

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

# LIBERATION

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## U.S. BASES OUT!

*Anti bases front*

### From strength to strength





# Political unionism: The brewing storm

**I**t was a May Day celebration unlike any other. Hundreds of thousands of workers led by militant labor groups massed up in Manila, Angeles City, Tacloban, Cebu, Davao, Calamba and Iligan City to demand the immediate dismantling of the bases, braving assaults from military and police dispersal teams.

Instead of confining themselves to bread-and-butter issues, the militant and nationalist labor groups chose to go straight to the heart of the matter: US imperialism. For it is US imperialist domination of the country's economic, political, military and cultural affairs that lies at the root of the Filipino workers' poverty and degradation. It behooves the militant workers' groups, therefore, to target the most concrete and forward manifestation of US imperialist presence in the country: the US military bases.

More significantly, the militant workers' groups have also raised this May Day, a broad range of people's issues:

the call for genuine land reform; an end to fascism and the "total war" policy of the US-Aquino regime; and the implementation of a nationalist industrialization program that shall lead to a better life for workers and other Filipinos reverberated throughout every huge workers' gathering. To the average citizen, this translated into basic demands for jobs, higher wages, lower prices and the effective delivery of services — demands which the US-Aquino regime has miserably failed to address.

In raising such a comprehensive array of issues, the progressive workers' bloc has consolidated its position at the forefront of the overall people's struggle for sovereignty, genuine democracy and social progress.

By directly targetting the US-Aquino regime for its failure to address the people's legitimate demands, the militant workers' groups have earned a firm place at the head of the massive clamor for a nationalist and demo-



cratic alternative to the exploitative and oppressive ruling system.

The US-Aquino regime has tried several times to dislodge the progressives from their leadership of the workers' and people's movement. Its most recent attempt involved the use of agents provocateur to sow intrigues among the ranks of the militant Labor Advisory Consultative Council (LACC), hoping to draw in fallouts from the LACC to join another May 1 rally featuring the foremost exponents of yellow unionism in the country.

But it was these yellow unions' own record of opportunism that led to the defeat of this sinister plan. Only one conservative federation along with a small splinter group from another labor center participated, with the vast majority of workers opting to remain with the LACC and join the militant celebration at the Luneta.

The yellow unions' rally for "Peace and Democracy"

which had Corazon Aquino as guest of honor, ended pitifully, with every labor leader in attendance expressing bitterness and disappointment over Aquino's adamant refusal to grant any benefit to labor.

These groups' acquiescence to the Aquino regime has polarized the ranks of organized labor even more, with the yellow and opportunist unions becoming increasingly isolated in the face of the steadily growing strength of genuine, militant and nationalist labor groups. The growing strength of progressive workers' groups shall usher in the rumblings of the storm that shall be unleashed with the full development of political unionism in the country. A politicized workers' movement, exercising its leading role in the broad people's struggle for national liberation, shall be the tempest that shall send the structures of oppression tumbling down. ■

## IN THIS ISSUE

Cover: May 1 rally at Luneta

**Cover stories:** The US and Aquino governments have agreed to negotiate the terms of a new bases treaty, making the stay of American military facilities beyond 1991 a foregone conclusion. In this issue, *LIB* also exposes the real score behind two of the most oft-cited justifications for retention: the "Soviet threat" and the feared economic collapse following a bases pullout.

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# All for show

US-Aquino regime stages farcical "exploratory talks" to ensure bases' stay beyond 1991



Manglapus and Armitage: The deal is clinched

**I**t is May 14, 1990. At the Central Bank executive lounge on Roxas Blvd., the "show" begins five minutes late. The "cast" consists of four negotiators from the US headed by special envoy Richard Armitage and five Filipino negotiators headed by Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus. In accordance with protocol and political reality, the exploratory talks on the fate of the US military bases in the Philippines opens to the tune of the "Star Spangled Banner."

For the next five days, the Filipino people are treated to yet another episode in the continuing soap opera staged by the Philippine ruling elite and their arrogant imperialist masters.

### Cash register diplomacy

Much of the drama presented to the public during the course of the talks revolved around the issue of compensation. The US clearly wanted its bases to stay on Philippine soil for the longest period possible at the cheapest rates it could get. In turn, the cash-starved Aquino regime was desperate

for more money to oil its corrupt bureaucracy, fund its burdensome anti-insurgency campaign and keep the economy from collapse.

Yet, to save face, the Aquino regime had to make it appear that national interest would be the overriding consideration in whatever decision it would arrive at in the course of the negotiations. On the eve of the talks, Aquino gave a televised address, assuring Filipinos that the "government shall keep faith with the people and is determined to uphold all constitutional provisions regarding the bases."

The pledge proved to be no more than standard Aquino doublespeak. In the next several days, the government violated the constitutional rights of peaceful assembly as it forcibly dispersed a series of anti-bases demonstrations and arrested scores of activists.

On the second day of talks, the Philippine panel played its game of nationalist posturing to the hilt by serving its "stunned" US counterparts a notice that the RP-US Military Bases

Agreement would expire on September 16, 1991. Newspaper reports on the matter were almost unanimous in appraising the move as more a means of getting the upperhand in the bargaining over dollars and cents that followed. More significantly, however, it was growing anti-bases sentiments among Filipinos that forced the Aquino government to make such a token gesture of asserting Philippine sovereignty.

In response, the US issued its own veiled threats. Pres. George Bush, including a number of US senators and congressmen and the US negotiating panel itself, made emphatic statements that the US would leave if it was "no longer wanted." In a nauseating turnabout, it was Armitage's turn to shed crocodile tears over Philippine sovereignty. In a biting indictment of what the media called "cash register diplomacy," he said: "(I am) not an accountant. (I do) not stand next to a cash register when conducting foreign relations, and (I do) not put a price



Foreign unionists in anti-imperialist rally: International solidarity against the bases



## COVER STORIES

LIBphotos

tag on Philippine honor and sovereignty." By May 18, newspaper headlines declared that the bases talks were on the verge of collapse over the issue of compensation.

### Denouement

The very next day, however, came the predictable anti-climax and resolution. Taking heed of Bush's threats of a bases pullout (and a consequent withdrawal of US support for the regime), the Philippine panel suddenly agreed to the US' proposed formula for resolving the issue of the aid shortfall. Both panels later announced that they would soon negotiate the terms of the new bases treaty.

For its efforts, the Philippines was "rewarded" with a promise that the shortfall in compensation would be made up in kind. Scrutiny of the pledged US assistance, however, showed that what the Philippine panel had hastily settled for were mere scraps and whatever other surplus material it could get from the US' banquet table.

The indecent haste with which the Philippine panel compromised on the compensation issue showed that the Aquino government considers the US bases as equally, if not more, important to the regime's survival. And so, while the Aquino regime compromised on its demands for more money and was well on the way to the final sell-out of the nation's sovereignty, the US has unwaveringly gone forward in its main aim: the extended stay of the US bases in the Philippines.

### Modified US presence

But the rationalizations and justifications would still have to continue. The Aquino regime now claims that the forthcoming talks will not just cover a possible bases treaty. It will, according to the government, cover a more comprehensive redefinition of US-Philippine relations. The regime has gone so far as to proclaim the "end" of an old era and the "beginning" of a new one in US-RP relations.

With regards to the bases themselves, alternate scenarios for a reduced or "modified" US presence are being presented to the Filipino people again. Proposals were once more raised for the joint US-Philippine use of the bases and the reduction of the number of troops in the region. Reports also had it that Manila was eyeing a "Spanish style" treaty with the US, referring to the agreement governing US bases in Spain. The "Spanish model" allows greater local control over base areas and limits the number of US troops



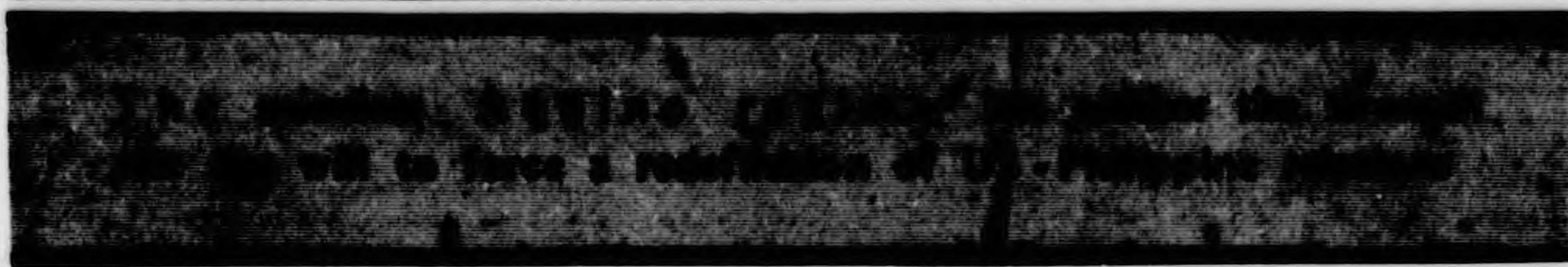
Confrontation - CABCOM supporters block student activists near Clark Air Base

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**The Philippine panel settled for mere scraps from the US' banquet table**

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Workers raise anti-imperialist demands in May 1 rally: Growing anti-bases front

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and personnel allowed inside. It defines the amount the US commits to pay for the bases as compensation, not aid, and includes a "no nukes" provision.

But just as soon as these were aired, voices within the US and Philippine governments came out to reject the proposals.

This would indicate that there is no real desire on the part of the US to change the neocolonial dependence that defines US-Philippine relations. The spineless Aquino regime on the

other hand, has neither the strength nor the will to force a redefinition.

#### And the drama continues . . .

As a token of its appreciation, however, the latest word of the US was that the results of the bases talk had "fortified" the Aquino government. According to the Philippine embassy in Washington, US State Department officials were now more "optimistic" about Aquino's staying in power until the end of her term in 1992.

In this, there is a grain of truth. Having satisfied itself that Aquino will

let the US bases stay with a minimum of hassle, the US need not involve itself in any coups to unseat her — for the moment, that is. Because while the US may find the Aquino government easy to script, it cannot avert the continuing efforts of a growing anti-bases front to end its control over the Philippines. The growth of this anti-bases front may very well end the hypocrisy and mediocrity that characterized the exploratory talks on the US military bases in the Philippines.

Nicanor Lansang



# NPA to US: "Leave or suffer the agony of attrition"



**T**oday, representatives of the US imperialist government and national traitors hand-picked by the Aquino government will start their "exploratory talks." Their discussions will focus on points that are shameful and harmful to the Filipino people: the preparation of a bilateral plan to extend the tenure of the US bases and occupation troops in our country in the face of a strong anti-imperialist storm brewing amidst the Filipino people, and the increase in the share of the loot that will go to the Aquino government, to the President's relatives and cronies in exchange for their treacherous connivance in perpetuating US imperialism's plunder of our economy and resources. The "open options" policy of the Aquino government is nothing but a big farce to cover this shameless sellout.



*Forces of aggression: F-4 Phantom jets at Clark (top); warships docked at Subic*

In the first place, at no point in our history did the US ever have the right to maintain military bases and occupation troops in our country. US imperialism built its bases here at the

the present.

As a revolutionary army under the National Democratic Front and fighting for the revolutionary interests of

start of the century after it had successfully waged a cruel war of aggression against the then newly established Philippine Republic. The Philippine-American War resulted in the extermination of one-sixth of the country's population at that time. Subsequently, using quislings and arm-twisting, the US forced on us several unequal treaties and agreements that "legitimized" their continued occupation and exploitation of our country.

The New People's Army holds US imperialism historically and mainly responsible for the chronic political and economic crises that have plagued our country from the 1990s up to



## COVER STORIES

the Filipino people, the New People's Army through its General Command hereby serves notice to the US government for the immediate termination of the illegal presence of US military bases and US occupation troops. Go home immediately or suffer the agony of attrition. The Philippines belongs to the Filipino people and its destiny will be decided by them.

Likewise, we hereby serve notice to the national traitors headed by Mrs. Aquino to reexamine their opportunist deeds. It is not too late to turn a new leaf and side with the people. We reiterate the NDF offer of a unilateral ceasefire and political negotiations should the Aquino government commit itself to the unconditional pullout of all US military bases by 1991. Do not allow yourselves to be remembered in history as quislings who sold your nation to US imperialism. In the end, all traitors will be tried by the people and meted out just punishment.

We call upon the entire Filipino people to unite and carry out our

noble and sacred duty of driving away the US bases and occupation troops in whatever manner and to whatever extent everyone is capable of. The NPA pledges that all its territorial and unit commands, all officers and Red fighters, will carry out their mission - to the last one if necessary - of expelling US imperialism from our country.

We call upon all armed political groups, including the patriotic officers and the men and women of the AFP, to do their share in striking militarily against US bases and occupation troops. We particularly appeal to the officers and the rank-and-file of the AFP not to follow illegal orders of suppressing the multitude of unarmed but nonetheless militant and patriotic workers, peasants, fishermen, youth, women, religious, professionals and other sectors of our society who demonstrate against the real enemy, US imperialism. We urge you to follow the examples of Colonels Bugallon, Blardon, Mayor, Sityar and thousands more of the officers and men of the old Spanish colonial army who joined

the revolutionary forces and served as its shock troops in the Philippine-American War.

We urge the peace-loving, just and hardworking American people to unite with us to thwart the US government's unjust design of prolonging the tenure of US bases and troops in our country; unite with us to oppose US imperialism's plunder of our economy and resources.

Drive away US bases and occupation troops from our soil!

Struggle for genuine independence and people's democracy!

Long live the Filipino people!

NPA General Command



## "Regional security:" The shattered myth

The retention of US military bases in the Philippines has traditionally been premised on a "need" to "balance" Soviet military presence in Southeast Asia. Yet, there has always been a gross disproportion in the regional power balance in favor of the US.

Worldwide, the US maintains more than 1,000 strategic foreign military installations. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has fewer than 100. In East Asia and the Pacific, the US has no less than 520 military installations, 350 of which are in territories outside of the US' jurisdiction. In contrast, the Soviet Union has less than 25 bases in this region. Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden himself admitted in 1988 that "all available evidence convinces us that the level of Soviet military activity in the Pacific has fallen off markedly." Ship deployments, said Hayden, were down by 50% and "we don't see any evidence of any surge, let alone threat, of Soviet activity." Soviet ambassador to the Philippines Oleg Sokolov had also conceded in an *Asian Wall Street Journal* article that the US has a "clear military preponderance" and that Soviet forces are "outnumbered by more



Improper balance: Comparative distribution of US and Soviet military facilities in SE Asia





US B-1B bomber: Weapon of death

Newsweek

than twice in strike aircraft, by four times in combat ships and absolutely outnumbered in sea-based cruise missiles."

In July 1986, Soviet Pres. Mikhail Gorbachev made the stunning offer to close down its military base in Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam if the US agrees to pull out its facilities in Clark and Subic. A number of ships and aircraft have in fact already been withdrawn from Cam Ranh Bay and Soviet forces along China's border with the Soviet Union have been reduced.

To date, the United States has spurned the Gorbachev offer. Displaying an utter lack of nationalist consciousness, Aquino had no comment on the issue, except to say that she considered it a matter for the two superpowers to resolve.

### Military-industrial complex

Perpetuating the myth of the "Soviet threat" has become necessary for the US because the arms race of years past has resulted in an oversupply of weaponry produced by the vast military-industrial complex that has developed in the United States. Today,

nearly every US-based industrial giant or multinational corporation plays a direct or indirect role in weapons production.

For instance, General Electric, a producer of electronics equipment, also makes parts for the Trident submarine. Rockwell International, a manufacturing concern, produces the neutron bomb and the navigational system of the Trident submarine. Litton Industries, which manufactures office supplies, makes cruise missile guidance systems. Boeing, a commercial aircraft corporation, produces the air-launched cruise missile. Chrysler, an automobile company, makes tanks while Monsanto, a giant petrochemical firm, makes the explosive detonator of the hydrogen bomb.

In addition, the US profits from a strong investment and trade position in the region. The Asia-Pacific Basin accounts for 37% of all US trade — 50% more than in Europe. A forward-deployed US naval and air presence is essential to protecting the sea lanes that ensure continued regional economic growth, according to a recent strategic review paper from the Pen-

tagon.

Compelling economic interests, therefore, force the US to push for an arms buildup and the perpetuation of the Cold War syndrome despite the actual easing up of East-West tensions. Keeping its bases in the Philippines will enable the US to continue selling the Aquino regime surplus arms on credit and generously label these as aid — all under cover of maintaining security for the region.

With the diminished credibility of the "Soviet threat," however, the Aquino government and its counterpart reactionaries in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations have hit on a new tack to keep the bases in the Philippines. This May, the International Forum on Indonesia, a right-wing think tank closely linked with the Indonesian military, cited the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) as a major threat "to all of Southeast Asia." To those who persist in advocating the myth of regional security, the "CPP bogey" may well replace or complement the so-called "Soviet threat" as a means of rationalizing the bases' retention. ■



US Navy Seawolf attack submarine



Advanced Tactical Fighter plane



Stealth bomber

Time



## Will a bases pullout be disastrous?

**W**ith more than a third of America's foreign investments based in the Asia-Pacific, and with a significant portion of such investments directly tied to the presence of US military facilities in the region, pro-bases apologists have been conjuring doomsday scenarios of economic collapse resulting from a bases withdrawal.

land. Strong pressure from the Thai people finally forced the US to withdraw all its military facilities in the country a year later.

Contrary to doomsday predictions, the Thai economy did not collapse despite the initial dislocation of thousands of people whose livelihood depended on the bases. Fears that foreign investments would dry up with the bases' pullout were laid to rest

when investments, both foreign and local, actually increased. Anxiety over possible invasion from socialist Indochina was moreover allayed with the removal of the US bases, which Thailand's neighbors had perceived as threats to their own security.

Today, with its bustling trade and industry, Thailand has one of the fastest growing economies in Asia and is about to enter the privileged club of "newly industrialized countries."

The closure of the British naval base in Singapore in 1968 has also been weathered by the island-republic despite the base's having been the single largest employer in the country. Embarking on a rational development program, Singapore's conversion strategy involved drawing into the country a host of multinational industrial companies to make Singapore their regional base; developing ship-building and ship-repairing industries and trading to take full advantage of the island's strategic location; and expanding industry and tourism.

By 1972, all personnel displaced by the British base's closure had been absorbed by the new industries. Plagued with a chronic 10% unemployment rate before 1968, Singapore now has achieved virtual full employment and has even had to admit foreign workers to ease a shortage of skilled labor. ■



Asiaweek

A quick look at the experiences of other Asian countries that have gone through a bases pullout, however, would belie such claims.

Thailand is a case in point. Until 1976, the US maintained at least 12 large bases and over 45,000 troops in Thailand in support of military operations in Indochina. These bases, mostly training, logistics, special forces and air bases, included the Korat Air Base, the Don Muang Support Base, Takhli Air Base, Nakhon Phanom Air Base, Ubon Air Base, U Tapao Air Base, Nam Phong Air Base, the Sattahip US Army Logistics Base and the US Army Special Forces bases in Lopburi, Nam Pung Dam and Kanchanaburi.

At the time these bases were in Thailand, the Thai government faced security threats from a communist insurgency and a border dispute with Kampuchea aside from the ongoing conflict in Indochina. Pro-bases forces were then quick to point to these factors to justify the presence of US bases.

With the defeat of the US in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in 1975, however, the United States no longer needed to maintain its bases in Thai-

Belying post-bases doomsday scenarios: Motorcycle assembly plant in Thailand; Freshly made S\$1 coins at the Singapore Mint (below)



Asiaweek



**MAINSTREAM**

*Developments in the people's movements*

# "Sagang"

Parangal ng mga Kalinga sa isang Pulang mandirigma





**N**gayong gabí'y nananabik ang buong baryo. Imbitado ang lahat. Isang baboy ang kinatay. Nag-balik si Victor, ang batang mandirigma. Dalawang linggo lamang ang kanyang bakasyon. Isang *sagan* ang inihanda para sa kanya ng kaniyang mga kaanak.

Sa hitsura, kasing porma si Victor ng lahat yata ng kabataan sa Maynila na mahilig makisunod sa uso. Mas bata nga lamang siyang tingnan, dahil

ang mga mata nito'y malamlam na parang sa paslit na nagtatanong sa mga magulang sa kabuluhan ng mga bagay-bagay sa paligid na hindi pa niya maintindihan. Iba nga lamang ang mga katanungan sa loob ng kanyang utak. Halimbawa'y bakit ang tanging mundong kinagisnan ay hindi pala niya pwedeng maangkin? Ang ilog, bundok at lahat ng lamang biyaya nito'y hindi para sa kanya. Ang Ilog Chico ay para magpundar ng kuryenteng di naman nakarara-

ting sa kanila, na ang kapalit pa'y ang pagpapalubog sa ilang ancestral na lupain. Isasakripisyo ang sagrado sa kanila na ang kapakinabangan ay di naman magdadamay sa kanila? Ang mga punongkahoy ay para sa mga logger na pulitiko sa katabing bayan nila. Silang mga senador na nagsasabing di umano'y lingkod ng bayan, pero sila rin ang mga tago at litaw na ligal o iligal na tagakalbo ng





## MAINSTREAM

kagubatan. Ang ginto, pilak, nikel at iba pang mina sa kaibuturan ng bundok ay para sa kapakinabangan ng mga dayuhan. Bakit ganoon?

Marami rin siyang *excess energy*, pero hindi sa walang katuturang likot niya ginagamit. Malayo't malawak na rin ang mga suluk-sulok ng mga kabundukan ng Cagayan at Isabela, bukod pa sa sariling bayan ang nagalugad niya. Doon siya humahango ng mga karanasan. Iyon ang mga lugar na pumapanday sa tapang at determinasyon ng isang mandirigma. Lamang ay may pagkamahiyain pa rin siya. Siguro'y sa dahilang bukod sa sarili nilang wika, Ilokano na ang alam niya. Kailangan ng tagasalin para higit na maunawaan ang mga gustong ibulalas ng laman ng kanyang utak.

### Mga ritwal ng buhay

Ang *sagang* ay para kay Victor. Ito ang ika-lima sa mga ritwal na daraanan sa buhay ng sinumang Kalinga. Una ang *ulog* na idinaraos pagkapanganak sa bata. Pangalawa ang *contad*. Idinaraos ito bilang isang pasasalamat kay Kabunian, diyos ng mga Kalinga, upang iligtas sa kamatayan ang isang batang maysakit, sapagkat ito, sang-ayon sa kanilang pangako ay palalakihin nilang isang mabuting tao at mahusay na mandirigma. Ang *sowak* nama'y ginagawa kung mamaalam na sa pagkabata ang isang tao. Ang ika-apat ay ang *datdatong*, isang uri ng pagbibendisyon ng tribu sa anak na haharap sa isang labanan. Hinihingi nila kay Kabunian na bigyan ito ng lakas at tulongang magapi ang mga kalaban. At ngayon nga ay ang pagsa-*sagang*.

Sa isang tribu ng mga mandirigma, wala nang hihigit pa sa isang okasyon tulad ng pagbubunyi, tulad ng *sagang*. Isnayper si Victor, ibig sabihi'y asintado. Di niya alam kung ilan na sa mga kalaban ang napatay niya. Pinakamahina ang dalawa, at pinakamarami ang walo. Hindi kasi kasama sa klining, kaya di niya matiyak kung ang mga napabagsak ng kanyang asinta ay sugatan lamang o napatay. Kung wala siya sa isang operasyon, bahagi ng kanyang gawain ang maghanap ng pagkain para sa mga *kadwa* (kasama). Hindi naman iyon mabigat, dahil bukod sa nakatakdang regular na rasyon ay maraming masang handang tumulong sakalit dumarating ang panahon ng pangangailangan.

Sa isang kwentuhan, minsang inabot ang mga kasama ng oras ng pananghalian sa isang labanan. Matagal ang putukan. Ang naging bentahe nila sa mga kalaban ay ang inisyatiba ng

mga masang magluto at magbalot ng pagkain at igapang papalapit sa kanila. Ganoon ang ugnayan ng mga sandatahan at masang mamamayan.

Magkaugnay na ang mga Kalinga at hukbong bayan. Kilala nila kung sino ang kakampi o kaaway. At ang mga pakikibaka ay naiangat na sa isang mas mapagpasiyang layunin. Sa mga ninuno ay sapat nang makapatay kahit isa, tulad ng ipinakitang pruwera ng mga panga ng tao na siya dating nagsisilbing tatagnan ng kanilang mga *agong* (tulad ng mga gong ng Muslim).

"Iyang panga ay sa isang Kastila. Iyan nama'y sa isang Hapon." Basta kinukulekta nila ang panga ng isang



itinuturing na kalabang napatay nila.

Hindi na nila ito pinapraktis sa kasalukuyan. Di mga panga kundi panalo sa labanan ang ngayo'y kinukulekta nila. Walang kalabang mangangahas pumasok sa kinalalagyan nila na makalalabas nang buhay.

Iba-ibang okasyon, iba-iba ring klase ng paghahanda. Sa maliliit na selebrasyon ay walang inilalabas na alak para sa lahat. Tanging manok lamang ang inihahanda. Ngayo'y malaking okasyon ang idinaraos, kaya isang malaking baboy ang kinatay. Pero walang tapoy ni basi. Ang tanging dahilan, kapos lamang sila sa kabuhayan.

Maaga pa'y kinakalampag na ng mga manunugtog ang kanilang mga *agong*. Iyon ang tanging instrumento na kailangan nila para magkaroon ng kasiyahan. Di kailangan ang radyo o plaka para magkaroon ng sayawan.

*Tadok* ang tawag nila sa kanilang sayaw. Isang pares lamang ang nagsa-

sayaw ng *tadok*. (Kung maramihan, *patong* ang tawag.)

Nagkakatuwaan sila. Ang sigla ng isang pagdiriwang ay nasa kahulugan at mga kadahilanan at wala sa rangya ng harapan. Matamis simsimin ang lasa ng mga tagumpay.

Para silang mga ibong naggigirian sa palibot ng itinayong pinaka-altar. Mabikas ang porma ng lalaki. Nakadakot ang mga kamay. Nakadipang parang lumalanding o umaatakeng agila. Nakadipa rin ang babae, pero ang mga palad ay malamyos na nakataas tulad ng sa isang pulis sa trapiko. Naggigirian sila. Titigil lamang ang sayaw kung tinanggap na ng babae ang nakabalumbong twalya na tangan-tangan ng lalaki. Sa mga ganitong pagkakataon naipapahayag ng isang lalaki ang nadarama niya sa kanyang napupusuang babae. Kaya naman maaasahan ang tuksuhan habang may magkakapares na mukhang mauwi sa totohanan ang pormahang idinadaan sa pahiwatig ng sayaw. Sa pagupo nila, ibang pares naman ang susunod. Kung minsang inaabot na sila roon ng madaling araw, ulit-ulit lamang ang pagsasayaw. Katulad ng paulit-ulit din nilang buhay.

Tatlong *anito* ang namamahala sa okasyon. Sila ang mga pinaka-pari kung baga sa simbahan, dangan at mga babae sila. Sa eskwelahang burgis ay sinasabing mga bagay-bagay lamang ang tinatawag na *anito* o ispirito kaya ng mga patay nang tao. Dito, ang mga *anito* ay 'yung matatandang pinagpala. Sila na nakababasa sa mga babala ng paligid, nakapanggagamot din kung kinakailangan.

Isa sa mga *anito* ay ang lola ni Victor. Tulad ng lahat ng *anito* sa lalawigan ng Kalinga-Apayao, nababasa rin nito ang mga magaganap sa kanilang buhay sa malapit na hinaharap. Sa okasyong ito, hindi ang kinagawiang pagbasa sa kahulugan ng korte, kulay at posisyon ng apdo o atay ng baboy ang hahanapan niya ng kahulugan.

### Lungkot at tuwa

Di pa tapos ang palatuntunan. Inanyayahan ang lahat na kumain muna bago iyon ipagpatuloy. Una ang mga bisita (mga mandirigmang NPA at kasama), kasunod ang matatanda at pinakahuli ang mga bata. Mahirap sabihing nilaga o sinigang ang ulam na baboy. Wala iyong sahog na gulay. Mas mukhang pinakuluan lamang. Tipak-tipak kung ihain ang karne.

Nang busog na, muling nagbalikan sa kani-kanilang upuan ang lahat. Kantahing katutubo ang isinunod. Sa kanilang hindi mahirap magpakanta.



## MAINSTREAM

Ang mga kabataan nga, kahit hindi pinipilit ay basta na lamang kolektibong bubunghalit ng kanta na parang bahagi ng pinagdarausan ng kasayahan. Kinanta nila ang *salidum-ay* na ang paksa ay tungkol sa mga itinayong organo ng kapangyarihang pampulitika sa kanilang lugar.

Isang binatang NPA na tagaroon din ang kumanta naman nang pagkaha-haba-haba. Baritone ang boses niya. Isa palang pagsasalaysay tungkol sa kanyang buhay ang nilalaman ng kanta. Tungkol sa kanyang mga karanasan sa pakikibaka. Naroon ang ina sa kanyang harapan, nakatayong parang reyna, kagalang-galang tingnan, kahit sa kabila ng payak nitong kaayusan. Nang matapos ang report ng anak, sinagot iyon ng ina na pakanta rin. Payo pala ang nilalaman nito. Maging isang mabuting mandirigma. Mag-uwi ng mga tagumpay, huwag aatras sa mga kaaway.

Ganoon din ang laman ng usapan nang muling magkita sina Victor, ang ina at lola.

"Mabuti't buhay ka pa," bati ng nananabik na ina.

Natutuwa siyang makitang muli ang anak, pero nalulungkot din, dahil muli itong aalis. Kaya lamang ay hinding-hindi niya ito pipigilin.

"Oo, sapagkat mahal kita . . ."

Na ang ibig sabih'y kaya ako nakikipaglaban ay dahil sa pagmamahal ko sa inyo, para sa ating angkan,

para sa ating tribu, para sa ating lahat. Dagdag pa ni Victor: "Saka gusto kong makita kayo ni lola muli."

Sabi naman ng lola: "Magpapakabuti ka sa iyong yunit. Maging isang mahusay na mandirigma."

At bakit ginusto ng ina na maging NPA ang anak niya?

"Para matuto pa nang higit sa kanilang yunit."

"Para madagdagan pa ang talino." Dugtong ng lola.

Grade six lang ang natapos ni Victor: mataas na iyon para sa kanilang lugar, na mas mababa ang pamantayan kaysa Maynila. Ang ibig sabihin ng mga Kalinga sa mas mataas na pinag-aralan ay ang kakayahan ng isang tao sa mga taktika sa pakikidigma. Sa usaping ito, kaalaman sa paggamit ng maraming sandata, tulad ng M16 at iba pang armas ang kahulugan niyon, na sinang-ayunan naman ng iba pang matanda sa paligid.

Sa buong usapan nila, waring di natatakot ang mga ina para sa mga anak. Kabayanihan ang magtanggol para sa bayan. Di uso sa kanila ang duwag. Hindi pinalalaki ng ina ang anak para maging isang lampa lamang, tulad ng mga anak na burgis na ni lamok o langaw ay ayaw padapuan.

Iyon siguro ang isa sa mga kadahilanan kung bakit ang kanilang lipi, mula noon hanggang ngayon ay hindi nagapi ng mga dayuhan. Isa rin ito sa mga dahilan kung bakit *kadwa* ang

turing nila sa mga mandirigmang NPA.

Hatinggabi na'y gising pa rin ang lahat. Ang mga bisita naman ang hiningan ng bilang. Nagpalitan sila ng mga kanta. Ang sa kanila'y hinalaw sa kanilang mga paligid at kultura. Ang mga taga-ibaba ay walang maipagmaling sariling kanila, pero nagtatagpo ang kanilang mga mensahe. Mga awit ng protesta sa sistema, mga awit sa tagumpay ng rebolusyon, mga awit ng pagkakaisa.

Bago tuluyang natapos ang *sagang*, wala man sa palatuntunan, na parang isang paglalaro lamang, nag-*tadok* si Victor. Wala siyang kaparehang nililigawan. Paikut-ikot siya, parang isang agilang nagbibinata na ipinapakita sa lahat ang kanyang gilad. Di pa siya nagsasawa sa pagkumpay nang magtalyuan ang isang pangkat ng mga bata, edad 7 hanggang 10, babae't lalaki. Sa simula'y mga pito lamang sila, hanggang sumunod ang iba pang bata, dumami nang dumami. Sinundandun nila ang bawat hakbang ni Victor. Ang *tadok* ay nauwi sa *patong*. Anyong nakikidigma na ang kanilang galaw. Hanggang sila'y maging isa, magkakadugtong ang bawat galaw. Nagbubunyi.

A, ang batang bayani. Hindi mauubusan ng mga bayani ang mga Kalinga. Ang kanilang mga mandirigma'y patuloy pang dumarami. Naghihintay ang marami pang *sagang*.

Angel Fuerte

# Roving rebel band

Cultural group performs all over Bicol countryside to bring the revolution's message to the masses

**W**ith Gintong Silahis, the Bicol region is literally showing the way in revolutionary cultural work.

No, it is not a newsletter nor a localized transcription of Mao Zedong's "Five Golden Rays." Gintong Silahis is Bicolandia's cultural group that is both a showband and a well-knit staff under the regional council of the National Democratic Front.

The group started in October 1988 as a nine-member cultural staff under one of Bicol's guerrilla fronts. Composed of talented artists — musicians, poets, actors and dancers — the group was transformed into a regional staff tasked with undertaking cultural work in the whole of Bicol. It now has 15 members.

Ka Paula, herself an accomplished musician and teacher who has worked



Gintong Silahis in action: Artists for the people

LIBphotos



## MAINSTREAM



LIBphotos

stage director, a composer/arranger, a scriptwriter, a voice tutor, a person assigned to take care of musical instruments and a political education officer. Its tasks as a group include not only giving live performances but also training cultural workers in the different guerrilla fronts and districts in Bicol. The staff also helps in consolidating the NDF's zones of popular control, developing rural culture through mass work, and consolidating the NPA by complementing the guerrilla army's internal propaganda and cultural work. It assists in the region's political and economic mass campaigns by spearheading the cultural aspects of such campaigns.

In 1989, Gintong Silahis helped launch three

We have to temper ourselves through constant ideological strengthening and mass work."

As with other artists, the members of Gintong Silahis also have to face such problems as how to raise the quality of materials produced. For instance, they usually brainstorm over how to complement a tune with lyrics in a musical composition; how to achieve tonal and lyrical simplicity; and how best to adapt local forms for mass appeal. Talent is also sometimes a factor: right now, they say, the group needs a female rock singer.

Other needs are of a technical nature: uniforms, musical paraphernalia, especially foot cymbals and a guitar, food; and personal items like shoes and pants made of light material. The group members also have to contend with the security risks that go with being overexposed through their mobile performances and popularity.

Despite such problems, Gintong Silahis has taken center stage in the rural areas of Bicol, with the group's live-wire performances that feature the

fulltime with the national democratic movement since 1971, is the group's principal advocate and leader. She speaks endearingly of Gintong Silahis: "It is my dream come true."

She had, in her own words, always envisioned a mass-based performing group that would not only educate through song, dance and drama but also entertain the masses through popular art forms that they accept and identify with.

As a showband, the group does live concerts on special occasions such as the 21st anniversary celebration of the New People's Army last March and entertains special requests from peasant organizations. Last year, the group composed and arranged 20 original ballads, pop songs, *kundiman*, rock-and-roll and Western folk music. They have an easy-to-install drum set made of used plastic containers that sounds like the real thing. Their other musical instruments include nylon and steel classic guitars, flutes and cymbals. They own a battery-powered sound system with microphones and a TV and a video player set.

The group's most requested songs are rock-and-roll ditties. Explained Ka Paula: "In Bicol, the rural folk are seasonal coconut farmers. During the off-season, most of them, especially the young, travel to the big cities in the region and even to Metro Manila. They identify rock music with their spirit of rebelliousness."

As a staff, Gintong Silahis has a

propaganda campaigns in the region: the "Anti-Bases Caravan" (November 1989-February 1990) which included live performances in many villages, health seminars and free medical treatment; the "Anti-LIC (Low-Intensity Conflict) Campaign" which focused on the US-Aquino regime's "total war" strategy; and the "Anti-State of Emergency Campaign" which lambasted the fascist nature of the present ruling regime.

In a span of four months, from November 1989 to February 1990, the group did nine successive performances before an average attendance of at least 500 people - making it perhaps the most popular group in the Bicol countryside second only to the NPA, and amplifying the effectivity of the performing arts as a tool for revolutionary propaganda.

However, said Ka Paula, engaging in cultural work is not exactly being in a bed of roses, with the adulation they receive from the masses wherever they perform. "Popularity is a problem in itself," she avers. "Being human, we too have to contend with what show business people call the 'star complex.'

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Rock music - NDF style: Amplifying the effectivity of the performing arts as a tool for revolutionary propaganda

masses' very own lives and struggles. As one farmer has said: "Mayroon na rin tayong sariling mga artista sa rebolusyonaryong kilusan." (The revolutionary movement now has its own artists)

Tara Go-Mios



# Daring strikes

ABB guerrillas launch summer offensive in Metro Manila



Anniversary blitz: ABB stages lightning rally in busy Sta. Cruz district

PDI

**N**ew People's Army (NPA) guerrillas under the Edgar Jopson Brigade dealt a big blow against the Intelligence Services of the Armed Forces of the Philippines' (ISAFP) operations in Metro Manila when they shot and killed Col. Saturnino Dumlao, commander of the ISAFP's Military Intelligence Group 15, in an ambush in Paranaque last June 11. In a statement sent to media offices five days later, the NPA Public Information Office said, however, that Dumlao's death could have been prevented had the officer not resisted arrest. Dumlao was arrested for his leading role in intensifying intelligence operations against revolutionary organizations and personalities.

The guerrillas had blocked Dumlao's car while the latter was driving to work and tried to pull him away from his seat but were forced to shoot him when the colonel drew his service revolver. "While (Dumlao's) bravery is admirable," said the NPA brigade, "it would have been wiser for him to surrender peacefully." The NPA brigade added that it would have accorded Dumlao his rights under existing inter-

national laws governing prisoners of war and given a fair trial.

In the same statement, the brigade likewise advised AFP officers and men to immediately surrender when confronted by arresting units of the NPA. "Operations of this kind are well-prepared with adequate area-security screens to repulse possible enemy reinforcements," said the brigade. "It is futile to resist."

The guerrillas also offered its sincere condolences to Dumlao's family and thanked military sympathizers who provided information about the colonel's movements.

Meanwhile, the Alex Boncayao Brigade (ABB), the NPA partisan unit operating in Metro Manila, condemned the brutal attack last June 28 by Capital Regional Command elements of a funeral march for slain ABB member Benjamin Tabuena. Hiding behind tombstones, the attackers, most of whom were masked and in civilian clothes, sprayed the unarmed marchers with automatic gunfire just as the funeral cortege was about to enter the gates of the North Cemetery in Manila. Two mourners were killed and several



others wounded. Twenty-one marchers were also arrested and later charged with sedition.

In a strongly worded statement, the ABB assailed the military for its "utter disregard of the traditional respect the Filipinos accord their dead." The ABB also warned those responsible for the unprovoked attack that "any escalation of violence will be dealt with accordingly. The revolutionary justice the people demand will not go unheeded."

Earlier, scores of activists and guerrillas from the ABB had staged a lightning rally on May 23, the eve of the brigade's sixth anniversary. "Insurreksyon, sagot sa kahirapan" (Insurrection, the answer to poverty) was the rallyists' call as they marched along busy Rizal Avenue in Sta. Cruz, Manila. The ABB launched its opening salvo on May 24, 1984 with the assassination of police Gen. Tomas Karingal in a Quezon City restaurant. During his term as Northern Police District chief, Karingal had ordered the summary execution of several suspected activists and the violent dispersal of workers' picket lines.

Over in Mindanao, the NDF announced that at least 168 high-powered firearms had been seized from government soldiers in 23 tactical offensives staged from January to April 1990. Among the items confiscated were four M60 machine guns, several stalk mortars, one 57 mm recoilless rifle, ammunition, communications equipment and other military paraphernalia. Around 200 troopers, including elements of the Citizens Armed Forces Geographical Unit, were also killed in the same period.

Citing a partial report by the NPA command in the island, NDF-Mindanao spokesperson Severino Licad attributed the Red fighters' tactical victories to the "unceasing support of the people, the NPA's sharp knowledge of scientific guerrilla warfare and its mastery of the terrain." ■



## SPARKS

Newsbriefs about people's struggles

### NL NPA TAGS U.S.-AQUINO REGIME AS REAL ENVIRONMENTAL MENACE



The Lt. Crispin Tagamolila Command (NPA-Northern Luzon) accused the US-Aquino regime of being the real menace to the environment. In a statement issued on the occasion of World Earth Day, the NPA Command assailed the regime for merely paying lip service to efforts to save the forests while many of its key officials were guilty of illegal

logging. The NPA named Sen. Heherson Alvarez and Gov. Faustino Dy of Isabela and Reps. Domingo Tuzon and David Puzon of Cagayan as among those responsible for the denudation of forests in Northern Luzon.

The NPA also announced that it was doing its part to protect the environment by launching punitive actions against the culprits: last May 10, Red fighters destroyed several tens of millions of pesos worth of logging equipment of the Puzon-owned UTLI Corporation in Baggao and Penablanca, Cagayan. NPA forces also destroyed P30

### NDF-CENTRAL MINDANAO PAPER REVIVED



The NDF in Central Mindanao has revived the newsletter *Sulong Masa* this April to systematically provide the masses in the region with news on developments in the revolution and to counter the ruling class' growing use of the print and broadcast media to vilify the movement. *Sulong Masa*, which used to be published by the NDF in Southwest Mindanao,

is a big boost to the morale of Red fighters and activists in its new area of operations, said its April editorial. The editorial board also hopes that the newly revived paper would stimulate discussions on important issues. *Sulong Masa* also encourages readers to send contributions, criticisms and suggestions to improve the paper.

million worth of equipment of the same company in a sabotage operation last March 8.

## LETTERS

Comments from readers



Red fighters share in native feast: Rising above shortcomings

### NO CAUSE FOR SHAME

I was deeply bothered by the "story of Dama" cited in the lead article of the March-April issue. To date, I have not come across any article from a respectable magazine that is internationally circulated and widely read nationwide, reproaching and publicly exposing an individual, group or institution for "voracious eating habits."

We know that our guerrillas sometimes have to walk and fight for days with very little or nothing to eat. Thus, when they see food along the way, they sometimes eat like they could eat a horse. I don't think they could be faulted for tending to forget "table manners." But I am worried about how ordinary readers of *LIB* would take this.

I am not justifying such wrong deeds. All I'm saying is that such things could easily be rectified internally.

It'd had enough that the NPA has very limited food to eat. Why add shame to this sad state of affairs? Considering that the "story of Dama" is cited at the beginning and ending of the article, won't it leave a lasting impression on the readers' minds? Wasn't the article's intent to portray the state of political work within the NPA? As it was, the article tended to focus on our Red fighters as a bunch of voracious eaters waiting to be served like Roman emperors.

I hope *LIB*'s board of editors could look into this.

Ka Romo



## LETTERS

Dear Ka Remy,

We assure you that it was never our intention to publicly put our Red fighters to shame. The anecdote on "Dama's army" was cited because it was a true story that had a tremendous impact on the NPA's relations with the masses in a particular area in Samar.

We all know that most Samar folk are subsistence farmers eking out a precarious living from the land. Before the birth of the revolutionary movement on the island, many of its poor villagers were victimized by bandits and soldiers who waged a reign of terror in the hinterlands. But the NPA cleared the barrios of such bad elements, organized the people and helped launch the agrarian revolution. Above all, the NPA became known and loved by the masses because of the Red fighters' discipline, humility, courteousness and helpfulness. At last, the people had come into contact with an armed organization that was so unlike the groups of bandits or government troopers they had known.

Thus, it was no wonder that an incident such as what happened to Dama made the rounds of villages in that area. To simple subsistence farmers like Dama, being accorded such simple courtesies did make a difference.

Years ago, the phrase "mula sa masa, tungo sa masa" was very much in vogue among comrades. It was this basic political principle that was sidestepped in that anecdote on "Dama's army." It was not so much the guerrillas' "voracious appetite" that was at issue but their sense of discipline and their sensitivity to the masses' conditions. After all, it is the latter that is the wellspring of all our actions.

The fact that the story of "Dama's army" is now often cited during political education sessions in the Samar NPA shows that the anecdote has offered both an occasion for learning lessons on how to deal with the masses, and for public self-criticism. To an organization that serves the people, there should be no shame in humbly acknowledging shortcomings in public and declaring one's determination to rise above them.

## COUNTERCURRENTS

On the Philippine government and the US

# Ang Kabisig... bow (wow-wow)

Sa isang sipol lang ni Tita Cory, sunuran na ang mga tuta sa bagong pakana



Si Tita Cory at ang kanyang hawan ng mga alaga sa Malakanyang: "Mayroong tuta ng Opus Dei, tuta ng Kano, tuta ng mga kapitalista, tuta ng IMF-World Bank at iba pang sus-saring tuta ng ina at anak ng tuta"

**M**ay nakapagsabing ang Kabisig daw ay panawagang muli sa Pipol Power. Ang panawagan ay nakatuon sa pagsusuporta ng mga programa, ahensiya, at gawain ng pamahalaan. Minumungkahi ng Secretariat ng Kabisig ang mga sumusunod na gawain upang maging isang Kabisig:

• makipagsangguni sa inyong gobernador o meyor at bakahin ang mga suliraning panlokal;



## COUNTERCURRENTS

■ masugid na suportahan ang mga panukalang batas na itinatangkilik ni Tita Cory;

■ ipasa ang magandang balita ng pagkakapit-bisig ng pamahalaan at ng taumbayan.

Sa kababasa pa lamang ng mga ito'y sumisibol ang matinding pagdududang baka nama'y hindi Pipol Power ang tunay na pakay kundi'y Sipol Power! Sa isang sipol ni Tita Cory, sunuran na ang mga tuta.

Kaya pala itong kaibigan naming bagong gradweyt ng Veterinary Medicine ay nakahanap agad ng trabaho, hindi sa isang dambuhalang durog company (mga *pusher* na ligal), hindi sa isang babuyan o manukan, kundi sa Presidential Management Staff. Ang kanyang item: tagapangalaga ng tuta.

At bakit hindi? Tuta, sari-saring tuta ang nagkalat sa Malakanyang. Mayroong tuta ng Opus Dei, tuta ng

agad na bayaran ang kanyang pagkaka-utang sa mga mamamayan. Inuna muna niyang bayaran yung mga militar, yung mga *trapo*, yung mga dambuhalang kapitalista, yung mga panginoong maylupa, at iba pang nakinabang sa diktadura, bago pa ang mga manggagawa, magsasaka, guro, mag-aaral, makabayang pari, at iba pang maliliit na mamamayan na itinaya ang kanilang buhay sa araw-araw na pagmamalupit ng diktadura. Ano na lang ang ipamumudmod niya ngayon, barya?

A, hindi naman siguro, wika ng mga isda. Nilalayon (nilalason?) ng Kabisig daw na sa usaping reporma sa lupa daw, gagawin daw ang mga magsasaka, ke malaya, kasama, o manggagawa sa sakahan, na mga magsasakang-mangangalakal, daw. Sa usapin ng desentralisasyon ng pamamalakad ng pamahalaan, palalakasin daw

*anti-pollution device* ang Luzon Petrochem kung magkakaroon lang ng pondo.

Bilang alalay ng pamahalaan sa Kabisig ay tutulong ang mga non-governmental organizations (NGO) sa pagpapatupad ng mga layunin ng Kabisig. Naghahanap ang Kabisig ng mga NGO na may ginagawa, o may gagawin, o may ginawa para ma-"empower" ang pipol o ma-"uplift" ang "poor." Sabihin lang daw sa Kabisig kung ano ang maitutulong nito.

Tanong: Sino sa mga sumusunod ang magiging kasapi at tutulungan ng Kabisig?

"Inorganisa po namin ang mga manggagawa sa aming babuyan upang ipaglaban ang kanilang karapatang tumanggap ng minimum wage, 15 days vacation leave with pay, 13th month pay, 15 days sick leave with pay, at ang Christmas bonus na tig-iisang litson. Neunit pinaulanan po kami ng bala ng PC. Sana po'y tulungan niyo kami sa aming pakikibaka."

"Kami po'y mga tenant-farmers sa isang plantasyon ng niyog. Kama-kaila'y nagsama-sama po kami upang itulak ang aming karapatang maangkin ang lupa, ayon na po sa mga nakatakda sa CARL. Ngunit pinag-hahamlet ang aming pamilya at biransagan po kaming mga rebelde. Ngayon ang lupa'y gagawin nang industrial complex at subdivision. Kailan pa po mapapasaamin ang lupang saka-saka pa ng aming mga ninuno? Sana po'y tulungan niyo kami."

"We're an aggrupation of Chief Executive Officers of some of the Top 500 Corporations in the country. For our maiden project, we propose the employment of ten (10) management specialists to oversee ten (10) livelihood projects pinpointed by the Department of Agriculture. These projects deal with, among others, the production of solo papayas for export; the culture of black tiger prawns, also for export; and the backyard raising of toy breeds of dogs for sale here and abroad. Funding for the experts, in terms of salaries and allowances, would amount to P450,000 per person per annum (see attached appendix A for detailed breakdown), for a total of P4,500,000 for the first year of implementation. We envision the project to extend for five years, with provision for an extension of another five years. Could the Kabisig please facilitate the release of NEDA funds for this worthwhile endeavor?"

Palagay namin, alam na niyo ang sagot. Lisa't Tungaw



Tanong ng mamamayan sa pamahalaan: Sino ang makikinabang sa Kabisig?

Kano, tuta ng mga kapitalista, tuta ng IMF-World Bank, at iba pang sari-saring tuta'ng ina at anak ng tuta.

Bakit, sino ba'ng ipinagnamayang-bang ng Kabisig na mga ninong nito? Sina JoeCon, Ting Jayme, Cesar Buenaventura, Jess Estanislao, at Alran Bengzon ba? Kaya naman pala isa sa mga agenda ng Kabisig ay "mapabilis" ang takbo ng guberno. Matagal na silang nahahadlangan sa pagpapatupad ng mga proyektong tulad ng Luzon Petrochem, Garchitorena valuation, at iba pang nabulok sa mga imbestigasyon ng Kongreso't Senado. Kayat hindi kami masosorpresang kung sumapi si Junior de Guzman sa Kabisig upang madalian siya sa pagpasok sa NAI.

Oo nga't sabihin na nating naud-yok ang pagbubuo ng Kabisig dala ng katigasan ng ulo ng mga *trapo* sa Kongreso. E, sino ba'ng nagbigay suporta sa mga unggoy na iyan upang mahalal? Sino pa kundi si Tita Cory. Aniya, hoy, bayad ko na'ng isahat ng napagkautangan ko sa inyo, ha. Ang hirap kasi kay Tita hindi niya kinilala

ang mga pamahalaang lokal at ang mga taumbayan mismo sa mga bagay-bagay ukol sa kanilang kabuhayan at kabutih-an, daw. Patuloy daw na taangat ang kalagayan ng mga mahihirap, daw. Pauunlarin daw ang kanayunan, daw. Pangangalagaan daw ang kapaligiran, daw.

Katunayan, mayroon na silang pruwera. Ang mga magsasaka, kasama, at sakada sa Hacienda Luisita'y mga *entrepreneur* na ngayon sapagkat sila'y *stockholders* na. Ang mga magsasaka sa Dasmarias industrial estate ay madatung na ngayon matapos sila mabigyan ng tig-P50,000.

Matagal na namang desentralisado ang pamahalaan. Masdan kung gaano ka-sabog magpatakbo ng guberno si Tita Cory.

Gumaan-gaan na rin ang paghihirap ni Ting Jayme nang sipain si Joker Arroyo at ang dating taghirap na mga Lopez ay napabalik-yaman nang isauli ang Meralco at iba pa nilang ari-arian.

Magkakabit nga daw sana ng mga



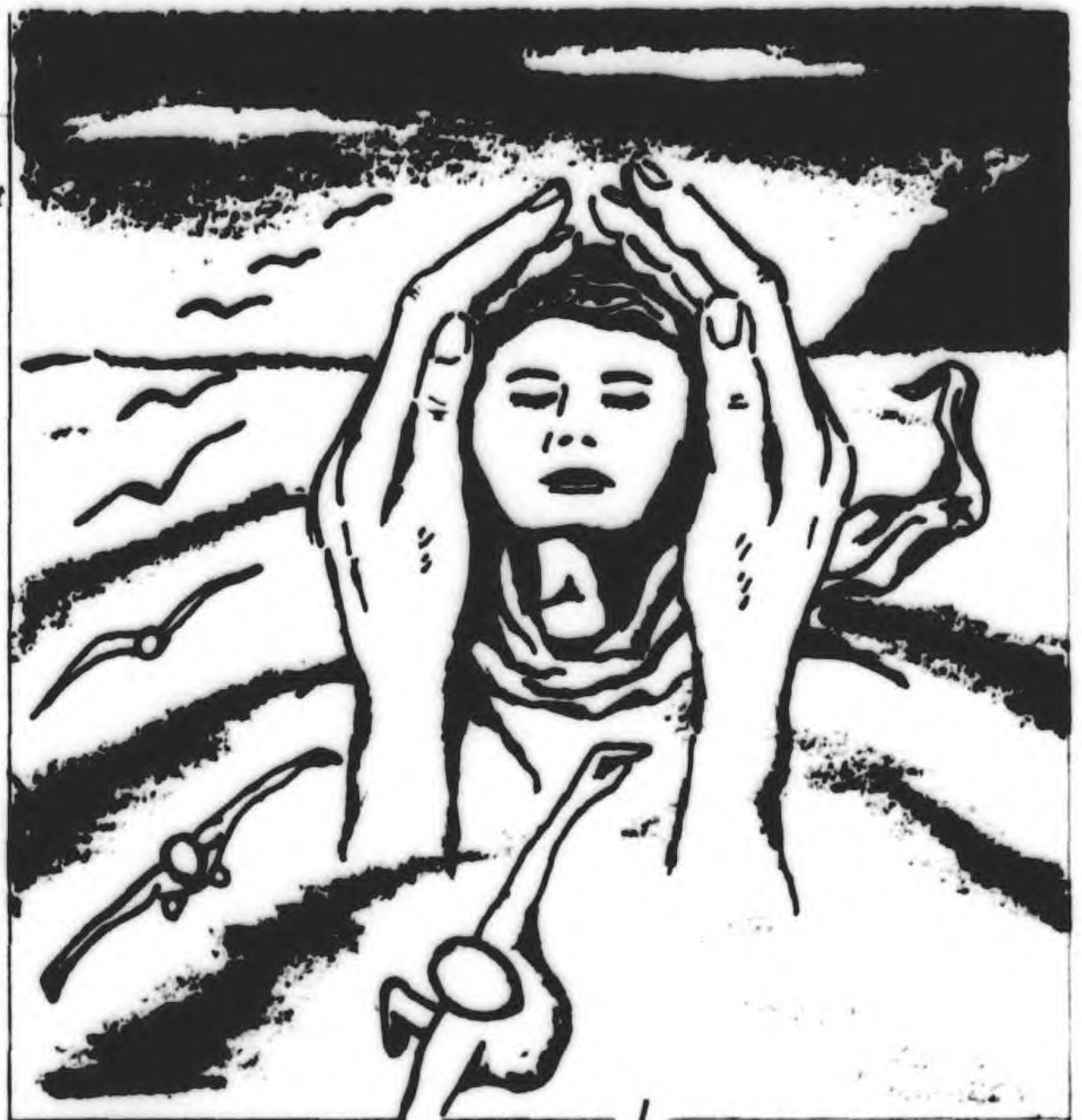
*Amade is Spanish for "beloved." No other name could have been more fitting for Amade Alvarez whose courage and dedication endeared her to the masses and comrades whose lives she touched. Sickly and severely anemic, Amade nonetheless pursued her revolutionary ideals as a church worker and later, as a cadre in Northern and Central Luzon*

*Her husband, guerrilla-poet Jason Montana, has celebrated his love for Amade in verses dedicated to her. Comrades who knew them say it was Amade who could always bring out the best in Jason's poetry.*

*The fair and frail Amade was slain in Pangasinan by fascist soldiers on February 20, 1988. She was 32.*

*Comrades in the Pangasinan-Zambales front where she last worked have honored Amade by naming their NPA unit after her.*

*The following poems were written in her memory.*



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*In this circle of holiness comrades create  
We celebrate you: Word of Woman and Cadre.  
In the people's name we claim you once again.  
For the healing of our brokenness, you are.  
For the creation of new humanness, you are.  
Somehow in a grand mystery are we redeemed  
And received into greater life: Weakness to  
Your courage – that we might be strong.  
After the singing of our poets, and silence:  
After the witnessing to your joys and sorrows,  
A lighted candle and your picture are passed  
Around. Your light consumes the darkness.  
And grief communes with a sea of fulfillment.*

2

*Every event of you that I have known  
Returns to make you whole again.  
Your death is merely a distant mountain,  
Imposing but harmless. I am well, Beloved,  
Ready to pursue the good work of the people.  
To help finish this war we hate so,  
That all might have life, and abundantly,  
Free as the wind and just as the rain.  
There are new tasks and forces and strange  
Arrangements without you among us. Still  
Are there flowers and poems and people.  
And all our martyrs are carefully honored.  
I love the sky that breathed you last.  
I love the earth that drank your blood.*

Jason Montana



RINLAN, IN

MANGGAGAWA MAGKAISA.  
PANGUNAHAN ANG PAKIKIBAYAN  
AMBAYANAN LABAN SA  
G U.S. - AGUING!



KAMTIN  
ANG KASARINLAN  
KABUHAYAN AT TULU  
NO DEMOKRASI

U.S. BASES

