolulu issued a statement announcing the church's "response to the Philippine situation."

The commission is a group of clergy, religious and lay people who advise the Honolulu Diocese's Bishop Joseph Ferrario on social and community issues.

According to the commission, increased human rights violations compel a compassionate response from church people and U.S. citizens. "Longstanding relationships to the Philippines demand that the U.S. and Hawaii alleviate the needless suffering of the Filipino people," its statement said.

In addition, the Commission proposed recommendations to "facilitate the Filipino struggle." Its recommendation to the U.S. Congress and to Hawaii's congressional delegates urged support for the Philippine democratic opposition instead of the Marcos regime through cut-off of all forms of U.S. aid.

The February 19 position paper also called for the establishment of a special task force on the Philippines, which would be charged with "evolving an educational and action plan for the Diocese of Honolulu."

Fr. John Doherty, a commission member noted that half of Hawaii's 250,000 Catholics are Filipinos, many of whom are immigrants. "The concerns of the Filipino community should also be the concern of the church," Fr. Doherty said. "Because of salvagings, harassment of union leaders,



Justice and Peace Commission members (l-r) Tom Dinnell, Fr. John Doherty, Amy Agbayani, and Rollie Smith.

the arbitrary definition of subversion, people who care for the country must take a position."

BOLD ENTRY

At the May 6 forum however, attention turned to the problems of Hawaii's Filipinos who constitute 132,075 of the one million state population. "Certainly, Filipinos are suffering economically here because they are one of the largest new groups to the state," said Sr. Rosita Aranita of the St. Theresa Rectory. "Because of their situation, they are terribly underpaid and often hold more than one job in order to make it. I see it in our parish a lot."

Amy Agbayani, director of "Operation Manong" and a member of the church commission, outlined a grim statistical picture of the Filipino employment, education and housing situation. While Filipinos make up the third largest ethnic group in Hawaii, they are in the lowest median income group and have the lowest education level relative to other ethnic groups.

Workshops following the forum surveyed the most pressing concerns of Filipino

immigrants in Hawaii. Ranking the highest among the recommendations were reform of discriminatory practices in employment; more representation of Filipinos in occupations where they are a significant majority, i.e. public schools; the need for the church to educate people about taking a strong stand on Filipino issues here and in the Philippines; cultural education about the history and contributions of Filipinos; and church cooperation with other religious and non-church organizations striving to improve the status of Filipinos.

The local diocese's bold entry into the social and political arena was in response to the first draft of the American Bishops Conference pastoral letter on national and international problems. The bishops called for treating the "needs of the poor" as society's "highest priority."

"This could be one of the most significant events within the church here in Hawaii," said Rollie Smith, executive director for the Office of Social Ministry and head of the Honolulu Catholic Charities.

MIXED REACTION

Community reaction to the recent church

initiative was mixed. A number of people at the May 6 forum expressed cynicism as to whether the church can "really deliver." One observer noted that the task force does "not even have a budget to do all the things they intend to do, so how far can it really go?" Others felt the Church is taking up "very tension-filled" issues like the human rights situation in the Philippines.

"It is a delicate situation and we have to go about it very carefully," agreed Sr. Rosita. "Many of Hawaii's Filipinos have relatives still in the Philippines or had relatives who were killed there," she said. "There are local spies from the [Philippine] consulate, and people are hesitant to speak publicly for fear of repercussions."

Nevertheless, the task force will proceed with its efforts to educate the Filipino community on Philippine issues starting with the sponsorship of a speaking tour by two noted Filipino bishops, Escaler and Fortich, in October.

"We welcome the church's move to zero in on Filipino community concerns," said Dean Alegado of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP). "Church involvement has already been happening in the Philippines for years and it is heartening to note that the church in Hawaii is finally catching up." He also encouraged the task force to tap existing organizations like the KDP and the Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines that are working for the same goals.

"Our organization is looking forward to working closely with the Catholic Church on immigrant issues," said Helen Toribio, co-chair for the Coalition to Defend Immigrant Rights. "The INS is stepping up its attacks on undocumented immigrants and it will take a broad coalition of forces to stop these attacks."

According to Sr. Rosita, more forums will be held in the Filipino community to help the task force gauge the community's sentiments. The feedback will then be presented to Bishop Ferrario in a statewide meeting of Catholics in August this year. □

Tales From A Lawyer's Files



INS agents at work: Won't win popularity contest among immigrants.

Continued from front page

Mexicans at 35,000 a year, usually find themselves sharing paddy wagons and detention cells with their Latino cousins.

Most of their stories pale beside the commonplace beatings, verbal abuse and even drownings experienced by Mexicans. But the INS would still have very few fans among Filipinos who associate the agency with arrogance, intimidation, rudeness, racism and arbitrariness.

A San Francisco Filipino attorney, Crisostomo Ibarra, cited to *Ang Katipunan* a few cases that may typify the abuses suffered by Filipinos at the hands of the INS. "I feel these abuses have to be challenged," said Ibarra who took the difficult cases *pro-bono*, or *gratis*. Ibarra graduated from Hastings Law School in San Francisco and had worked as a law student in public interest agencies such as the San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation and the Asian Law Caucus.

SERGIO BLANCO AND THE LOST PASSPORT

When Sergio Blanco and his 1½-year old son arrived at the Los Angeles Airport on December 19, 1984, they expected to stay for only 30 days. Instead, he is now languishing in Oakland City Jail because the INS suspected he would overstay. The INS has refused to set a bond for his release.

Ibarra said that because Blanco had only \$300 with him, INS agents immediately suspected he would stay longer than his stated intentions.

"This is absolutely insane," cried Ibarra. "Blanco did not intend to shop at Macy's or Saks Fifth Avenue, but came here to show his parents their new grandchild." Blanco's parents are farmworkers in Watsonville, California, where together with four other siblings they have lived for the past two years since their arrival from the Philippines.

Although Blanco told the INS that his wife and two other children are still in Belgium, they refused to believe him. Blanco worked as a maitre d' for the past three years in the Netherlands Embassy in Belgium, where his wife still works as a chamber maid, a job she has held for the past four years. Having a return ticket did not convince the INS agents either. They asked to see a statement from his employer, but Blanco told them he had to quit his job before he could leave.

Things would even get worse for Blanco. As a standard operational practice, a deferred inspection hearing was scheduled in San Francisco on December 28. On the day of his appointment, however, he was told that his passport and other papers did not arrive from Los Angeles. He was advised to return in March or April and when he did, he was told his passport had been lost. The INS officer apologized and offered to reimburse him for the cost of securing another passport.

In a desperate move, he turned his son's birth certificate and his marriage certificate over to the INS on June 4 hoping that this could facilitate the hearing process. But instead, the INS booked him in the Oakland City Jail. A custody hearing two days later by his attorney failed to secure his release. The INS felt he was likely to become a public charge. The INS judge, without legal authority to release him or set bond, set an exclusion hearing for September 6.

"Sergio wants to return to Belgium so badly to join his wife and other children and the only way to do that is to withdraw his [tourist] visa application. If the INS judge grants it, then he will be released." His release and departure, however, is dependent on his ability to secure another passport and a visa to Belgium, Ibarra added.

"It is ironic that he has already overstayed his original intended stay courtesy of the INS. Yet, he is still being questioned about his intention to overstay and subjected to so much abuse," Ibarra complained. He is contemplating legal action against the INS for damages.

THE CASE OF THE 'FAKE' PASSPORT PHOTOS

Plans for a nice vacation in the U.S. turned into a nightmare for two women and a child when they were detained by the INS and turned over to a private security agency which treated them "like animals."

Avelina Francisco, an arts festival promoter in the Philippines, her two-month old U.S. citizen son, RJ Roxas, and a friend, Felicidad Ocampo were accused by INS agents of carrying fake photos on their passports. They were detained and interrogated for four hours. They had just been on an exhaustive 12-hour flight from the Philippines.

Ibarra said the photos in the passport showing the women with their make up just looked a little different from their persons. "Even after we discredited the testimony of the agent from the INS' fraud unit, they still were not released," recounted Ibarra.

Pending their exclusion hearings, they were not released to the custody of their friends or relatives but were kept instead by the San Mateo Security Services, an agency hired by Japan Airlines (JAL). Under a federal regulation, airlines are responsible for the whereabouts of aliens while their cases are pending. Ibarra said, however, that this is an arbitrary practice because not everyone is held in the custody of the airlines.

They were kept in the basement den of William Lovett, the owner of San Mateo Security Services. There were no windows and the doors were barred. The women had to yell to the guard if they had to go to the bathroom. Meals were irregular and they had to beg to even get a drink of water. While in the guard's custody, the women were denied full access to Ibarra, their attorney. The women complained that they were also abused verbally by the guards who called them names. Moreover, they were allegedly coerced into giving confessions.

At one point during their detention, they were taken to a Chinese restaurant somewhere in Belmont or San Carlos. The guards, they said, mixed all the food in a bowl and ordered them to eat it, warning that if they did not they would not be fed anymore that day.

After three days, Francisco was released. But Ocampo remained in their custody, where she was later transferred to a motel after repeated complaints to JAL. The treatment did not get better, however. She was handcuffed to her bedpost for two nights. In order

to get the guard's attention, she had to throw things at the window or door in order to even have a drink of water or use the bathroom.

After repeated complaints to JAL about the abuses, Ocampo was finally released to her attorney on February 14. At the continuation of her exclusion hearing on February 21, however, INS attorney Ron Lefevre noticed she did not have a guard with her and promptly put her in INS custody at Oakland City Jail.

At the hearing which lasted two and a half weeks, INS Judge Phillip Leadbetter found Ocampo to be the person in the passport. But for some strange reason, Ibarra said, Leadbetter decided against granting her the visa. "He took the agents' words against hers, even though they were proven wrong."

Francisco, on the other hand, withdrew her visa application, informing the judge that she had already lost a great deal of money on her business. She had intended to stay only for 15 days to attend to business, personal and medical matters.

Both Francisco and Ocampo have since returned to the Philippines, vowing never to return. Ibarra hopes they do, when a planned class action suit is filed by attorneys whose clients have experienced the same abuses as Francisco and Ocampo did. Unfortunately, lamented Ibarra, the INS may not be liable for this action.

Harrowing experiences like those of Francisco and Ocampo are the subject of an investigation being conducted against security firms that hold aliens while they await the outcome of their immigration cases.

Federal regulations require that those whose documents are being verified be held in the airline's custody. Japan Airlines said they pay \$262 per individual and an additional \$10 per hour per guard plus the costs for food, lodging and transportation.

There are two other such agencies commonly used by airlines in San Francisco. Detainees are not supposed to be treated like criminals but as guests of the airlines. TACA, the national airline of El Salvador, has at least one or two passengers taken into the security agencies' custody on each of its flights. Other airlines are unhappy with the ambiguities of the law.

The San Mateo Security Services is apparently notorious for its abusive practices. Two hotel managers interviewed by Paul Shinoff of the *San Francisco Examiner* said they have found manacles in rooms where aliens have been kept and that the guards usually bring handcuffs with them.

Despite the complaints the INS is unwilling to release aliens to the custody of friends or relatives. It argues that those who have been handled in this way have fled. "And, if they [security agencies] violate civil rights or human rights, that is their responsibility," coldly asserted INS spokesman Duke Austin.

Civil rights groups across the country are mounting legal challenges against the airlines, the security agencies and the INS. Attorneys in the Bay Area, including Ibarra, are contemplating the same.

THE CASE OF THE WRONG VISA APPLICATION

A 32-year old Filipino who married a Lake County man in November 1982 in the Philippines was kept in jail for six weeks because the INS refused to process her 67-year-old husband's petition to have her reside in the U.S. Her case is now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

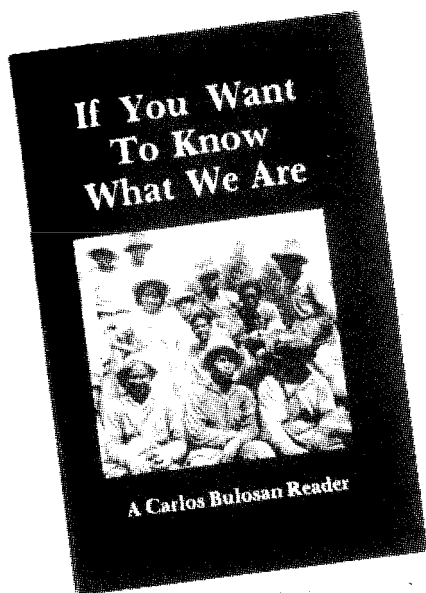
Upon her entry, Yolanda Prentice was held for fraud. The INS said her marriage to a man 34 years her senior was highly suspicious.

At the time of her entry, Prentice had a K-visa (fiancée) which was incorrectly filed by a Philippine travel agency. Judge Bernard Hornbach found no fraud was involved. But he refused to admit her on technical grounds stating that she did not have the proper visa. As a spouse of a U.S. citizen, she should have had an immigrant, not a fiancée, visa. The INS took her into their custody immediately after the exclusion hearing, refusing to release her on her own recognizance or setting a bond. Later, the INS set an unreasonable bond, which was reduced by a Federal judge after Ibarra filed action. She remained six weeks in jail until the bond was reduced and paid.

Ibarra tried to correct the visa application by withdrawing the K-visa and filing an I-130. The INS denied the application charging that Prentice had lied in her application.

Five lawsuits have been filed in the U.S. District Court by her attorney challenging the INS' decision as unfair. Judge Marilyn Hall Patel found that the INS abused its authority in denying her husband's petition. Another District Judge, Robert Schnacke, reversed Hornbach's decision and ordered Prentice released while her application is being adjudicated.

Ibarra has brought the case to the Supreme Court, seeking redress for the INS' refusal to grant Prentice's application for permanent residence and a waiver of exclusion. Ibarra said that because of this refusal, Prentice was not able to argue against her exclusion, which eventually led to her incarceration. □



Book Review:

Vintage Bulosan

If You Want to Know What We Are: A Carlos Bulosan Reader

Originally edited by E. San Juan, Jr.
Introduction by Leigh Bristol-Kagan
West End Press, 1983
P.O. Box 7232
Minneapolis, MN 55407

By VINCE REYES

There is no doubt that Carlos Bulosan would have to be recognized as the official literary spokesman of the First Wave of pioneering Filipinos in the U.S. His writings, particularly the novel *America Is In the Heart*, captured with unparalleled sheen what it was like to be a Filipino in America in the 1930s.

Of course, there were other writers. There was Manuel Buaken whose novel *I Have Lived With the American People* also addressed discrimination and marginalization. There were scholastic writers who chronicled Filipino-American life in numerous sociological dissertations. But it is evident that Carlos Bulosan's works stand apart because his writings more than just describe what it was to be racially abused and to live on the edge of life itself. Bulosan dug much deeper past sentimentality and forced his readers to come to terms with the social forces which created inequalities in the first place.

Bulosan's Filipinos were not only set apart by the color of their skin, but were also victims of an economic system which has historically denied the dream of America to countless others. Literarily bold for his time, Bulosan criticized the capitalist system and placed the experience of Filipinos within the historical process of capitalist exploitation.

Reading Bulosan is a joy and political education a Filipino settler cannot do without.

Now, a new collection of Bulosan's works *If You Want to Know What We Are, A Carlos Bulosan Reader* recently published by West End Press, affords an excellent introduction for would-be Bulosan enthusiasts. Originally edited by E. San Juan, Jr., himself a Bulosan scholar, the collection pulls together a number of important works carefully selected to dramatize Bulosan's versatility as a poignant essayist, descriptive short story writer and visionary poet.

'GRAND DREAM'

The introduction by Leigh Bristol-Kagan locates the foundation of Bulosan's writings in the historic immigration of Filipinos during the '20s and '30s, in the "ideals of freedom" peddled by American colonialism and then dashed by "disillusionment, dislocation and deprivation." Bulosan, however, wanted to transcend those emotions and kept searching for the "meaning of America," a constant theme in his works.

"I had the opportunity to seriously read books which opened all my world of intellectual possibilities—and a grand dream of bettering society for the working man," the self-educated, tubercular Bulosan wrote. He waded through American classics, Whitman, Melville, Faulkner, Caldwell, contemporaries, until his pilgrimage led him to Marxist literature and to an understanding of capitalist exploitation. But throughout, he never lost his links to the Philippine experience.

The selections in this new reader vividly impart Bulosan's reflections as a Filipino, Filipino-American, and internationalist.

In "Passage Into Life," he recalls, autobiographically,

lessons from boyhood: the pain of death, man's inhumanity to man, humility and shame stemming from class differences.

"The Story of a Letter" tells of his family's attempt to translate a letter written in English from an older brother who had immigrated to America. In the course of a few pages, Bulosan recounts the loss of his family's land, his father's death, and his own journey to America. In the end, the letter, little more than a note to say hello in fractured English had come to symbolize the search for life and hope which may not necessarily lead to happiness and fulfillment. This is classic, gut-wrenching Bulosan.

In "Labor and Capital," Bulosan sums up his own understanding of the contradictions between working people and capitalists. He writes of investments, idle luxury, monopolies, the creation of surplus, economic crisis, and war, all in seven paragraphs.

AMERICA OF HIS DREAMS

The essay "My Education" relates the intersections of world events—the Spanish Civil War, the founding of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the rise of Hitler—that helped shape his own consciousness. He points to years of direct experience as a transient farmworker as his foundation and catalyst to his understanding of the need for social change. These years made him question the promises of American democracy and to use the pen as a weapon.

"The most decisive move that the writer could make was to take his stand with the workers," he said. Bulosan even criticized the writers of his time for "merely describing the disease" but "not reveal[ing] any evidence that they knew how to eradicate it." Hemingway "was too preoccupied with himself." Faulkner was disappointing. "Why did he give form to decay?" And Caldwell and Steinbeck—"Why did they write in costume?"

Bulosan came to the conclusion that his work "would be more vital and useful if I dedicated it to the cause of my own people." Thus he wilfully set out to add to the tradition of the America he believed would someday become the America of his dreams.

The significance of Bulosan's works have yet to be appreciated as part of the American literary mainstream. It is ironic that the racism he despised and fought still keeps his works segregated from the popular imagination. His writings are rich and deserve the wider audience with whom he had hoped to communicate. This newest collection of Bulosan's published works is a valuable act of solidarity. □

Evening of Solidarity With Philippine Labor

Over 60 trade unionists and human rights activists came together June 19 to hear labor leaders who visited the Philippines speak of the work and gains of the labor movement there. The San Francisco event, "An Evening in Solidarity With the Philippine Trade Union Movement," was sponsored by the Task Force on Philippine Labor (a project of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network), the International Molders Union, Local 164 and the Committee for International Support of Trade Union Rights (CISTUR). It was held at the ILWU Local 6 Hall in San Francisco.

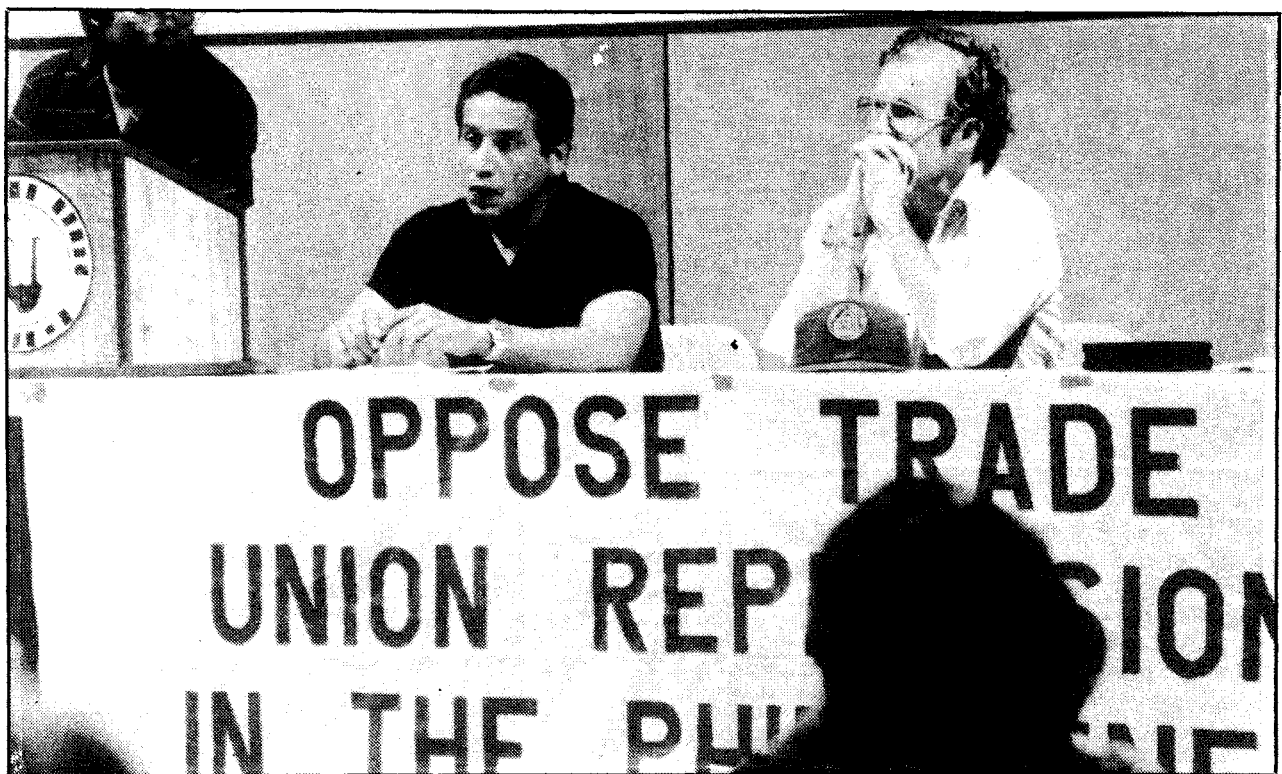
Ed Kinchley, member of CISTUR and president of Service Employees International Union Local 790 S.F. General Hospital chapter shared his observations about the dynamic struggle being waged by labor in the Philippines today. Ignacio de la Fuente, business manager of the International Molders Union Local 164, elaborated on the many lessons he gleaned from the Philippine labor movement. Kinchley and de la Fuente were both delegates to the International Labor Solidarity Affair sponsored by the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* in Manila late April.

"I was really impressed to see the commitment of the Philippine workers," de la Fuente explained. "They were able to sustain the strikes despite no means to support their families, legal and physical repression and imprisonment because they want to improve the economic and political conditions in the country."

TFPL national chair, Amado David, welcomed the crowd and outlined the educational nature of the TFPL's work among American trade unionists. Boying Bagon of the CAMD/PSN-San Francisco, drew out the relationship between the Marcos government's increasing isolation and labor's growing militancy.

The cultural committee of the CAMD/PSN enlivened the event with songs and poetry.

Endorsers of the event included ILWU Local 6; Pacific District Council, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union; OPEIU Local 3; SEIU Local 616; Bay Area Labor Network on Central America; as well as individual members of SEIU Locals 18 and 790, ILWU Locals 6 and 37, and the S.F. American Postal Workers' Union. □



U.S. union leaders Ignacio de la Fuente (left) and Ed Kinchley (right) at evening of solidarity.

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THE AUTHOR, GREGORIO BRILLANTES.

By GREGORIO BRILLANTES

1. Recently, while rereading some Filipino novels and short stories in search of footnotes for an essay on Philippine literature, I was struck by the way these works resolve the fate of their protagonists in their concluding chapters or closing paragraphs. Almost without exception, and varying only in method and emphasis, in each character's travel agent, mode of transportation and particular destination, these novels and stories by my conscientious and troubled countrymen end on a note of departure, of going away. The implied journey is towards an end or a beginning in the history of the individual, society, or the nation.

The Filipino, in fiction if not in reality, is perceived as not arriving, not coming home, but departing: a motif dramatized all too vividly in the travels of two of the greatest patriots in Philippine history. Jose Rizal's long voyage from Madrid to Manila ended in internal exile, a court martial and execution by firing squad in 1896. Benigno Aquino's return from exile in the United States ended in a pool of blood on the tarmac of Manila International Airport, in 1983

Rizal believed that armed struggle against Spain was foredoomed to fail so long as Filipinos remained enslaved by ignorance, vice, prejudice, emotionalism and disunity. Thus, the two political novels he wrote both ended with their heroes, or more precisely, anti-heroes, defeated or dead.

In Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere*, Elias the rebel is killed by Spanish rifle fire in the final chase on the Pasig River, while Ibarra the would-be revolutionary disappears into the darkness to begin his solitary journey. In *El Filibusterismo*, Ibarra, returning as Simoun the revolutionary-turned-anarchist, is foiled in his plans to ignite an uprising, and departs from the scene a suicide. For "as long as our people are not prepared, and enter the struggle deceived or compelled," reflects Father Florentino in the closing scene, "the best-planned movements will fail and it is better that they should fail."

The same somber note of an ending within an ending is to be found in the works of other writers after Rizal.

In the novels of Juan C. Laya and Amado Hernandez, the protagonists do not arrive at fulfillment and victory but merely on the threshold of further hope and resistance. In Stevan Javellana's wartime novel, *Without Seeing the Dawn*, the young man Carding joins a column of guerillas passing through his village, and leaves for a battle from which he will not return. The old, exiled revolutionary in Nick Joaquin's *The Woman Who Had Two Navels* lies dying in Hongkong, still dreaming in his last delirium of the liberation of his native land. In the works of N.V.M. Gonzalez, Bienvenido Santos, Kerima Polotan, Wilfrido Nollado, and Antonio Enriquez, the image that finally emerges is of the Filipino still seeking, separated from his true home, even in his own country.

Reflections on the Filipino Poet As Guerilla and Vice Versa

The fiction of Francisco Sionil Jose, more than of any other current Filipino novelist, underscores this sense of search and departure that haunts the Filipino even as he arrives at a staging point of belief and commitment. . . .

In the latest work of this prolific and probably most political of Filipino novelists writing in English, a novel set in the 1970s entitled *Mass*, the chief protagonist—a young man named Pepe Samson—comes to the end of one journey only to embark on another. He travels from cynicism, egotism and indifference to political awareness, protest, and a commitment to armed revolution as the only road to authentic liberation. He comes to the moment of his arrival deliberately, by shooting and killing without emotion, the rich, corrupt exploiter Juan Puñeta who represents amoral oligarchy. Now a fugitive from fascist justice, like Ibarra and Simoun in Rizal's novels, Pepe Samson leaves the city to join the guerillas in the mountains. The distance which beckons is dark, and he is afraid. But he feels very light, and he knows (so we read in the novel's final passage) that he "could go very far without tiring."

2. Like Pepe Samson, many a young man in the Philippines under the Marcos dictatorship has gone off into that dark and fearful distance. No novelist of my acquaintance has so far made the long march from the city to the dissident mountains—perhaps because writers of long prose narratives do not travel light or compose on the run. But poets, by definition, do not carry as much baggage as novelists do and need no more than cigarette paper—as François Mauriac once remarked perhaps enviously—on which to write their verses. A number of poets have made that trip to the Red remote and some have even made round trips! Which only goes to prove, I suppose, that in the matter of marathon hikes and ideological convictions, they are sturdier than their prose- and home-bound brethren in Philippine literature.

One of these poets was Emmanuel Lacaba with whom I was privileged to work as a journalist before martial law was imposed in 1972. Lacaba was but in his late twenties when he was killed in an encounter between New People's Army guerillas and government troops in 1976 in the hills of Davao, Southern Mindanao. His comrades retrieved from his bloodsoaked knapsack a sheaf of poems, including his now famous "Open Letters to Filipino Artists," which has since been widely reprinted by anti-Marcos national democratic organizations. "Open Letters" reads in part:

*We are tribeless and all tribes are ours
 We are homeless and all homes are ours
 We are nameless and all names are ours
 To the fascists we are the nameless enemy
 We come like thieves in the night, angels of death:
 The ever-moving, shining, secret eye of the storm.*

*The road less travelled by we've taken —
 And that has made all the difference:
 The barefoot army of the wilderness
 We all should be in time. Awakened, the masses are
 Messiah.*

*Here among workers and peasants our lost
 Generation has found its true, its only, home.*

But Lacaba himself was to find only brief shelter in that home, in the upland forests of Davao province, where even now American-supplied helicopters hunt their guerilla prey by day and night. In craft and fervor, in the martial beat and singing tautness of his lines, and in the brave, confident appeal of his vision, Lacaba remains unsurpassed. There are several other poets of his generation, more or less of the same commitment, whose names form a proud roll of the ablest in contemporary Philippine poetry: Lorena Barros, who also fought and died as an NPA guerilla; Edgar Maranan, Jose Lacaba, Mila Aguilar, Karl Gaspar, Alan Jazmines, Alfredo Salanga, all of whom have been detained or are still imprisoned; Marra Lanot, Federico Licsi Espino, Rogelio Mangahas, Gemino Abad, Ricardo de Ungria, Pet Cleto, Rock Drilon, Felix Fojas, Alfredo Yuson, Lamberto Antonio, Hilario Francia, Gelacio Guillermo. The list is long and continues to grow, for the poets writing in either English or Pilipino, or both languages, are the most active and dedicated literary artists on the scene, even in more peaceful times. The current crisis has given

them even more reason to be both creative and revolutionary because poems come, as the pseudonymous underground poet "Philip Lapus" wrote, like "a stampede of cries from ten thousand throats burning in a teargas cloud."

Yet it is not all fire and fury, pain, terror, agony, strife and death. The poets too, in their unity in the struggle for national liberation, exhibit a rich diversity in tone and manner. For the true poet, in any society or revolution, is an artist whose unique and individual voice rises above formula, dogma or party line. By nature, the poet as freedom fighter tends to obey a set of orders distinct from those of the high command, but without losing sight of tactical and strategic objectives, the convoy that must be ambushed, the installation that must be destroyed. Not a few of the better poems being written about the national democratic struggle have a watchful tone, a confident, patient air of waiting, which is that of a guerilla biding his time, waiting in ambush, as in "To the Guard at the Watchtower" by Alan Jazmines, a prisoner at Camp Bagong Diwa in Manila:

*You, in your creaking tower
 In a dark corner of the world,
 propped as high up
 as the wood can bear,
 your authority
 always by your side,
 fully cocked
 in automatic,
 so engrossed
 in your assignment
 to watch the line
 that divides the world
 and keep the old order undisturbed,
 your nerves are strung
 and barbed like wires
 along the rigid line;
 you try not to fall asleep
 and always have to count,
 worn-out as you are.
 Otherwise,
 there may be
 a change in headcount
 both sides of the line . . .*

3. To judge from the interest and adulation he has generated, the most important of these poets is Jose Ma. Sison, chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, who was captured by the armed forces in 1977 and remains under detention although he has not been convicted of any offense. He was repeatedly tortured, blindfolded and chained to a steel bed in his cell during the first four years of his imprisonment; the blindfold and the chain have since been removed, allowing him to write more poetry.

Born in 1939, in Ilocos Sur, Sison studied at the Jesuit Ateneo de Manila University and at the University of the Philippines where, it is interesting to note, he majored not in political science or economics, but in English literature. The author of a collection of essays, *Struggle for National Democracy*, and a book-length Marxist analysis of the Philippine condition, *Philippine Society and Revolution*, Sison has become undoubtedly one of the most widely read and influential writers in the Philippines, especially among the studentry and the youth. In 1968, he reportedly organized the new Communist Party of the Philippines.

Against this background, the almost frenzied reception that attended the launching of his collection of poems early in 1984 was perhaps only to be expected. What unbelievers hardly expected was the amount of critical praise lavished on the book. For Sison's *Prison and Beyond: Poems 1958-1983*, four critics wrote as many introductions as if the standard single preface might fail to convince readers of the significance of this volume. Indeed, carrying four earnest, reverent introductions in addition to the poet's own critical commentary on his poetry should make the book remarkable regardless of the nature and quality of the poems which, in the judgment of Philippine National Artist for Literature Nick Joaquin, "pass the test as a literary work pure and simple."

The introductions by three of the literary critics—Epifanio San Juan, Bienvenido Lumbera and Petro—
Continued on page 14

On Rice, Pesos and Children

in the Philippines they
sell children to buy rice/
they live in cardboard boxes
along the waterfront/
on the news today another
child is kidnapped/
a ten year old boy is charged/
they say
the mother wasn't angry
over the theft but
the amount of pesos/
her child brought
fifty pesos on the
open market/
he was worth
at least seventy-five/
enough for two
bowls of rice/
in the Philippines
two bowls will feed
a family of six/
Mrs. Marcos planted
a garden today/
the crops rot while
she eats lobster at
one hundred dollars
a plate/
she says all good Filipinos
should grow vegetables/
in the Philippines
the people starve
they have no seeds/
at Manila airport
the runway is red/
death lurks in revolution
they have no seeds . . .

The Ghetto

I gaze silently
at the walls
recording the cracks
which make up the history
of impoverish tenants.
Cockroaches run wild
amid the ruins
humanity left behind in
their struggle
to move on to better things
leaving
the
paint.
A tangerine peeling among the cobwebs.
Surrealism stretching into infinity.

Chea Villanueva
New York, NY

Chea Villanueva is a 32-year-old Filipina-American political activist, poet, musician, currently living in New York's Lower East Side. Born in Philadelphia, Ms. Villanueva moved to New York a year ago to pursue a writing career. Her work has appeared in periodicals such as Taking Control, Between Ourselves, Matrix, and The South Street Star. As a performance poet, she recently read at the benefit to free Mila Aquilar, at New York's Basement Workshop, Chinatown. Also a musician, Chea is the drummer for Tahavika, an indigenous, pre-Spanish Filipino music ensemble.

Mallig Valley, circa '77

Vast expanse of flat earth
Sharpening the mighty ranges
Almost desolate, motionless
Under the burning glow of summer's sun;
Verdant green after the rains
Spreading scents of burnt grains
In the sweeping October winds;
Golden, glittering grains
Fruit of seasons' toil
Of broken backs, of calloused hands
And hardened muscles
always escaping, almost their own.
Valley of plenty, yet
Land of poverty and bondage
Serenely beaming on its face
Yet brewing underneath
Patiently, steadily sketching
A way of hope
Towards the great mountains.

Firetree

While you are bare
We build our trenches

When you are greening
Silence bursts in defiant awareness

As you begin to redden
We all sing in freedom.

Isagani R. Serrano
Political Prisoner
Camp Crame Stockade, Philippines
December 1982
Isagani Serrano is still in prison.

Reflections

Continued from page 13

nilo Daroy—bristle with Marxist critical jargon and seemingly cannot praise Sison enough, not as an artist, it would seem, but as a revolutionary who happens to be a poet. The impression one derives from their fulsome tributes (and only Alfredo Salanga succeeds in presenting a lucid and clear-eyed assessment) is that the medium in this instance is not so important as the message. In fairness to Sison, it must be acknowledged that often enough he achieves an astonishingly impressive fusion of both medium and message. In a word, good poetry, some of it aspiring to greatness. If they had been published anonymously, the poems might have occasioned less critical homage; but that would not detract from the excellence of several poems in the now celebrated volume.

Like any human enterprise, *Prison and Beyond* is a mix of the good, the bad and the indifferent. When the verses are bad, they are I think god-awful, incredibly prosaic, terribly didactic, dismal, akin to doggerel, and utterly forgettable. Listen to these verses:

*Marxism is a powerful beacon
To revolutionary mass actions.
But in my prolonged isolation
It is also my spiritual weapon*

x x x

*In a flash, so many years
Of separation slyly flee,
Chased by ceaseless tasks
Mama's and mine, and yours.*

x x x

*The festival of the children of the soil
Is the festival of all children of toil.
We joyously sing and dance with them
As the ancient monster comes to an end.*

x x x

*I love the sturdy stand of the cornfields
The sunlight that strikes it reveals
The golden leaves of sweetness.*

Joaquin, in a review of Sison's book, writes that he finds such verses "charming" because they are "spontaneous and childlike," which is not exactly an accolade. He neglects to say that there are gifted children who do write better-crafted verses. A critic and professor of literature at the University of the Philippines, Lilia Santiago, has written approvingly of such verses by Sison, which, she points out, use "a simple style and simple English"—the logical consequence of "a reflection

on ideology by one who has abandoned the bourgeois school of art for art's sake with its attendant obscurantism and complexity." "It takes courage," intones Prof. Santiago, "to be simple."

Be that as it may, courage alone will not produce good poetry, whether revolutionary or reactionary, let alone poetry that will endure beyond the anguish and struggle of our time. Writers with little or no talent but with an abundance of courage have heaped abominable trash on readers everywhere. They only give literature as well as revolution a bad name. But Jose Ma. Sison, to his everlasting credit, possesses not only ample courage but sufficient art to transform statement into luminous and moving poetry. All this Sison demonstrates stunningly in a number of poems, most notably in his masterpiece, the classic "The Guerilla is Like a Poet":

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

*The guerilla is like a poet
Enrhymed with nature
The subtle rhythm of the greenery
The outer innocence
The steel tensile grace
That ensnares the enemy.*

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

*An endless movement of strength
Behold the protracted theme:
The people's epic, the people's war.*

Such poetry, with its green brown metaphors, its music and cadence as of an entire people on the move, is anything but "childlike" or the "simple result of a reflection on ideology." It is the work of a genuine poet who does not need the blind adulation of the partisan critic.

One more point about Sison's poems: they are written in English which some of the more dogmatic cadre of the national democratic struggle would insist can never be the language of nationalism and revolution because it is the language of neocolonialism and imperialism. Rizal was a Tagalog who wrote his novels in Spanish. There could have been no more foreign and despised tongue in his time, yet those novels helped make a revolution. Sison is an Ilocano who writes poetry in English, and is engaged in the making of another people's war. Because of poets like Sison and in spite of doctrinaire critics who, incidentally, denounce the use of English in English, this so-called tool of imperialism is playing its part in the nationalist and democratic struggle in the same manner that equipment from foreign arsenals is being employed by the guerilla, poet or

peasant. Moreover, English, which promises to be the wave of the linguistic future in all Southeast Asia in light of the rapid advances in satellite communications technology, is no longer as foreign to Filipinos as its detractors claim it to be although it is spoken and, in a sense, written in an accent that is singularly Filipino.

Perhaps the guerilla who is like a poet, who is in fact a true and excellent poet, is a greater and wiser revolutionary than even his comrades suspect—one who, with the poet Pablo Neruda, envisions a future where "men are only human, with no other title but that"; a world where, as the Nobel Laureate from Chile wrote in his memoirs, "no one is excommunicated." In such a world, in such a society which may yet be born in the Philippines, neither writer nor reader would be condemned and banished from the fold for his devotion to an adopted tongue; and there would be no need for a ministry to compel brothers to speak and write in only one language. That the foremost Filipino revolutionary of this era writes poetry in English bodes well, I think, for the artist as citizen of the future; he will then have arrived, finally, at a larger freedom. □

Gregorio Brillantes, 52, has won, among several literary awards, the Southeast Asia Writer Award and the "Araw ng Maynila" Prize for Literature. His two collections of short fiction, The Distance to Andromeda, and The Apollo Centennial, include works anthologized in the U.S., West Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Japan. He is now at work on a political novel, Going South, set in the present-day Philippines. He is also a journalist and was executive editor of the Philippine Free Press, a weekly magazine closed down by martial law in 1972. Greg is a member of the Concerned Artists of the Philippines. "Reflections on the Filipino Poet . . ." was read at a University of Hawaii Philippine Studies Program symposium last April. It has been edited for length.

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.

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

NPA Raids

Continued from page 4

house and warehouses. Also destroyed were the experimental station of the Bureau of Plant Industry, two public buildings, and 17 power transformers. On the same day, 100 NPAs attacked a logging camp in Cagayan de Oro City and the government claimed seven NPA wounded. On May 5, 200 NPA guerillas attacked five places in the town of Lugait, Misamis Oriental, killing five and wounding seven others.

Several other tactical offensives were launched by the NPA in May: on the Coast Guard detachment in Bulalacao, San Jose, Occidental Mindoro, killing its commander, PO3 Jose Ramirez, and taking his M-16 rifle; in Vintar, Ilocos Norte, killing 1st Lt. Aniceto Madarang and two other soldiers and wounding six others after a four-hour gunbattle; in Belwang, Fadanga, Mountain Province, killing one government soldier while reportedly losing four NPA fighters.

SPARROWS ESCAPE

Meanwhile, in San Francisco del Monte, Quezon City on May 21, units of the Metropolitan Command raided a "liquidation safehouse" of a six-member NPA sparrow unit believed to be responsible for the killing of Brig. Gen. Tomas Karingal last year. Armed with AK-47 and armalite rifles, the rebels fought back and escaped unharmed through a creek at the back of the house after a five-hour battle. Sgt. Lester Kerubong of the Metrocom was killed in the encounter.

These reports indicate that the NPA is capable of pulling together several units of several hundred fighters each in a number

of points in the country, and of attacking simultaneously in some places. In Isabela, Negros Occidental, the NPA mounted an almost battalion-size offensive involving as many as 400 fighters. The NPA can also now launch offensives in large urban centers such as Butuan City. It can also sustain some units in major urban centers as Quezon City.

The unprecedented level of NPA activity seems to indicate the approach of strategic stalemate stage of guerilla warfare which the Communist Party of the Philippines said last year could be reached within three to five years. □

Ver Trial

Continued from page 9

questioning was ridiculous. "It is impossible to expect that she would see the bullet," he complained.

With the cross examination over, Quijano joined her family in the U.S. June 18, her 33rd birthday. She was given "parole" by the U.S. Embassy in Manila pending the granting of permanent resident status.

Raul Gonzales, Quijano's lawyer, was not as lucky. Gonzales noticed Justices Amores and Vera Cruz passing notes to the defense lawyers during his client's cross-examination. He complained of the coaching that was presumably taking place only to be slapped with a contempt of court charge.

Except for its recent motion to have the two offending judges removed from court, the prosecution is finished with its presentation. A 140-page list of evidence has been filed against the accused.

The defense is expected to present its case early July.

PRESSURES FROM MALACAÑANG

Observers have noted a constant though subtle pressure from Malacañang at the trial. Closed-circuit TV cameras are aimed at the bench and the witness stand, a way for Marcos to closely watch the proceedings. At one point he even publicly commented that the prosecution testimonies were perjuries.

Quijano, "the crying lady," reportedly faced subtle threats. During her first tense appearance in court, the lights inexplicably went out. Prosecution lawyers immediately surrounded her to protect her from possible harm. Three of the judges scampered from the room in fear.

The night before her second appearance in court, five armed men reportedly showed up at her front gate. Her lawyers had asked the Supreme Court to turn down her reappearance claiming her life was in danger. The high court denied the plea but not after one dissenting justice said "I do not want to be a party to her demise."

Public cynicism about the trial is rife. Ver is expected to get off as well as Brig. Gen. Prospero Olivas. Speculations are that Air Force Col. Luther Custodio and Col. Vicente Tigas will end up as the scapegoats. Ver, meanwhile, has already told reporters that he is getting ready to get back to his post. □

Ang Bayan

Continued from page 8

friendship cool off in the future). The victory of the countries of Indochina and the ability of socialist North Korea to maintain its strength have been a big blow on the U.S. The U.S. is using the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Australia-New Zealand-U.S. (ANZUS) treaty as lines to

block the Soviet Union, Vietnam and China, and to maintain the Pacific Ocean as an "American lake."

In western Asia, the U.S. has converted Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean into an island fortress, and is supporting Pakistan's defense forces as well as the rebels fighting Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

IN THE PHILIPPINES

And in Africa, the U.S. is relying mainly on the racist regime in South Africa to maintain its influence in that part of the continent, while using massive economic aid to prop up fascist puppet regimes and shore up its hegemony over other parts of that continent. It uses sabotage and subversion against those countries outside its influence.

U.S. imperialist policy towards the Philippines is aimed at maintaining its military bases in Central Luzon. It continues to support the puppet dictator Marcos while nudging him into instituting some reforms to ensure a smooth turnover of power eventually. Worried over the rapid advance of the national democratic movement, the U.S. is insisting upon some superficial reforms in the Armed Forces of the Philippines in the hope that these would block the advance of the revolutionary war.

The U.S. has started to send military advisers which, in the Vietnam experience, preceded its outright military aggression against that country in the 1960s. When the reactionary state in the Philippines can no longer impede the advance of the revolution, it is not farfetched that the U.S. would wage direct aggression, a factor that could delay but not frustrate the liberation movement. But considering the present condition of U.S. imperialism, it would have to think more than twice before taking such a gamble.

Because of the high level of development that our struggle has already reached on the road to victory, and because of the Philippines' great importance in the U.S.'s military network, our struggle is contributing greatly to the struggles of the peoples of the world against U.S. foreign policy, against U.S. imperialism, and against imperialism in general. □

CIA Capers

Continued from page 3

Under CIA tutelage, the Philippine military acquired a reputation for "professionalism" and the country became a favorite staging ground for CIA operations in the region. Indonesia, the neighbor to the south, in the '50s was witnessing a rapid growth in communist influence. Indonesian president Sukarno, a non-aligned figure who had struck a *modus vivendi* with the Partai Komunis Indonesia, resisted U.S. pressures and could not be deposed despite CIA attempts to blackmail him on the basis of well-surveilled sexual escapades.

And so in 1956, a group of deposed and demoralized right-wing colonels sought refuge in the Philippines through the intercession of the CIA. Benigno Aquino, then a neophyte politician who saw action in Korea and served as presidential assistant to Vice President Carlos Garcia, was summoned to handle the clandestine assignment. Thus ensued Aquino's brief relationship with the CIA, an affair Marcos would use against him during the 1978 elections.

Garcia asked that the Indonesian generals be billeted at Hacienda Luisita, a sugar central in Tarlac owned by Aquino's in-laws, the Cojuangcos. At Hacienda Luisita, the colonels were set up in a training camp with an elaborate radio network system that kept them in touch with their people at home. After a few months, the colonels left for their mission. In 1958, Garcia asked Aquino to find out what happened to the colonels, and to be "my eyes and ears and make a personal report."

Bunked on a hill with two radio technicians, Aquino observed the lackadaisical "rebellion" for two months. The colonels were by this time encircled, squabbling amongst themselves and lacking organization. Meanwhile, supplies from Clark and Formosa were flown in, and later, the CIA managed to cough up some bombers and mercenaries. The bomber that did manage to take off was later grounded when its pilot was captured. He started squealing left and right leading to the eventual downfall of the rebel headquarters in Menado.

A few years later, while accompanying President Diosdado Macapagal to Indonesia for the inauguration of Sukarno, Aquino found the rebel colonels back in the fold ruminating about the aborted "Permesta rebellion" over iced tea. When presented to Sukarno, the president said: "So you are Benigno Aquino. We've been looking for you for seven years." The hushed-up event, according to Aquino was the dress rehearsal for the Bay of Pigs.

CIA activity in the Philippines was not confined to military adventures and "special relationships to presidents." One school of thought in the CIA Manila station advocated "democratic-institution building," against the episodic, crisis-oriented approach of

the more stick-to-the-book agents. Gabe Kaplan pioneered in this approach and raised some Philippine proteges on the same pabulum.

One such program was the Presidential Assistant on Community Development (PACD). Kaplan sold the concept to the CIA as a long-range political investment and a mechanism for developing future leaders with whom the CIA station could have cooperative relations. The program was headed up by Ramon Binamira, a Kaplan protege who was committed to the notion that democracy begins in the barrio.

Under the PACD, 7,000 community workers were trained in community development, and were soon regarded as "natural barrio leaders." The seamy underside of this "wholesome" undertaking was that the CIA Manila station had some 7,000 dossiers from which to choose potential agents.

Spreading information and dis-information is a time-tested tactic that the CIA enriched from its Philippine experience. The CIA tapped into the NAMFREL talents, and helped newsmen Teddy de los Santos set up a propaganda network that produced large numbers of articles each week for small newspapers scattered all over the islands.

At the same time, the CIA produced on a monthly basis the "Digest of the Provincial Press." The Digest carried articles that the CIA wanted to emphasize. Thus, the Digest's "views" soon were regarded in Manila as the dominant views in the provinces. The cost of the campaign came to \$100,000 a year. According to former "cold warrior" Smith, the provincial press experiment was reproduced in Argentina and throughout the western hemisphere.

Hoping to steer Philippine labor unions from "red influence," the CIA established the American-Asian Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) which trained labor leaders in "American," i.e. "yellow trade unionism." The Philippine labor movement already had a long tradition of political struggle and did not limit its sphere of activities to the winning of economic concessions and workplace reforms. AAFLI came under the cover of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) which knowingly collaborated with the CIA.

The 1959 senatorial elections enamoured the CIA as much as it did the young turks of the Nacionalista and Liberal parties who were eager to take a shot at national leadership. Anyone with his eyes on the presidency in 1961 knew that a seat in the senate was a prerequisite. Macapagal, Ferdinand Marcos, Ambrosio Padilla, Emmanuel Pelaez, and Sergio Osmena, Jr., were rising stars.

The CIA was still heady over the Magsaysay-Lansdale era, and wished for another popular American boy. The situation, however, was more complex. No single individual possessed the positioning or the qualities the CIA sought. One man, Manuel Manahan,

former newsmen, head of Magsaysay's Presidential Complaints and Action Committee, and long-time friend of the CIA station, wished to be Magsaysay's clone. He was only a third-rate choice, however.

Agent Smith, who used the cover of the 13th Air Force Southeast Asia Regional Survey and his civilian Air Force employee status, recounted in his memoirs: "The Philippine senate in those days consisted of 24 senators. The senators ran at large. . . (hence) the candidate who received the largest number of votes of all those running for the (open) senate seats became at once a national political leader, a potential president."

Smith would learn in the next few months that there were at least seven men who believed they should be the next president. "I found myself caught between them all and trying to decide which of them would be the winner." Macapagal, vice president of the incumbent Pres. Garcia, wanted to eliminate his rivals before the contest even began. The logical heir to the Liberal Party nomination reportedly wanted the CIA station's endorsement a full two years before the main event, the presidential election of 1961.

But the CIA cast its bid behind the Grand Alliance, a third party headed by Magsaysay men such as Manahan, Manglapus, Vargas, Pelaez and four other defectors from the Nacionalista and Liberal Parties. The campaign was financed with \$250,000. On election day, however, the Grand Alliance fell behind, and Ferdinand Marcos, who topped the senate slate, became the man of the moment—and of the future. Macapagal expectedly won the 1961 elections only to be defeated by Marcos in 1965. The rest is history.

Twenty years later, the CIA would again be called to the scene. Tested CIA remedies such as civic action, strategic hamlets, and psywar no longer work against a new generation of Filipino revolutionaries. The man of the hour in 1965 and 1972 is at the end of his tethers, unable to match wits with sophisticated National Democratic Front insurgents and isolated from his elite class brothers.

It is time once again for political deals cut in coffee klatches, guarded mansions, and dimly lit watering-holes. Traditional opposition figures now shuttle between Manila and Washington, D.C. on visits sponsored by seemingly innocuous civic organizations. State Department analysts of all types and CIA operatives shuttle back and forth, sopping up political data, noting the latest intrigue and tapping potential allies.

Superspy Casey's recent visit and frank tete-a-tete with the beleaguered Marcos indicates that the CIA is in a way, not exactly hiding its presence. As in the '50s, the agency promises to become a household word again in Philippine politics making or breaking alliances, looking for the lowest bidder, and scorching the earth if necessary to keep the tortured nation forever in the "Free World." □

The New Face of War



U.S. News & World Report

It was one of 30 missions they would fly that day. Salvadoran Air Force jet bombers and troop transport helicopters, all supplied by the U.S., were on their way to Volcan Opico, a village in San Vicente province. The government targeted this village because it charged residents with supporting the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), the forces fighting to liberate El Salvador from its long history of dictatorship and U.S. domination.

The war planes coordinated their mission with government Army units on the ground.

Within hours, over 80 women, men and children were dead, many after being brutally tortured. Most of the village was destroyed by the bombing, and its surviving inhabitants had joined the river of refugees in El Salvador, on the Honduran border, or heading north.

This is one of the new faces of the war in El Salvador.

A Salvadoran Army unit rounded up 52 villagers in San Miguel province because their names had appeared on a list of people who had given food to the FMLN. The peasants were forced at gunpoint into Army trucks and, knowing the reputation of these soldiers, were certain they were about to die.

Instead, the villagers were taken to the Army barracks at San Miguel, where they were interrogated, shown videotapes by the Army psychological operations unit about how international communism is trying to take over El Salvador, and released.

This is another of the new faces of the war in El Salvador.

This month, President Reagan is asking Congress to approve nearly \$500 million in U.S. military and economic aid for the "new El Salvador." According to the President, El Salvador is living proof that his Central America policies are working.

The people of El Salvador had another free election in March, economic reforms are continuing, Communist guerrillas are losing ground," Reagan crowed. "None of this would have been possible without the economic assistance and military training that we provided."

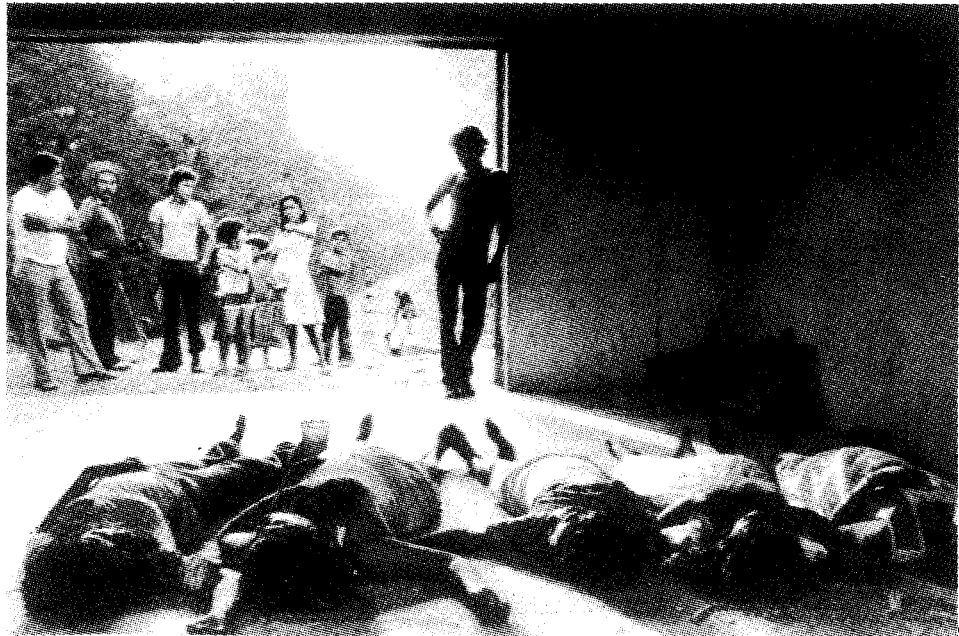
FLYING DEATH SQUADS

The White House is particularly pleased with Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte's ability to project the image of the "new El Salvador," and boasts about the decline in death squad killings and other human rights abuses as proof that democracy is on the rise.

Despite the war's new face, however, the people of El Salvador are experiencing the most intense saturation bombing ever conducted in the Western hemisphere; the U.S. has more than doubled the size of the Salvadoran military in the past two years; lopsided infusions of U.S. economic aid have wrecked the always poor Salvadoran economy; and political repression continues as fiercely as ever.

Since President Duarte's inauguration in June 1984, the U.S. has provided El Salvador with the largest air force in Central America, including over 40 combat and transport helicopters, four AC-47 gunships—with four more on the way, nine A-37 jet bombers, and 90 other aircraft.

Since 1984, the Salvadoran Air Force has dropped over 3,000 tones of U.S.-made bombs on civilian populations, causing over 2,000 deaths. Between January and



Salvadoran troops: Napalm, massacres for civilian population.

mid-March 1985, there were over 105 attacks on civilian populations. These missions are often directed by U.S. military advisers and U.S. OV-1 reconnaissance planes based in Palmerola, Honduras. There are also reports of U.S. pilots flying these missions themselves.

A Salvadoran refugee describes the horrors of the bombings: "At first the Air Force dropped bombs that knocked down trees and houses, killed people and made a 3 meter [10 feet] crater. Then they began to drop bombs that exploded before hitting the ground [fragmentation bombs] and others that made craters 8 meters deep to kill us as we hid in our shelters. Now they

use the worst bombs of all—the flaming liquid [napalm]."

The Salvadoran military's increasing reliance on the air war is an indication of their failure to halt the FMLN on the ground. It also shows the tremendous popularity the FMLN enjoys among the civilian population.

According to a report by the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights and Americas Watch, "The attacks on civilian non-combatants...are part of a deliberate policy...to force civilians to flee, depriving the guerrillas of a civilian population from which they can obtain food and other necessities."

The Salvadoran military does not just attack civilians from the air. In the past year, the Army has massacred civilians both in their own villages and as they tried to flee the war. Although these massacres often go unreported in the U.S. press the

years of war, more than 50,000 Salvadorans have lost their lives.

Another new face of the war in El Salvador is the forced expulsion of whole civilian populations from areas coming under FMLN influence. The U.S. military advisers who devised this plan call this form of warfare "counterinsurgency."

In this plan, the Salvadoran Army moves into a contested area and forces everyone in it to leave by declaring the area a "free-fire zone" in which all who remain will be immediately shot.

A hidden component of the counterinsurgency program is the use of U.S. economic and food aid to control the civilian population, a plan first used in Vietnam's infamous "strategic hamlets." After being forced to flee their villages and farms, civilians are lured to areas controlled by the Salvadoran army by promises of food, shelter and clothing provided by the U.S. Anyone refusing relocation or suspected of helping the FMLN is denied all assistance.

According to the U.S. Congress Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus, 74% of the so-called "non-military aid" the U.S. gives to El Salvador—over \$1.7 billion since 1980—is actually a covert way to channel money into the government's war chest.

The Duarte government's use of economic resources for repressive means is in sharp contrast to the policies of the FMLN within the liberated areas of El Salvador. There, the FMLN has helped the civilian population establish Zones of Popular Control in 30% of the country, where resources are used to establish health clinics, a mass literacy campaign, and cooperatives to rebuild war-torn farms and villages.

Meanwhile, because of the war, El Salvador's economy is crumbling. The average Salvadoran's living standard has declined from its already low level more than 30% in the last five years. Last year's coffee harvest was only half what it was in 1979. The government itself admits to an unemployment rate of over 40%. Because of this situation, strikes by workers are growing in frequency each year.

SHAM DEMOCRACY

One of Reagan and Duarte's main claims to prove that "democracy in El Salvador is working" is the decline in death squad killings since Duarte took office. But in 1984, the Archdiocese of San Salvador reported that 1,973 murders were committed by the death squads. And human rights organizations report that the Salvadoran military killed 501 civilians in the first quarter of 1985—the same rate as were killed by death squads last year. The difference is that now more civilians are being killed by the Army, many in aerial bombings.

Many former death squad assassins have been integrated into the expanding Army, which has doubled over the past two years. For example, immediately after his inauguration, President Duarte named as Vice-Minister of Security Reinaldo Lopez Nuila, ex-Chief of the National Police and head of the Secret Anti-Communist Army, the largest and most feared death squad in the country.

As well, Duarte has resisted all efforts to prosecute death squad figures who are known to have committed murders. The Duarte Government has even stonewalled frantic U.S. efforts to hold at least a token trial of the killers to two U.S. labor organizers gunned down by death squads three years ago.

Other signs of the rise of democracy in El Salvador are also hard to find. President Reagan has made much out of the elections held in El Salvador in March, in which Duarte's Christian Democratic Party scored what was hailed as a "landslide victory." But, despite threats of retaliation against boycotters, only 37% of the eligible voters cast their ballots.

Despite the claims of Presidents Reagan and Duarte, there is no "new El Salvador" in the areas under government control. Behind the facade, repression and the war continues, and the Salvadoran people's determination to be free grows stronger. □

From FOR PEACE AND SOLIDARITY
June 1985, Peace and Solidarity Alliance