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*The US - Marcos regime:  
Sept. 21, 1972 - Sept. 21, 1984*

# FASCIST!

# Where are the evil eyes of US imperialism cast ?

There is agitation in the land today, among US "experts" in US-Philippine relations. So shaken by crisis is the Marcos regime that Uncle Sam has felt compelled to take a more visible and more active role in the fray. Therefore, it is not without anticipation that millions of awakened Filipinos now ask, where are the evil eyes of imperialism cast?

In the face of immense advances by the revolutionary and anti-dictatorship forces, the imperialist scheme is clear. Uncle Sam may use different tactics but his aims remain the same: 1) to forestall the collapse of the fascist regime; 2) to draw the masses into the narrow confines of parliamentary reformism; and 3) to isolate and eventually crush the revolutionary forces.

Its first trick is to clip the dictator's wings while propping him up with enough aid to keep the system afloat. Put another way, Uncle Sam will break his loyal stooge's monopoly of power and "liberalize" or "open up" the system to accommodate the disgruntled elements of the ruling class. Thus, the US allows the flow of existing bilateral economic aid even as it withholds more substantial economic aid packages and makes these contingent on the dictator's moves to remedy the political crisis.

The initial drumbeats to this first trick were sounded even before the May 14 elections when the US promoted a "fair and credible" election by pushing oppositionists to participate in the sham. Against the wishes of the dictator, it promised "an independent and impartial investigation" of the Aquino assassination and "an open climate for the press and other public forums."

The second trick is a sequel to the first. It prescribes increasing support for the parliamentary opposition and their greater share of political power. The US has also promised indirect support to the traditional opposition through the anti-crony campaigns of the elite business organizations. It is Uncle Sam's fondest hope that the strengthened parliamentary opposition can so mesmerize the majority of Filipinos that they will find credibility in the Batasan and fulfillment in cheering its debates rather than sustaining the parliament of the streets.

Finally, the third trick requires the greatest skill of all. In the name of greater economic aid and other innocuous-sounding fund assistance, the US will finance the modernization program of the AFP to boost the latter's capability against the surging revolutionary armed forces.

Many Filipinos, however, have already grasped the truth behind these various tricks of the US. At the core of these

is the US scheme to preserve its strategic military bases and other major holdings in the Philippines. No less than US Defense Assistant Secretary James A. Kelly has recently admitted that the Philippines, small country that it is, assumes great significance to the US because "the abundant resources of the area remain important to the continued (US) prosperity."

The cat is out! And now that it has been explicitly stated, it is but proper that in response, we completely lay bare the puppeteer, the mastermind behind the plots of Marcos and his men. It is time to advance further the anti-imperialist movement.

First, we must expose US domination in all spheres of Philippine life as a persistent blight that has stunted the economic, political and cultural growth of our nation. It is our task to examine closely the insidious ways by which US imperialism continues to worm into the very fabric of our daily existence - from junk food to nuclear energy to spiritual guidance. And in rooting these, expose US imperialism to the harsh light of our people's wrath.

As a second task, we must specifically resist US political intervention in the current period. US imperialism has throughout the years violated our sovereignty and now, Reagan and his gang are preparing to unleash their most penetrating attacks. We must repel all moves at direct and indirect political intervention and seek the support of the widest sector of the American people and urge them to withhold their tax money to finance a blood-thirsty dictator.

Third, we must cast away reformist illusions which the US persistently foists. Ours has been a glorious and painful struggle built through years of perseverance in the people's war. If the regime is now at its death throes, it is principally because it has been battered by a determined people's army, fearless before the enemy and faithful to the aspirations of the masses.

But while we intensify the struggle in the countryside, we must also continue to meet the enemy on all fronts. Wherever he lurks, he must be exposed and beaten. We must use all means to stop him: legal and illegal, armed and unarmed, open and clandestine. We must face him everywhere: in towns and cities, in rural and urban communities, here and abroad.

Accomplishing this, we shall be able to frustrate US imperialism's moves at every turn. Accomplishing this, we then contribute to the worldwide struggle against imperialism by hastening the defeat of its local expression and putting the seal of the just on the tomb of the tragic pair.

## IN THIS ISSUE

Cover story: The Filipino people will always remember Sept. 21, 1972 as the day the US-Marcos dictatorship shed all pretension to democracy by declaring open fascist rule. In this issue, LIB discusses the heightening political and economic crisis besetting the regime and US schemes to save its foundering puppet.

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The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDF) is the framework or channel for the unity, cooperation and coordination of all national democratic forces in the country. It traces its beginnings to the establishment of the Preparatory Commission for a National Democratic Front on April 24, 1973. The 1973 NDF Ten-Point Program upholds armed struggle as the main form of struggle to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship. LIBERATION is the official publication of the NDF.



*A bridge too far: Police/military and barbed wire barricade Sept. 21 demonstrators from Mendiola*

**COVER STORY**

# Besieged on all fronts

**Heightening political and economic crisis plagues US-Marcos regime on its 12th year of martial rule**

September 1984 was the complete opposite of what the Marcos regime expected.

Twelve years earlier, on Sept. 21, it had hoped to halt political dissent and to gain a monopoly on political power. It declared open fascist rule and caused the arrest and detention, torture and murder of thousands of its opponents and other political dissenters.

Twelve years after, protest has not subsided but has actually become stronger. September 1984 — 12 years since martial law was declared — was a month of street actions occurring one after another, highlighting issues affecting workers, the urban poor, students, church people, businessmen and professionals. The protest actions drew strength from the rallies of the previous months when, shortly after the Batasan elections, students protes-

ted tuition fee increases while workers, reeling from the deterioration of the economy, staged strikes for better wages and other benefits. To the people's demands, the regime replied with crowd dispersal units using tear gas, smoke bombs, truncheons, fire hoses and guns.

### Confrontation at Mendiola

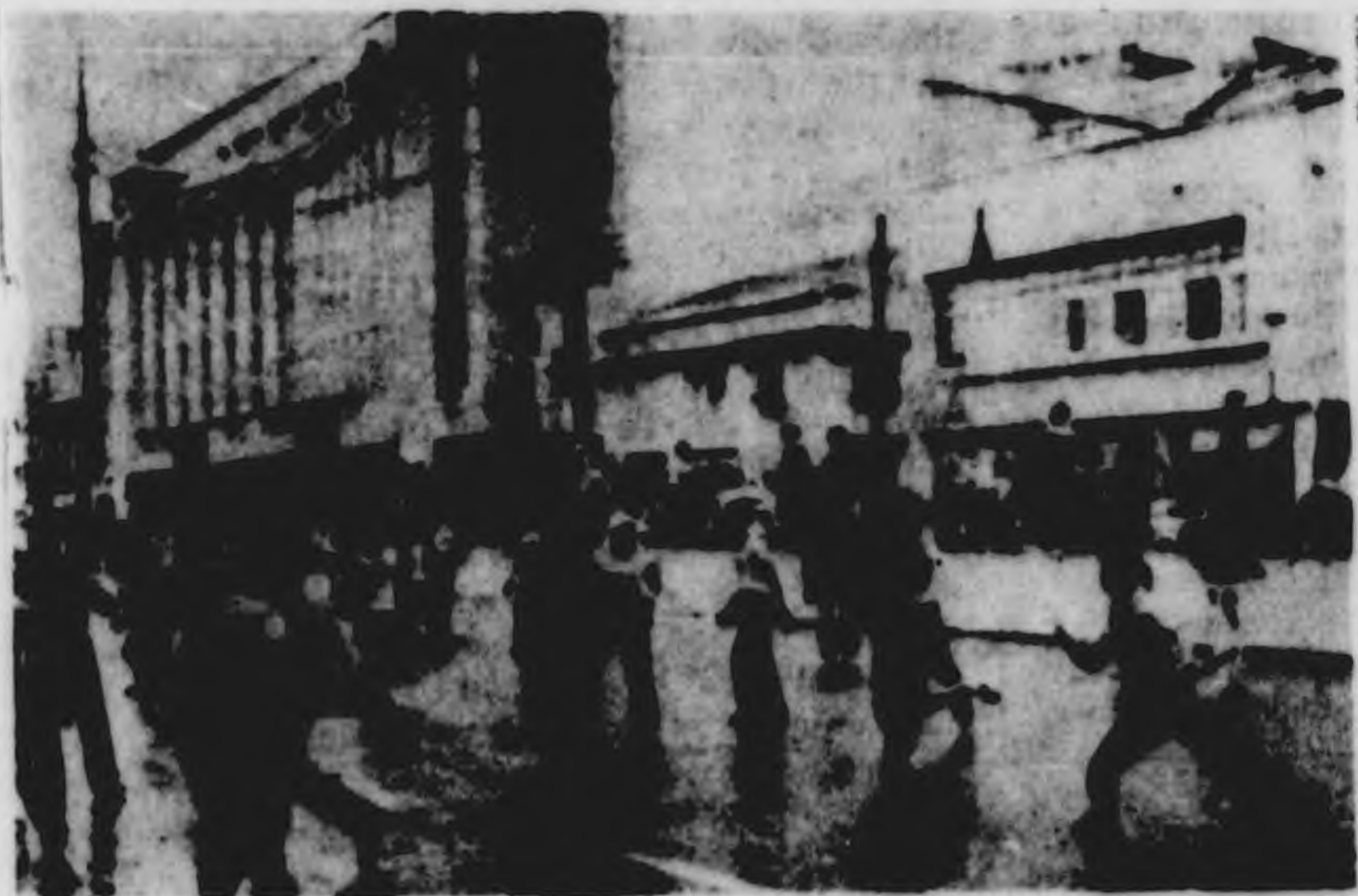
It was to be expected that the outpouring of the people's anger would culminate on the 21st. From five assembly points in Metro Manila, the people marched to Liwasang Bonifacio, the penultimate leg in the march to Mendiola, for a short program of skits, songs and speeches. There, the rallyists, led by the militant Coalition of Organizations for the Realization of Democracy (CORD) and Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Free-

dom and Democracy swelled to about 40,000.

At one corner of the Liwasan, on the steps of the Bureau of Posts building, 1,500 supporters of the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (Unido) and Pilipino Democratic Party-Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban) held their own separate rally, expressing disagreement with plans of the militant groups to proceed to Mendiola. The essential difference between the two groups was the issue of further pushing confrontational politics of struggle against the regime. But the vote for greater militancy won as more people joined the march to Mendiola bridge.

Mendiola had assumed a significance all its own because of its strategic location — it leads right to the gates of Malacanang, the dictator's residence. Days be-

*Violent end to 15-hour stand-off: Truncheon-flailing and tear gas-throwing policemen pursue rallyists along Recto Ave.*





*A bold front: Rally leaders endure water cannon attack*



*Welcome Rotonda rumble: Angry demonstrators*



*One-sided battle: Protesters retaliate by throwing rocks at rampaging policemen*

fore, the regime had stubbornly refused to grant a rally permit and threatened to disperse any group which would set foot on the bridge. Indeed, what met the rallyists at Mendiola that afternoon were six rows of black barbed wire, columns of policemen with helmets and truncheons, armored water cannons and AFP soldiers.

Bent on asserting their right to peaceful assembly, 3,000 demonstrators kept vigil at the foot of Mendiola until the early hours of Sept. 22. Public support was enthusiastic; from various areas of Metro Manila, food and other tokens of support poured in continuously. But there was to be no peaceful end to the long night of vigil.

At the break of dawn, Sept. 22, police forces, acting upon orders of a frantic Malacanang, broke up the peaceful assembly. From the east and west sections of Legarda street, the troops charged in-

to the demonstrators' ranks. There was at least one policeman for every demonstrator. This time, unlike in previous rallies, the regime's troops used not only tear gas, smoke bombs and water cannons; they also used guns with plastic and live bullets.

Despite attempts to stand their ground in the face of the police assault, the demonstrators were dispersed, regrouping later at the National Press Club building in Intramuros. On their march to the NPC, they were cheered by city residents who had just awakened and vendors who offered hot soup and food.

"Mendiola was a crucial test of the people's determination and courage in the face of the regime's display of naked force," said Sebastian, an activist organizer present in that rally. "The people passed the test with flying colors." Mendiola also proved the capability of thou-

sands of people for prolonged and defiant mass actions. The rally-vigil there has opened new possibilities of more sustained and effective forms of protest against the dictatorship.

On the other hand, the regime's suppressive moves have only deepened its isolation. This was further underscored during the brutal dispersal of demonstrators on Sept. 27 at the Welcome Rotonda in Quezon City. In a deadly attack, armalite-bearing policemen fired at scampering rallyists, killing one bystander and seriously wounding many other rallyists and bystanders. But the police assault backfired as a broad range of organizations and individuals angrily condemned the rising trend of police-military brutality and state violence.

#### **Economic crisis spawns protests**

Already heavily besieged on the political front, the regime has been further beset by the deterioration of the economy. Thirteen months after the Aquino assassination, which spawned a massive crisis of confidence in the regime, Marcos' headaches continue.

Some key indicators of the raging economic crisis are the thrice devaluation of the Philippine peso since October last year and the spiralling increases in transportation fare and the prices of basic commodities; these have pushed inflation to an unprecedented staggering rate of 60 to 70 percent. Other symptoms of the foundering economy are the \$2.5 billion deficit in the country's mid-1984 balance of payments position and the regime's fourth moratorium on the payment of maturing principals of its over \$26 billion foreign debt.

To raise revenues for a bankrupt government, and consistent with the conditions set by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for its approval of the Philippine request for \$630 million in standby



*surge toward comrades under siege*



*The arrogance of power: Policemen try to flush out demonstrators from side streets*

credit, the regime has imposed new and bigger taxes on an already heavily taxed population. Utilizing his Amendment 6 powers, the dictator this month imposed increases on road-users taxes and on travel taxes, acts so unpopular they were opposed not only by the opposition but even by some KBL assemblymen.

Since last year, the economic crisis that has severely affected the impoverished masses has been one main stimulus for the growth of the protest movement. To oppose the enforcement of the new taxes and price increases, strikes have erupted, some of which were even launched by jeepney drivers' organizations led by opportunist elements. Teachers, urban poor, car-owners and operators of trucks and haulers have also expressed their protest. Indicating the rapid momentum of economic struggles is the strike trend from January to August this year which has already exceeded the total number of strikes called last year.

To stave off the imminent economic collapse, the regime has been swiftly bowing down to IMF impositions. Among these measures are a free floating rate for the peso vis-a-vis the US dollar and the lifting of controls on import and trading—all designed to assure foreign and big local traders generous returns on their investments. Still another side to extended haggling over the approval of IMF loans to the Philippines are, to all indications, the regime's compliance with a package of political conditions (e.g. a decree clarifying presidential succession). In return for Marcos' compliance, the US has arranged with its trading partners like Japan an international rescue package of bridge loans to keep the dictator's ship of state afloat.

#### US game plan

Because of the country's economic cri-



*In a fright: Shielding themselves from the people's anger*

sis and the Marcos regime's political isolation, the US is focusing its policies on the Philippines on three issues: solving the economic crisis, or at least tiding over the crumbling economy; effecting a "revitalization of democracy" towards a peaceful transition to a post-Marcos era; and halting the guerrilla war being waged by the New People's Army and other revolutionary forces. Of fundamental interest to the US, of course, are the preservation of its military bases and extensive investments in the country.

An emerging premise in recent US pronouncements appears to be that the dictator has become a liability to long-term US interests. But because the members of the traditional political opposition offer as yet no one as promising and capable as Marcos in defending those interests, the US dilemma seems to be currently focused on the strengthening of the tradi-

tional opposition and on how a parliamentary reshuffle of puppets may be brought about. The US will logically support that politician who is a confirmed US loyalist, who is acceptable to the people, and who has the effective or the potential following among the bureaucracy and the military.

The latest US prescription comes at a time when its puppet regime is sharply isolated from the people. The intensifying and broadening mass movement and revolutionary armed struggle in all areas of the Philippine archipelago manifest such isolation. The political crisis can also be seen in the rising open disaffection of sectors which were once ardent supporters of the regime like the government bureaucracy, military rank-and-file and big business.

In business circles, widespread complaints about the failed economic stra-

tegies of the regime are assuming a political dimension. Increasingly, big business groups like the Makati Business Club are targetting Marcos' technocrats and the monopoly of key crop industries by Marcos cronies and relatives. Marcos' Amendment 6 (law-making) and other absolute powers have also been attacked. At present, many more businessmen are battling for a purge of cronies who have bungled their economic trusteeship and for the lifting of government controls on trading and all other policies which inhibit free trade.

That these complaints bear a close similarity to US and IMF prescriptions is no accident. Certain elite businessmen are working closely with representatives of the US and its agencies to break Marcos' monopoly of economic and political power. However, while they may be becoming more critical now, big businessmen still apparently prefer gradual liberalization or partial reforms rather than the basic restructuring of Philippine society and economy since this could jeopardize their vast holdings.

#### No way out of regime's crisis

The regime has likewise failed to win more adherents among the traditional political opposition and is in fact losing influential oppositionists to militant cause-oriented groups. At present, the progressive movement counts as its reliable allies a growing number of individuals fiercely opposed to the regime and to the US domination of the country and who firmly believe in the viability and logic of militant and sustained political action.

However, still dominant within the traditional elite politicians are those who have a limited perception of the people's problems and who manifest tendencies to collaborate with the US in their self-serving designs to win power for themselves. These elements have shown no sympathy to the desire of the people to achieve thorough-going changes in Philippine society, seeking only changes in the stewardship of government in their favor.

But neither wing of the traditional opposition excites as much fear to the US

## Nationwide protests mark Sept. 21

Sept. 21 was also a no-holiday day for the rest of the country. Not because it was National Thanksgiving Day but because it was a day to mourn and condemn the 12th year of tyrannical rule. From the north to south, people turned out in record numbers, in the streets, in town plazas, in city parks, to collectively vent their anger at the regime and demand its downfall.

In Lucena City, some 2,000 farmers, workers, students and members of religious organizations staged a protest march to denounce the dictatorship. Sponsored by the Nationalist Alliance, the rally drew people from the various towns of Quezon like Sariaya, Lopez, Catantunan and other towns in the Bicol peninsula.

In Dagupan City, the Aggregation of Concerned Citizens and the Coalition of Organizations for the Realization of Democracy (CORD) launched a multi-sectoral rally. Speakers assailed the Eusebio Pambunan as "impotent" and "useless" and urged all opposition members in the sham parliament to resign en masse and join the parliament of the streets.

In Cotabato City, the local CORD chapter held a five-hour peaceful march

as the revolutionary movement as this is represented by the combined forces of the National Democratic Front. Even now, the phenomenal gains achieved by the NPA in 1983 may even be surpassed this year. Targets set for arms seizure, formation of revolutionary mass organizations in the countryside, and over-all expansion and consolidation work are currently being pursued vigorously.

The US and the Marcos dictatorship have taken notice of these signs. It is thus expected that the US has focused its efforts on an agenda for "peaceful transition." However, US noises urging the "reinstitution" of democratic processes are, in reality, merely deceptive efforts to assuage the rising popular clamor

for changes in the governmental and social system.

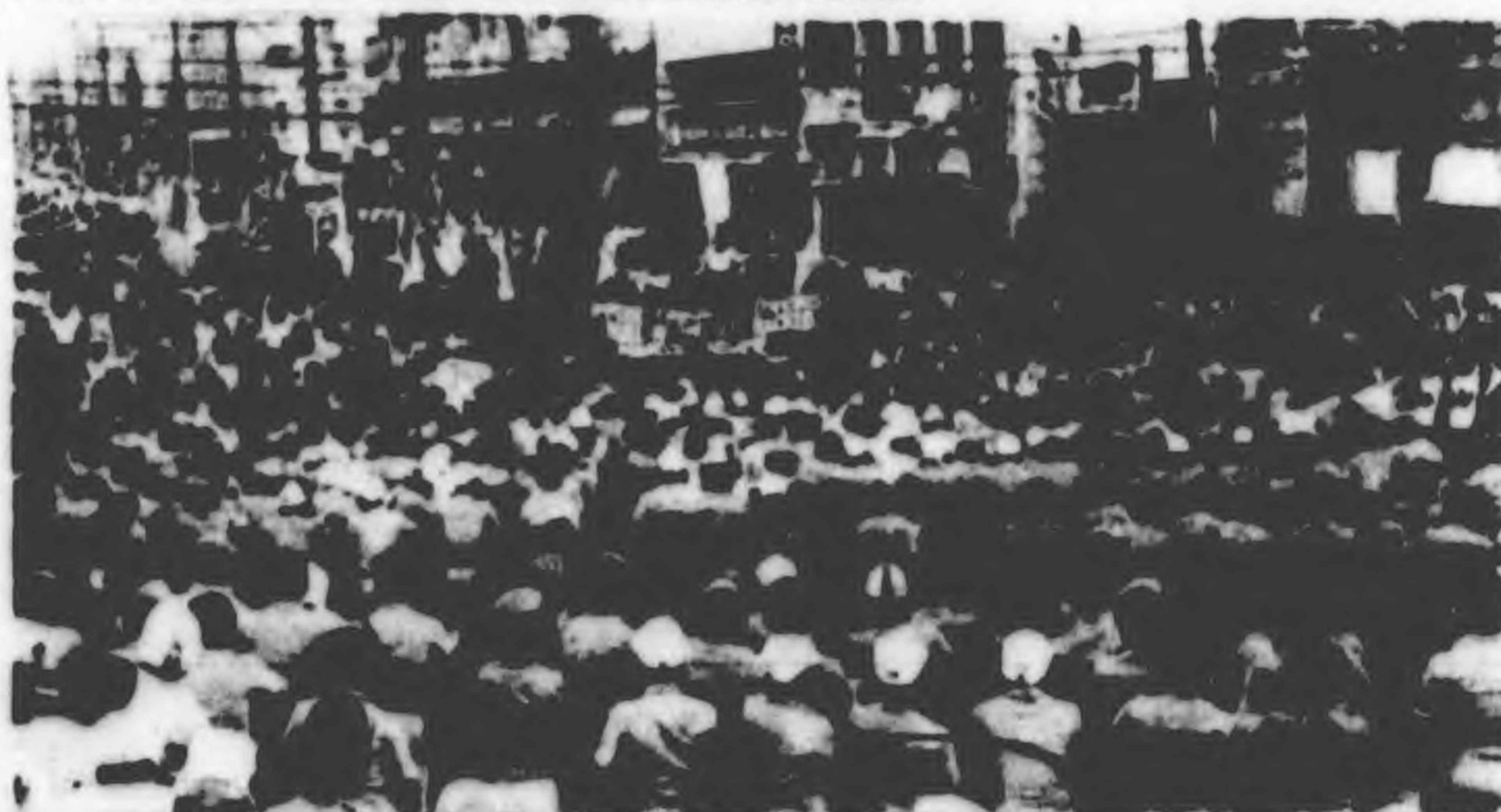
But while there is now a tendency for the US to distance itself from Marcos, the relationship between the dictator and his master is still largely one of collusion. Marcos still remains the US' principal puppet in the Philippines — for the present, that is. For his part, Marcos still badly needs the US, especially now at a time of great economic and political crisis.

Though they may have some differences, both the US and Marcos agree that the swift deterioration of the people's livelihood, if not reversed or halted, will swiftly fuel the advance of the revolution on many fronts. It is quite obvious, therefore, that US efforts to rescue its beleaguered client regime are directed at preventing the victory of the revolution. For such a victory will certainly signal the defeat of US military, political and economic dominance in the country.

But the efforts of the US and the Marcos regime to stall the further progress of the revolutionary movement can only prove futile. A politicized citizenry tempered in the mass movement and in armed struggle can see through their machinations. The regime tried to quell protest 12 years ago with the imposition of martial law. It failed. There is no reason to believe it can succeed now, when the judgment of history is at hand.

Mar Medalla

Confrontation at Mendiola: The battle lines are drawn



LIBPHOTOS



NPA trainees: "More volunteers are joining the true army of the people"

## MAINSTREAM

# Mastering the art of war

NPA fighters advance guerrilla warfare in Western Visayas

*"All warfare is based on deception ... Offer the enemy a bait to lure him; Feign disorder and strike him."*

Sun Tzu's essays on "The Art of War" include the above quotation as one of "the strategist's keys to victory." Dating back to the pre-Christian era, Sun's dicta are as relevant today as they were before. In fact, this specific guerrilla tactic was recently executed by the New People's Army (NPA) with resounding success in the hinterland of Aklan.

At around 7 a.m., on Aug. 26, an NPA unit harassed some government soldiers on the hilly terrain of Bo. Alfonso XII, prompting an enemy informer to report the incident to Mayor Sol Legaspi of nearby Libacdao town. Little did the enemy know that the created disorder was actually a decoy as an NPA platoon prepared for an ambush at Sitio Mayubay, Bo. Guadalupe — one kilometer before Alfonso XII and six kilometers away from Libacdao.

On a rescue mission to Alfonso XII, Legaspi and 18 other government troopers approached the killing zone set up by the guerrillas. Almost immediately, 12 out of the 19 enemy reinforcements were wiped out.

Slain were a soldier from the 47th Infan-

try Battalion (Philippine Army), a policeman, nine Civilian Home Defense Force (CHDF) members and the notorious Mayor Legaspi. Legaspi has tyrannically ruled some Aklan barrios for over 10 years and was hated by the barriofolk because of his many anti-people crimes. His death brought nothing but relief to the people of Aklan, Capiz, Antique, Iloilo and even far-off Negros. Seven companions of the enemy troops were severely wounded.

Lasting for 23 minutes, the operation also gained for the NPA three Browning automatic rifles, five M16s, five carbines, a Garand, .45, .38, .22 revolvers, two rifle grenades, magazines and various ammunition. The NPA likewise was able to retrieve an AK50 which it lost to the enemy in a previous encounter.

Before retreating, the guerrillas attended to the wounded soldiers. One of the government soldiers refused to take in the medicine offered by the guerrilla medic, thinking it was poison. "It is part of the NPA discipline to treat its prisoners humanely. If we have the intention to kill you, we would've just put a bullet in your body," the guerrilla responded. This convinced the wounded soldier to accept the NPA's medical help.

The NPA also took time to explain the

aims and justness of the revolution to their captured enemies before setting them free. Leaving the ambush site, the Red fighters victoriously proclaimed: "Ibagsak ang Diktadurang US-Marcos! Mabubay ang NPA!"

The Aug. 26 incident is just one of the many successful operations of the NPA in Western Visayas.

In Sitio Pangsayan, Tabugon, Kabankalan, Negros, a guerrilla unit ambushed last June 23 members of the Engineering Combat Battalion under the 51st Engineering Brigade (Philippine Army) killing five soldiers and wounding two of them. In the course of the battle, a Red fighter was killed. At the end of the clash, the NPA were able to confiscate three M16 rifles from the government soldiers.

*Pagbimakas*, underground mass newspaper of the region, reported that the Engineering Battalion of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) was established by the Marcos regime in line with its counter-insurgency campaign. Acting not only as principal implementors of infrastructure projects in areas where the revolutionary movement is strong, the members of the battalion also conduct espionage and combat work.

*Pagbimakas* described the battalion's tasks: "to construct roads and bridges in the barrios and to facilitate the mobility of reactionary troops during the operations intended to repress the just struggle of the residents."

On the same day, militia men bravely exhibited their capability and initiative in fighting. They killed a member of the 7th IBPA and took his M16 in a sparrow ope-

ration in Southana, Hinobaan, Negros.

Also recently, the NPA launched two effective raids in the same province. One was at the farm of Col. Eduardo Cojuangco in Gintubdan, Araal, La Carlota last June 3. The guerrillas donned military uniforms to enter the farm. They carted off four high-powered M14s, an M30/12 gauge shotgun, a .38 pistol, assorted rounds of ammunition and 75 prize fighting cocks under the noses of the farm security men.

Meanwhile, on June 7, an NPA team raided the government-owned Negros Copperfield Mines (NOCOMIN) and seized a shotgun, a radio transceiver and other military equipment. According to *Pagbimakas*, NOCOMIN doubled as a base and detachment of the military.

In another NPA offensive, nine members of the 7th IBPA were ambushed last May 14 at Bo. Cobia-an, Candoni, Negros.



Western Visayas: Islands of ferment

The soldiers, carrying ballot boxes, were on their way to the barrio's voting center. Five from the enemy camp were killed during the 15-minute firefight while three wounded enemy troopers succumbed to death later. The Red fighters were able to confiscate three M16s, an M203 and a .38 revolver from the military men.



Gesture of peasant support: Food for NPA comrades

## Armed struggle steps up in Panay

NPA guerrillas are contributing their share of victories in the armed struggle surging nationwide. According to a special issue of *Daba-Daba*, revolutionary newspaper in the island, Panay Red fighters launched seven tactical offensives from April to August this year. In these offensives, NPAs utilizing oversized squads to platoon-size formations killed 25 enemy personnel (including the notorious mayor of Libacao, Aklan) and confiscated 46 firearms, 25 of which were high-powered. The military operations also resulted in the wounding of 22 government troopers and the surrender of 26.

Three of these are especially worth noting:

► in an ambush in Guadalupe, Libacao, Aklan, Panay NPAs killed 12 soldiers, wounded seven and captured four; and confiscated three Browning Automatic rifles, five M16s, five M1s and three handguns.

► in two ambushes and one trapping operation last Aug. 5, Red fighters killed four enemy troopers and wounded 13; two M16s, one M1 carbine and one .38 revolver were taken.

► in a raid in Leon, Iloilo last May 11, guerrillas killed two soldiers and captured 25; and seized five M16s, 11 handguns and four .22 rifles.

These recent military victories reflect the steady advance of armed struggle in Panay since 1971, when the first squad of NPAs was formed on the island. Composed of a handful of guerrillas lacking combat experience, the first NPA unit had only a small number of rifles, home-made guns and *pugakbang* (home-made rifles) and operated in a few mountain barrios of Tapaz, Capiz and Calinog, Iloilo. But fiercely determined to be of service to the masses and the revolution, the NPAs persisted. "By following the correct political

Reports reaching **LIBERATION** reveal that in Negros alone, the number of high-powered rifles taken from the AFP from January to June this year has reached 50, seized mostly in ambushes and sparrow operations. Notable among these military actions were the ambushes in Bisco, Binalbagan on March 27; in Tinongan, Isabela on April 18; in Candoni on May 14; and the raid on Cojuangco's farm last June 3.

A breakthrough has also been achieved in Negros NPA partisan operations in early July with the capture of an M16 and several handguns, especially in the town of Murcia.

All these tactical offensives of the NPA provide the people with but a glimpse of the growing depth and influence of the armed struggle in the countryside of Western Visayas.

Angel Nicolas

and employing correct military tactics under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Red fighters were able to transcend the severe hardships during this life-and-death stage in the history of the people's army and the revolutionary movement in the island," said *Daba-Daba*. Not a few comrades gave their lives to the cause of the revolution during this trying period, but these only served to inspire and fire up the resolve of those left behind to continue the struggle.

Today, the NPA operates in all the four provinces of Panay. Its influence extends over 40 towns encompassing more than 500 barrios with a population of several hundred thousands, who give different forms and levels of support to the NPA and help in the advance of guerrilla warfare in the island. According to *Daba-Daba*, "More and more volunteer to join the true army of the people. The establishment of basic organs of political power, which form the seeds of the people's democratic government, continues. Revolutionary land reform and movements to uplift the living conditions of the peasant masses in the countryside are making great strides."

Thus, despite vicious scaled-up attacks by the military and the spread of black propaganda vilifying the Red fighters and their mass supporters, the NPA in Panay has not only survived — it continues to advance, grow stronger and extend its influence.

In keeping with the current thrust to intensify and extend guerrilla warfare in the island, the NPA Regional Command in Panay recently stressed the need to further explain the viability of armed struggle in overthrowing the US-Marcos dictatorship. It also renewed the call to arouse, mobilize and organize the broad masses in the farthest reaches of Panay to participate in the armed struggle.

In heeding these calls, the NPA in Panay will surely reap more victories that will step up the tempo of guerrilla warfare throughout the country.



# Vocal, visible and vibrant

Youth activists help rev up anti-dictatorship struggle

With his notebook tucked in the back pocket of his pants, Miguel, 17, waited for his companions' signal before crossing the wide boulevard. At the wave of a hand, the sneakered youth ran toward the whitewashed walls and, with brush and bucket in hand, began painting the words: "*Ibagsak ang diktadurang US-Marcos!*"

In a rally, Johnny, 18, pulls a T-shirt over his head. A sheaf of papers is handed to him. Without wasting a second, the fleet-footed youth runs the length of the march and distributes underground leaflets to rallyists and bystanders.

While Miguel and Johnny go about their work, a student, Marie, does the rounds carrying with her a collection box. She boards a jeepney and tells the passengers, "*Kami po ay nagratali para tutulan ang diktadura ni Marcos. Tinututulan namin ang mga patakaran taliwas sa interes ng bayan. Magkaisa po sana tayo para tuluyan nang maibagsak ang rebimeng ito.*" Several passengers dig into their pockets while the driver gropes for several coins in his box and gives these to her.

Miguel, Johnny and Marie have become familiar sights during demonstrations. Vocal, visible and vibrant, they have been lending their youthful energy and skills to a growing mass movement aimed at toppling the dictatorship. Many of them are students whose concerns started with campus issues. But as the nation's economic and political conditions increasingly turned for the worse, as it did rapidly in the past year, more and more of them have joined the wave of progressive sectors moving as one against the US-Marcos regime.

This semester, an upsurge of mass actions again engulfed youth and student ranks, marking a new high in their sectoral movement. Triggering off the successive protests was the arbitrary increase of tuition fees by school administrators apparently impervious to the impact of the economic crisis on already hard-pressed Filipino households and to a law requiring prior consultation with students and their parents. In almost every university in Metro Manila and some regions, students boycotted their classes and refused to make payments. In a few large universities, students resorted to a higher level of protest action: the barricades.

## Rising tempo of protests

In stormy scenes reminiscent of pre-martial law years, students blocked entrances of campuses with streamers, tables and chairs even as they stayed away from classes. At the University of the Philippines, protesting students were joined by their teachers and by residents in the communi-

ties inside the campus. They also obtained moral support from non-academic personnel and employees. At the University of the East, all branches closed down when students linked up arms and blocked all entrance and exit points. Drawing support from their student populations, the barricades helped to force many school administrations to freeze tuition hikes and grant other student demands.

To further dramatize their opposition to the rising costs of education, the students

mounted rallies a few steps away from the doorstep of the culprit responsible for the deteriorating state of Philippine education. Citing government neglect, misprioritization and subservience to foreign interests, they marched to historic Mendiola bridge near Malacanang Palace from late June to July to make the dictator Marcos accountable for his policies. There, riot police brutally dispersed them with teargas, truncheons and high-pressure water.



Raising high the barricades: UP students block campus entrance with streamers



Rising level of awareness: Linking campus issues to problems of national import

But so popular and so just were the student demands that soon, other sectors picked up the rising tempo of militancy and protest. In fact, the student mass actions served as the catalyst that fired up the broad open mass movement after a brief lull in widespread activity following the May 14 elections. Merging in a united front, students stood shoulder to shoulder with workers, urban poor, professionals and other sectors in multi-sectoral rallies. The rally venues were as diverse as the participants: Mendiola, Liwasang Bonifacio, the US embassy, the Central Bank, the Executive House and in front of police headquarters.

The harassment that hounded the youth in their protest actions have not only served as lessons that raised their awareness from campus issues to problems of national import, but have also served as a link binding them to the plight of other suffering and struggling sectors. Indicating the rising political level of the youth and student movement is the broad range of national issues tackled: the peso devaluation and the onerous impositions of the IMF and World Bank, the increase of oil prices without benefit of public hearings, the continuing low wages of workers despite the soaring cost of living and widespread state terrorism in the cities and countryside.

In all, in a span of four months from June to September, over 60 protest actions swept the youth movement in Metro Manila alone. In some multi-sectoral actions, the youth even took the lead. Displaying perseverance and courage under the most trying conditions of fascist repression, they have proven themselves as a formidable force in the gruelling struggle to topple the dictatorship and usher in major basic changes in Philippine society.

#### A new role

By bringing to the fore key issues of national concern, especially the anti-imperialist struggle, the youth have helped greatly in awakening and stirring up their sector as well as other groups. In this, they play true to their basic orientation as a propaganda movement aimed at raising the political consciousness of the broadest number of people. Recent developments, however, in the youth's lively participation in the intensification of the anti-dictatorship struggle have added a new dimension to the youth and student movement.

"Because of the youth's big contributions to the urban mass struggle, they have come to assume the added function of engaging the regime in political confrontations," said Ruby, a youth activist and organizer, in a LIB interview. "The youth have gone beyond being simply a propaganda movement but an important fighting force as well against the regime. And although the issues concerning a great majority of students are still largely educational in nature, they have now joined the ranks of

workers, peasants and middle forces in a great mass movement that is raining deadly blows upon the regime."

Explaining the rapid burgeoning of the youth movement, Ruby said that instrumental to this is the close attention given to sectoral issues such as high tuition rates, the absence of student councils and publications, inadequate school facilities, low priority for education in the national budget and foreign domination over the edu-



*Mourning the death of democracy*

cational system. By focusing on these issues, the movement has been able to muster the support of the student population and help them delve deeper into the nature of the educational system until they touch the core of the malady: the US-Marcos regime and its subordination of students' and people's rights and welfare to US interests. In a large part, the careful combination of the correct tactics has markedly helped the youth movement surpass its 1981 peak period of mass mobilization.

"We never forget local issues for these boost our mobilization efforts. We always link up school issues to the bigger national problems," said Ruby. "This way, the students are able to trace the root causes of specific issues. They understand better and accept the fact that changes in the educational system can only come about with the overhauling of the basic structures of society." Ruby added, "And this means the dismantling of the present dictatorship."

Mass repression, greater resistance  
The growth and development of the

youth movement, however, has not been brought about without cost. With the heightening of student activism, repression has stepped up. These are only some cases: the murder of a Southwestern University student in the hands of school administration agents, the raid on the office of the UP Baguio student paper, the shooting and stabbing of two student leaders of the Technological Institute of the Philippines during a torch parade last Aug. 28 and the beating up of council officers of the Polytechnic University of the Philippines during one of their boycotts last August. "So repressive is the political atmosphere in many schools that protesting students have to cover their faces to avoid unjust reprisal."

But no matter how intense and brutal the repression, the youth movement has not only continued to survive but has even flourished. A concrete gauge of this is the setting up of many legal organizations and alliances in major areas: Baguio, Nueva Ecija, Bulacan, Bicol, Iloilo, Bacolod, Cebu and Davao. National and sectoral organizations have also been formed for out-of-school youth, women youth, student writers, Muslim youth, Igorot youth and cultural workers. Some progressive organizations that were the target of the regime's ire before martial law have also been reactivated. And this year, marking another high point in the growth of the youth movement, a national center was set up to coordinate the activities of the youth sector.

The rapid expansion and growth of the youth movement, however, are by no means limited to the open mass movement. Providing the strong ideological backbone for this is the underground leading youth organization, the Kabataang Makabayan. The KM, as it is popularly known, was formed in 1964 and was forced to go underground upon the declaration of martial law in September 1972. It is a founding member of the NDF and presently one of its main pillars. According to Ruby, who is a leading KM member, recruitment to the KM has steadily risen and is currently going at the rate of 100 percent per semester. Coupled with the numerical growth of the KM is the qualitative advance of KM members. For instance, Ruby reports that increasingly, mass activists themselves are planning out and developing the course of big sectoral campaigns in their schools, instead of solely relying on senior cadres.

Underscoring this feat, Ruby added, "The growth of an organization should not only be gauged by its expansion. More importantly, the growth and development of an organization should be measured in its capacity to advance the mass movement in general." With its solid and notable contributions to the urban mass movement this past semester, the youth and student movement has proven this true of itself.

Minda Rodrigo

# SPARKS

News about the resistance movement

## SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE HELD

Some 200 delegates, about 50 of them from foreign countries, attended the International Solidarity Week/International Day of Protest from Sept. 9-21. Sponsored by the Ecumenical Partnership for International Concerns, the conference aimed to issue a "unified church response to the struggle of the Filipino people and define specific roles of the church in the people's



ISW participants join Sept. 21 rally

struggle." The delegates later pledged to support the dismantling of the US-Marcos dictatorship to pave the way for the establishment of a truly democratic and nationalist coalition government.

The group also documented cases of human rights violations such as hamleting, torture, salvaging and other crimes committed by government troops in Metro Manila and 16 provinces all over the country. The congress participants agreed to raise this issue before the United Nations in January next year when the body convenes its conference on human rights. Among the countries represented by the delegates were the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Canada, West Germany, Pakistan, The Netherlands, Belgium and the United Kingdom.

## AMATONG AND AGUILAR KILLING DEPLORED

Various organizations including the Nationalist Alliance, CORD, the Free Legal Assistance Group (FLAG), the National Press Club and the United Media in Mindanao condemned the murder of a newspaperman and a human rights lawyer in Dipolog City, northwestern Mindanao, and demanded an immediate and impartial investigation.

Jacobo Amatong, publisher-editor of the opposition weekly *Mindanao Observer* and FLAG lawyer Zorro Aguilar were gunned down by two men on the night of Sept. 20. Aguilar died on the spot, but Amatong was able to identify the killers as military men before he died. Earlier that day, the two had spoken against human rights violations at a rally held in that city. At the time of their deaths, they were also preparing to lead a fact-finding mission to investigate hamleting and salvaging cases in Mindanao.

## GABRIELA HOLDS CONGRESS, CONCERT

Filipino women were urged to participate in political and social action to "free the Filipino people from poverty, political repression and gross violations of human rights." The call was made in a convention held by the General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Leadership and Action (GABRIELA) last Sept. 15 in Makati. The day-long activity was attended by some 250 women delegates from 44 different organizations affiliated with GABRIELA and 30 other invited

groups. Convention speaker and GABRIELA national council member Dr. Mita Pardo de Tavera stressed that women should work for "the salvation of the soul, which also means liberation from want and hunger, defending the abused, standing for the oppressed, exposing the evil in our midst, and denouncing the structures that deprive us of freedom and justice." GABRIELA also sponsored last Sept. 23 a concert called "Patsy Eang Bata Ka!" as part of its campaign to dismantle the Bataan Nuclear Plant.

## JEEPNEY STRIKES PROTEST TAX DECREES

Metro Manila jeepney drivers staged a one-day strike last Sept. 17 to protest Presidential Decrees 1935 and 1950 which increased vehicle license fees and imposed on jeepneys a road user's tax of at least P2,000. The mass action led by the Federation of Jeepney Operators' and Drivers' Association and Pasang Mada, forced Marcos to suspend the effectivity of the decrees. Similar transport strikes which took place in Cebu and Davao City later in the month also led to the exemption of jeepneys and other public utility vehicles from paying the increased registration fees.

## MEDIA PEOPLE CELEBRATE PRESS FREEDOM DAY

The National Press Club (NPC) celebrated Press Freedom Day last Aug. 31 - but it was a celebration of protest against the curtailment of press freedom. The day-long affair included the Press Freedom Tree-planting, a prayer tribute for dead journalists and a program marked by speeches, song and dance numbers, and a skit reenacting the interrogation by the military of several women journalists last year. The day's special guest speaker was detained journalist Satur Ocampo who was on a 12-hour freedom pass from the Bicutan Detention Center. Ocampo, former assistant business editor of the defunct *Manila Times*, has been a political detainee since 1976.

## FRIENDS PAY TRIBUTE TO "EDJOP"

Friends paid tribute to revolutionary leader Edgar "Edjop" M. Jopson in a mass held Sept. 20 at the Ateneo College Chapel in Quezon City. While a leading cadre of the national democratic revolution, Edjop was killed by the military in Davao City on Sept. 20, 1982. He was 34.

In a tribute read during the mass, his personal friend Jose Ma. Sison wrote: "He always had a good heart in favor of the oppressed and exploited people and in favor of national independence and democracy. Despite the relative briefness of his existence, he had already lived a full and meaningful life in the service of the people."

## TEACHERS HOLD MARCH AND TEACH-IN

About 200 public and private schoolteachers marched from the Quezon City Rotonda to Plaza Miranda in Quiapo last Sept. 15 where they held an outdoor teach-in. Calling their activity "Palarang Bayan," the teachers aimed to enlighten the masses on the country's real situation, and to counter the deteriorating quality of traditional classroom education and the suppression of academic freedom and democratic rights. The mentors also clamored for higher wages and denounced the regime's insensitivity to their plight.

## INT'L JOURNALISTS' GROUP DENOUNCE LIBEL SUITS

The New York-based International Committee to Protect Journalists (ICJP) recently issued a demand to Marcos to pressure businessman Eduardo Cojuangco Jr. and AFP Chief of Staff Gen. Fabian Ver into dropping their multi-million peso libel suits against *Panorama* magazine, "in the interest of press freedom and the public's right to be informed." The libel suits were filed over a magazine article by Mauro Avena linking Cojuangco and Ver to the Aquino assassination. The ICJP contended that the murder of Aquino, a major opposition leader, merits importance so that the public has the right to be informed on all aspects related to the event.

# CRACKS

Indicators of the regime's crisis

## INFLATION ON WILD GALLOP



When even tampered government statistics fail to present a heartening picture, times must really be bad. Recently, the regime admitted to an inflation rate of 40.31 percent (actual: about 60 percent) in the first six months of the year, a figure five times the 6.68 percent level recorded in the same period last year. It attributed the mammoth increase to the series of price hikes in basic goods

such as rice, gasoline and other consumer products. The past semester was also characterized by a slowdown in the productivity of several sectors of the economy, particularly manufacturing. Several business establishments, ranging from trading, financing and banking, were shut down and more than 60,000 workers and employees laid off. Bankers believe that the galloping inflation rate is due to the presence of too much money in circulation and too few goods to buy. As the peso's value continues to plunge to heretofore unknown depths, prices of consumer goods and services subsequently increased, they said. Within months, consumers could buy only half of what they used to with their money. And, economists add, the worst is yet to come.

## THE BOP THROUGH ROSE-COLORED LENSES

Believing in the fallacy that a problem postponed is a problem solved, the Central Bank has been turning out unbelievably rosy reports about the country's balance of payments (BOP) condition. By the end of the first semester this year, for example, CB officials audaciously announced a \$70 million BOP surplus. Close scrutiny, however, revealed that the so-called surplus resulted from the months-long moratorium decreed on the payment of foreign exchange obligations and the remittance of foreign divestments. Had the \$192 million in loans due been paid and \$10 million in profit been remitted abroad, the "adjusted BOP" would have registered a \$158 million deficit. The CB has also been touting a \$200-\$300 million BOP surplus for 1984, which would surely be welcome relief for a country with a chronic BOP problem. But there's the rub — \$2-\$3 billion worth of loans due this year must first be rescheduled.

## PRESSURE FLOWS THROUGH 'DIPLOMATIC' CHANNELS

The dictatorship is so beleaguered that it has even been receiving pressure from a most unlikely source — the Marcos cabinet. True to form as the US State Department's spokesman inside the Marcos government, Foreign Affairs Minister Arturo Tolentino once more took potshots at the regime through his tirades against Amendment No. 6. Speaking before the Philippine Association of Multinational Regional Headquarters, Inc. last Sept. 6, Tolentino charged that Amendment No. 6 was a "major hindrance to economic recovery" because it dampens efforts to restore confidence in government and thus deters both local and foreign investors. The foreign minister later repeated this line in other speaking engagements. In these instances, Tolentino's proposal was to repeal the controversial amendment but leave Marcos with "residual powers" to act on emergency cases involving national security when the Batasang Pambansa cannot be immediately convened. Under this proposal, the Batasan will have the right to veto such decrees within 60 days after issuance. The compromise proposal fits snugly

into US designs to divest Marcos of his dictatorial powers but leave him with enough room to maneuver against the growing revolutionary movement in the Philippines. At the same time, it seeks to lend prestige to the Batasan and project it as a credible legislative body with powers to check the executive. The moves are meant to arrest the ruling classes' dissatisfaction with Marcos' monopoly hold on power and what the US sees as a dangerous trend among Filipinos towards loss of confidence in parliamentary politics.

## PUBLIC TAKEN FOR A RIDE OVER LRT

"The impact of the Metro Light Rail Transit (LRT) will be far-reaching indeed," said the dictator as he and his guests proceeded to take their ceremonial ride on it last Sept. 11. Fully agreeing with his assessment are thousands of jeepney drivers faced with the loss of their livelihood once the new transport system becomes operational early next year. No concern over their plight was voiced by the dictator who, by implication, even derided the jeepney as an "unclean, wasteful and inefficient" form of mass transport. Meanwhile, serious doubts over the viability of the



Light Rail Transit: Expensive showcase

three-year project continue to surface. Expected to cost P3.5 billion by the time it is completed at the end of this year, the Light Rail Transit already ranks among the regime's ten most expensive on-going infrastructure ventures. The government is also expected to incur a P1.1 billion deficit over the LRT this year. Once opened, the LRT will require \$20 million in operating costs excluding interest on loans. Moreover, the new transport system will reportedly operate at a loss for at least 18 years. In 1985 alone, the showcase project is expected to incur P1 billion in expenses as against an estimated income of only P320.66 million.

## OUST VIRATA MOVE OUSTED

Oppositionists at the Batasang Pambansa learned another important lesson this month on the futility of parliamentary politics under the Marcos regime. A move to oust Cesar Virata from his post as prime minister was nipped in the bud when the opposition resolution was overtaken by a KBL-sponsored motion expressing confidence in him. Acting in uncharacteristic haste, Marcos' men in the KBL jumped the gun on the opposition's move by gathering 112 signatures from the ruling party, including five from the not-so-independent Caucus of Independents. The oust-Virata motion cited the prime minister's public admission that "many big projects financed or guaranteed by the government had failed because of corruption and the inability of policy makers to assess their future viability at the start." The projects resulted in billions of dollars lost and constituted a major cause of the current economic crisis, Virata acknowledged. By "legal and constitutional implications," the motion then concluded that Virata, as head of the Cabinet which implements Marcos' economically disastrous programs, was responsible for that crisis. But it was a move that was doomed from the start. It needed at least 93 out of the Batasan's total membership of 183 to pass approval. Barely able to muster 60 votes, the motion was promptly thrown into the dustbin of the hopelessly pro-government legislature.



INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

# One in struggle

Peoples of the world mark International Protest Day on Sept. 21

*This Sept. 21, different peoples from various nations joined hands in a circle of friendship that spanned the world. Thousands of miles separated them from each other but distance was no barrier to their shared support and unity for the Filipino people's struggle. In the United States and Canada, in Hongkong and Japan, in New Zealand and Australia, in the various countries of Europe, different peoples stood as one in declaring Sept. 21 — the day of the infamous imposition of martial law in the Philippines — as an International Day of Protest. Their protest actions were as different and varied as their climates, languages and cultural backgrounds but the fervor of their speeches, the color of their activities, the militancy of their slogans seemed cut out from the same bolt of fiery cloth. In this section, LIBERATION takes a look at the protest activities mounted to mark the 12th year of martial law — in the United States and Canada, in Japan, Hongkong and New Zealand, and in The Netherlands.*

## In the Asian arena

Not only in the Philippines was Marcos' 12-year martial rule marked by protest actions. In a display of solidarity, Philippine support groups in Japan, Hongkong and New Zealand launched their own activities opposing the continued reign of terror of the US-Marcos regime.

Invited Filipino mass leaders spoke in a Sept. 21 march-rally in Tokyo, Japan. One of them called on the Japanese people to engage in joint struggles against US imperialism and the Marcos dictatorship. Bannering the theme "Response to the Cry of Liberation," the 350-strong rally was also part of the celebrations for Sept. 21, declared as an International Day of Protest. Solidarity responses were de-

livered by parliamentarians Doi Takako and Takemura Yasoko. The mass action was organized by the Japanese Committee for Philippine Concerns, a coalition of 11 groups which includes the Catholic Justice and Peace Philippines Committee, the Buddhist Alliance for Philippine Concerns, the Pacific Asia Resource Center, the Rodo Joho Labor Information Center, Asia Women's Association and the Afro-Asia People's Solidarity Committee.

Another solidarity rally in the form of a cultural presentation was also held in Tokyo on Sept. 22, this time sponsored by the Movement for Peace and Democracy. Resounding applause greeted a popular Filipino cultural group as they per-

formed to a capacity crowd of 480, among whom were a representative from the Tokyo office of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and Sen. Hideo Den, who gave a solidarity message.

The same Filipino group of 10 artists also drew raves for two other performances on Sept. 23 in Morioka, attended by 270 people, and on Sept. 24 in Sendai, with an audience of 150. Both Morioka and Sendai are in Northern Japan.

In another gesture of solidarity, Kenji Yamamoto of the Philippine-Japan Solidarity Links and who is also an assemblyman from Osaka, Japan, said his country will "continue to work with the Filipino people for the restoration of democracy, indepen-



Harvesting support: Filipino cultural group performing in Japan; upper left corner of p. 13: official logo of International Day of Protest

# On the Ame

At precisely the same time as the military sought to blow the fires out of the hearts of protesters by bursting tear gas bombs and water jets on Mendiola and as Mayon Volcano spewed fire so intense it must have been a gesture of solidarity with an angry people — in North America, Filipinos and their friends were stirring as one.

The week of Sept. 21 turned out to be a long "Week of Protest in Solidarity with the Filipino People." In the United States and Canada, new faces, new associations and new forms of protest — now coalesced on the plazas, halls and streets to underscore the fascist rule of the US-Marcos tandem.

Among university professors, bankers and professionals in Washington D.C.; among nurses, lawyers and other businessmen as well as domestics in New York and New Jersey; among students, employes and medical professionals in Chicago and Minnesota, among thousands of exiles in Los Angeles and San Francisco; among workers, professionals and their friends in Hawaii and as far as Montreal and Toronto, groups thundered the same fiery chant: "Dismantle the US-backed Marcos dictatorship! Support the Filipino people's



Appeal for unity: Nationalist Alliance delegate speaking in a public meeting

dence and freedom in the Philippines."

In Hongkong, Butz Aquino of the August Twenty-One Movement and Nelia Sancho of GABRIELA staged a walk-through for two hours on Sept. 9 at the Status Square in Hongkong Central, a place where Filipino migrant workers congregate on weekends. Making 30 stops during the walk-through, Aquino and Sancho gave short speeches to some 4,000 Filipinos, mostly women domestics. On the same evening, the oppositionists were the main speakers in a symposium sponsored by the Hongkong September Committee for Philippine International Solidarity which drew a crowd of 700.

The Filipino residents in Hongkong responded by clenching their fists and by cheering loudly when Aquino and Sancho called for "true freedom, democracy and justice" in the Philippines.

The walk-through and the public forum were staged in line with the observance of "International Solidarity for the Philippines Week" which culminated on Sept. 21, the 12th anniversary of the declaration of martial law.

To mark the occasion, the Hongkong Committee in Solidarity with the Philippines also issued a position paper expressing their "deep solidarity" with the Filipino people in their struggle for justice, freedom and democracy. The position paper was read at the end of a public forum on the Philippine situation at the Polytechnic University last Sept. 9.

To further isolate the Marcos regime internationally, the ruling New Zealand Labour Party unanimously voted on Sept. 7 to pressure the New Zealand government "to withdraw political and economic support for the Marcos dictatorship and to re-evaluate its aid programme so that aid goes to those most in need." The Labour Party further resolved "that the Labour government review our diplomatic recognition of the present (Philippine) government... and that the Labour government end military and intelligence-gathering ties with the Philippines."

Condemning the US-backed Marcos dictatorship for its "gross violation of human rights and brutal suppression of the Filipino people," the party in effect pledged full support for Filipino "patriotic" groups such as the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy. The New Zealand Labour Party likewise reiterated its recognition of a nation's right to sovereignty without outside interference or control. It also formally thanked Filipino lawyer Alex Padilla who gave an overview of the Philippine situation in the New Zealand Conference on Philippine Concerns held in Wellington on Aug. 24-27. The Conference was participated in by 135 representatives from labor, church, women and political groups which resolved to set up a broad-based national coalition of Philippine support groups with a full-time coordinator in New Zealand.

Angel Nicolas



Festive rally: Filipino groups picket Philippine

# rican front

struggle for freedom and democracy!"

The protests rose to such a pitch that support groups attracted crowds bigger and never before seen indoors or on city streets.

In San Francisco, 150 people picketed in front of the Philippine consulate on Sept. 21. Their streamers, banners, papier-mache figures and slogans echoed the beat, color and militancy of protests in the homeland. The picket was sponsored by the International Movement for a Democratic Philippines (IMDP), Filipino East Bay Network (FEBN), Church Network on the Philippines (CNOP), Philippine Education Support Committee (PESCOM), League of Filipino Students (LFS-USA) and the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship and Philippine Solidarity Network (CAMD/PSN).

In another mass action in San Francisco, 200 people attended a solidarity program where opposition leader and ex-Sen. Jovito Salonga was main speaker. Earlier, 100 people joined a mass for justice and peace.

In Washington D.C., the seat of the Reagan administration, 130 residents held a picket-rally on Sept. 21 in front of the Philippine embassy, sponsored by the Com-

mittee for Philippine Concerns (CPC), Philippine Support Committee (PSC) and Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines (CCHRP). That week, a multi-sectoral crowd of close to 100 attended a protest mass and warmly received ex-Sen. Jose W. Diokno in a series of fora for the Filipino community. A special meeting with World Bank and IMF Filipino employees and secretaries was also held with over a hundred enthusiasts discussing the implications of the IMF-World Bank debt trap and the need for a nationalist role for Filipino professionals based in Washington D.C.

In Los Angeles, an indoor rally featuring guest speaker Senator Diokno was sponsored by the September Twenty-One Committee (STOC), an umbrella organization which includes the Solidarity for Nationalist Alliance (SNA), Alliance for Social Justice and the Movement for a Free Philippines (MFP).

In Chicago, the Philippine Forum of Chicago mounted a picket and cultural presentation on Sept. 21, attended by about 70 people. An ecumenical workshop and mass was also held, the participants mostly Protestant pastors concerned with the Philippine situation. A day later, some 60 people attended a mass for justice and peace.

In New York, no less than 400 attended the launching on Sept. 18 of KAPATID or the Kapisanan ng mga Pilipino sa Amerika Tungo sa Ikatataguyod ng Demokrasya sa Pilipinas, a new mass organization of Filipinos doing support work. Senator Diokno was the main speaker in the forum sponsored by KAPATID as well as the Philippine American Group-Advocates for Social Action (PAG-ASA), the Filipino Lawyers Human Rights Committee and Task Force Nurses Campaign for Involvement. In a separate lunch-forum, participants of last year's International Ecumenical Conference commemorated Sept. 21.

In Minnesota, similar protest activities took place such as the forum series of the Philippine Study Group of Minnesota on Sept. 8 and 20.

The Canadian people also joined hands with Filipinos in an international day of protest against the US-Marcos dictatorship. In Montreal, the Quebec Philippine Solidarity Committee and the Center for Philippine Concerns sponsored a Solidarity Assembly on Sept. 21 attended by over a hundred people. A forum on the persecution of Philippine churches was held in Toronto, participated in by a multi-sectoral but all-Filipino audience of 50. It was sponsored by the Philippine Human Rights Committee (PHRC).

Some Canadian church leaders also ex-



CONCELEBRATED MASS FOR FILIPINO MARTYRS

## Philippine International Solidarity Week

MARKING THE 100th YEAR OF THE 1903 REACTIONS OF MARCOS  
IN THE PHILIPPINES  
A DINNER FORUM WITH  
**JOSE W. DIOKNO**

- Chairman, Civil Liberties League of the Philippines
- Founder & Head, Free Legal Assistance Society
- Ex-Political Detainee
- Former Justice Minister & Senator
- Narrator, 1981 Documentary Film "To Stay the Other Way"



**TUESDAY**  
**SEPT. 18, 1984 6:00 PM**

Posters: Signs of growing US support.

pressed their support for the Filipino people's struggle. In a statement, Bishop Remi Derco of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Victoria, Rev. Donald Anderson of the Canadian Council of Churches, the Most Rev. Robert Smith of the United Church of Canada and Venerable Harry St. C. Hilchey pledged their "continued support and prayers for their (Filipinos') struggle to achieve a society in which democratic freedom, peace and social justice will mark the people's participation in the determination of their own destiny."

The groundswell of protest in North America has been so remarkable in the year that culminated last Sept. 21 that more and more Americans are articulating their respect for the struggle of the Filipino people and echoing their deepest aspirations. As Democrat presidential aspirant Rev. Jesse Jackson said in a statement: "We, the American people, need self-respect. We cannot keep our self-respect embracing dictators like Ferdinand Marcos. We cannot have our dignity when our aid goes to kill Filipinos, when the Filipinos want us out of their political affairs and our bases out of their land."

Surely, the American people's militant actions in support of the Filipino people's struggles are a step forward in gaining that needed self-respect and dignity.

**Ami Alejandro/USA**



consulate in New York City



*Internationale Protestdag: NDF representative Luis Jalandoni thanking Dutch supporters*

## In the European zone

Internationale Protestdag is Dutch for International Protest Day. But the difference in language does not make it lose any of its militancy or bite. In The Netherlands this Sept. 21, Filipinos and Dutch supporters staged mass actions that resounded the same fighting quality of protest activities in other parts of the world against the US-Marcos dictatorship's 12th year of oppressive rule in the Philippines.

In the major city of Utrecht, the Filippijngroep Nederland held a "manifestatie" or demonstration on Sept. 21. Key-note speaker in the outdoor rally was Luis Jalandoni, the international representative of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. In his talk, Jalandoni emphasized the importance of international solidarity in the Filipino people's fight for national liberation. He related the Philippine struggle to the anti-nuclear arms campaign in Europe and to the struggles of the other oppressed peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador and East Timor.

Solidarity messages were given by various Dutch political groups like the Labour Party, PSP, PPR, X-Y and Loson as well as the Filippijngroep chapter in the province of Noord-Brabant.

At the end of the "manifestatie," scores of black balloons were released in the air as a symbol of freedom and to commemorate those who gave up their life for the Philippine revolution.

That evening, a cultural show was held in the main concert hall of Utrecht, attended by about 280 people. For many, the concert, entitled "Filipino Music for Justice and Freedom," was their first close

experience of the Philippine situation. As they tapped their feet to the pulsating beat of revolutionary songs or sighed to the wistful strains of old patriotic songs, they learned much about the deepest aspirations of the Filipino people. As they avidly listened to the dramas and poems and watched slide shows, they learned too about the beauty — and suffering — of a country and its people. A giant mural from the Philippines, portraying the oppression and struggle of the Filipino people, served as a fitting and colorful backdrop to the nightlong activity.

Sponsors of the concert were ALAB (Alay sa Bayan), the Philippine cultural

group in Holland; AIDA (International Association for the Defense of Artists); Filippijngroep Nederland; Filippijngroep Limburg; Twente in Beweging voor de Filippijnen and VV Utrecht. ALAB also performed native dances from Kalinga, Bontoc and Ifugao. Two invited Filipino singers infused greater meaning, vigor and color to the concert, making it truly an evening to remember.

Fired up by the enthusiasm of the audience, the concert organizers plan to hold the same show in Amsterdam and other cities in Holland this October. Meantime, the Dutch section of AIDA has started a campaign for oppressed Filipino artists like Karl Gaspar, a church worker arrested in Mindanao in March 1983 and still presently detained. AIDA plans to publish the works of Filipino artists in cooperation with other organizations.

Prior to this, in Limberg, Belgium, the Steunfonds Filippijnen sponsored an information campaign on Sept. 9 and a solidarity evening on Sept. 15. About 500 attended the solidarity evening.

The efforts of these organizations are closely linked to the ongoing campaigns of other solidarity groups in Europe and elsewhere in the world. Protest postcards, posters and stickers printed with anti-militarization slogans, petition letters and, of course, the ubiquitous rallies, are only some of their mass activities. "Our task is to make people more aware of the Philippine situation," said a Filippijngroep member. "This is our contribution to the Filipino people's struggle."

In turn, the continuing struggles of the Filipino people to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship is their main contribution to the worldwide struggle against the international system of US imperialism — which, in any other language, stands as the principal barrier to peace in the world.

Leon Fortaleza



*Swedish support group stages skit in front of Philippine embassy in Stockholm*



# Paeans to the peasants

Book review of *Magsasaka: Ang Bayaning Di Kilala*, 1984, 169 pages

The task of regaining the freedom of creative expression and communication must be viewed as a process of development through time. A society whose culture has been rendered neurotic by colonization, enslaved by feudalism and poverty, and prostituted by crass materialism and wanton commercialism must rediscover the philosophy and techniques of art and literature in its own forms and traditions and must adopt influences that strengthen them to liberate itself and attain progress. *Magsasaka: Ang Bayaning Di Kilala* published by the Kilusan sa Paglililalang ng Rebolusyonaryong Panitikan at Sining sa Kanayunan (Pilipinas: Palimbagang Anakpawis, 1984, 169 pp.) serves as a monumental evidence of recognition that artistic and literary progress is a process that requires not merely participation but the leadership and deep involvement of the masses in shaping their own art and literature.

*Magsasaka* documents and mirrors the present struggle of development that cultural work in the national democratic movement has achieved toward liberating the people's consciousness from the clutches of obscurantism and decadence fostered by the present order.

That the existing popular art and literary forms should be studied, enriched and utilized to embody and propagate nationalist ideas, scientific and pro-people culture and knowledge, and discipline in the struggle has long been realized by the movement. Since the early '70s, cultural workers committed to the people's cause have researched and experimented collectively and individually on popular forms not only to popularize liberative ideas but also to raise cultural standards, the popular taste and the people's consciousness.

After 13 years, the endeavor shows inspiring fruits collected in this milestone of a book. Learning from the crudities, vulgarities, mechanical and trite formulations in the early stages of development, the editors of the anthology reveal that rectification is in order. The works included in *Magsasaka* reflect the general positive attitude now toward struggling with the finer, almost illusive nuances of experiences and reality, with the rigors and demands of perfecting the craft, with the masterly employ of language and form, all aimed at attaining an effective and powerful art. Despite limitations and difficulties, such an attitude that should be internalized by every artist in the struggle promises the honing of sensibility and talent, accuracy in balancing content and form, and the flowering of art and literature into a higher level of



*A monumental tribute to the peasantry*

dialectics.

The book as a medium depicts through poetry, narrative fiction (short story), song and visual art the life, experiences and struggles of the peasantry, the largest oppressed sector in Philippine society. As a creative medium, it drives home an equally important message: the need for unity. Unity not only of the peasantry, which is an explicit theme in the pieces included in the collection, but of the artists in the dif-

ferent art forms and media of communication, and of the different languages in the country. The poet, storyteller, performer (as in "Manahimik o Mag-aklas: Isang Balagtas"), songwriter and singer, and cartoonist and visual artist are seen and heard working together in this volume. And they come from many regions, towns and cities, from Luzon to Mindanao; they use their own language with pride: Kapampangan, Visayan, Ilokano, Waray, Pilipino. And they harness the oral traditions (*balagtas*, *tulang pambigkasan*, *kanta*) of their communities, adopt techniques from the print media (editorial cartoon, poster design, cover design, comics) and thus widen the range and possibilities in the creative field. And working as one, the artists transcend individualism — an artist's nom de guerre or pseudonym or even anonymity becomes a testimony of selflessness in the midst of a communal creative revolutionary activity.

A people's art and literature viewed in this way cannot but give growth to a revolutionary spirit. For growth then derives from a rich source: not only in the unique and diverse experiences of the people but also in their cultural legacy. Images and symbols (such as the rat symbolizing the enemy in a *Taliba ng Bayan* cartoon), humor, comic and heroic tones of poetry, simple and straightforward or witty or even languid and mellifluous language found in narrative folk traditions offer a wealth of possibilities waiting to be harnessed by the sensitive and innovative artist.

On the other hand, models in print, especially those that flourished during the era of the propaganda movements against

## EXCERPTS

(From the short story "Tsakpoynt")

Nagmumura si Nana Pacing sa daan hanggang makarating sila sa bang bahay na tinutuluyan ng mga kasama.

"Ay, kadia, nakita nila ang mga gamot sa bahol ko!"

"Ano kaya ang pinakaligtas na paman?" ang nabababalang tanong ng mga kasama. "Kailangang malipat natin sa kabila ang mga gamot at kasangkapan para mula doon ay mapadala ang mga ito sa kampo sa bundok."

"Kami ang magdadala!"

Naginginan ang lahat kay Violy.

"Kasi," ang paliwanag ni Violy, "ang matatanda lang ang ini-imbitiga sa tsakpoynt, ang mga bata, hindi. Tulad namin, araw-araw kaming dumadaan sa tsakpoynt, pero hindi niririkian ng mga sundalo ang dala-dala namin."

"Pero paano ninyo madadala ang mga gamot, e, wala kayong bag?"

"Isusuksok namin sa pantil!"

Nagtawanan ang lahat. Pero tama si Violy.

Sa gitna ng luntiang bukid, makikitang gumagaygay,  
Nakasumbrerong balangot, datna't panawan ng araw;  
Sa pagganap sa gawai'y susugod siyang walang humpay,  
Dili iba't magsasakang tunay na kahambal-hambal.

Araro ang gintong plumang sa lupa'y isinusulat,  
Bawat salitang matitik sa pinitak ang sambulat;  
Bawat butil nitong pawis na sa kanya nagbubuhat  
Ay kabuhayan ng bayang sa kamay rin nag-uugat.

Martir nitong pagbabata, kapurit ma'y walang sawa,  
Kahit batbat ang katawan sa halas at alipunga;  
Di pa rin masasagaan sa matapat niyang panata,  
Lumikha ng kabuhayan nang may makain ang madla.

Yaong kanyang katawa'y huwaran ng kasipegan,  
Siya ay si Juan de la Cruz sa tunay na kahulugan;  
Di pa man buwang-liwayway, hindi na siya magigigianan,  
Naroon na sa gawain hanggang hapon ay dumatal.

Memek ang turing sa kanya, pagkataso ay mababa,  
Busbos na'y alipin pa sapagkat siya'y maralita;  
Ngunit kung alam lang nila'ng halaga ng magsasaka,  
Kung hindi siya nagpapagal, buong mundo'y maglulutas.

Pinaghiitan ng sayo, ligaya at kabihasanan  
Sa karangyan siya'y hubad, ulita sa kaluwagan;  
Ngunit sa kanyang tungkulin sa baya'y di siya naglakulang,  
Pany-pany, walang kupas lumikha ng kayamanan.

Minakatnan ng pagkain, di siya ibig mabala,  
D'on sa sulok ng pilapil, sa ibabaw ng karata;  
Aain lang ang kanyang ulam, langit ay di siya alala,  
Kalunos-lunos ang pobre sa palad na sinapit niya.

Pinuhunan ng dugo, pag anihan ay sumapit,  
Susuiputan ng patubo, talinduwa, pandaragit;  
Ang asenderong masiba'y mananakim, mangangabig,  
Sa dakong hull'y utang lang ang parti niyang makakamit.

Pagkatapos ay uwi ang pobre sa kanyang bahay,  
Ang naghihintay niyang anak di maibili ng tinapay;  
Tatanungin ng asawa: "Asawa ko, ba't mapanglaw?"  
Anyo: "Walang angking swerte, ang parti ko'y bayad-utang."

Dibdib ng asawa't anak ibig-ibig nang mawasak,  
Di nila namamalayang lula niya'y agad papatak;  
Sino kaya, akong bayan, ang dito'y di maliyak?  
Nagpapagal ang siyang wala, limatik ang tumitipek.

O kawawang magsasaka, kaysaktap ng kapalaran,  
Kung hindi sa 'yo, gabyerno ay hindi maipupunder;  
Hindi talos ng makwartang pag-aaring kinakamal,  
Dangal at kapangyariha'y sa pawis mo bumubukal.

Ngalan mo'y ikinutubli, di ibig ipakilala,  
Kapangyarihan mong taglay at papel mo sa historya;  
Ayaw ka nilang mamulat, hindi gustong matuto ka,  
Upang sa habang panahon ay aliping linlang nila.

Anong laking sakripisyo ang sa 'yo'y pinapasan,  
Pagsunod, kulunga't bugbog ng pasista'y naranasan,  
Silang itim ang kalul'wang laban sa kapayapaan,  
Sila ang mga Lusiper nitong lupang tinubuan.

Dahil dito, makibaka sa taksil na kaypalalo,  
Dahil dito, ang magandang kabuhayan ay itayo;  
Kaya, bayan, ukitin mo nitong balang kumukulo,  
Ang ngalan ng magsasaka, ang bayaning hindi tanto.

Makatang Magsasaka sa Pampanga

BAKIR\*

Bitak-bitak ang tigang na lupa  
Sa tag-araw. Siksik na sa ani  
Ang bodega ng panginoong maylupa,  
Ang kabang-yaman ng usurero.  
May naisasasing pa ang mahirap  
Na magsasaka. Sa makitid na pilapil,  
Tumitikom ang mga dahon ng makahiya,  
Masaling lang, ngunit ang kanyang  
Mga tinik ay patalim na nakaumang.  
Kaylawak ng bukirin, ng perang.  
Sino ang makapegasabing  
Ang lupang hinawet binungkal  
Ng libu-libong anakpawis  
Sa kung ilang salinlahi'y  
Pag-ari lamang ng ilang nilalang?  
Patalim na nakaumang  
Ang mga tinik na bakal  
Ng naghaharing uri.  
Hinahasa ng matinding sikat  
Ng araw ang bawat dahon ng talahib,  
Kumikinang ang ilog  
Sa tama ng liwanag.  
Lumelangitngit ang kawayan  
Sa bugso ng hangin. Tahimik  
Ang mga dampo. May impit na daing  
Sa langitngit ng sahig, sa legasias  
Ng tubig sa batalan. Isang ama,  
Ina, anak o kapatid ang nawawala.  
May bangkay na namang lulutang  
Sa ilog, mangangamoy  
Sa gubat, o mabubulok  
Sa bilangguan. Umasbot  
Hanggang langit ang ungol  
Ng dalamhati, ng sigaw  
Ng paghihimagsik. Ang daang  
Paakyat sa bundok ay pinatag  
Ng mga paany nasanay kumapit  
Kahit kapisasong lupe't  
Batong nakausli. Nagtatayugan  
Ang mga puno. Sa pagitan  
Ng mga sanga'y may matiglang kampany  
Ng bagwis. Sa ilalim ng mga daho'y  
May himig ng isang malayang  
Awit. Nagpupulong ang mga api.

Kristri  
Gattaran, Cagayan  
1981

\*Bakir -- (Ilokano) Forest

Spain in the 1890s and the United States since the 1900s, give interesting insights on the use of short tales such as the *sugilanon* of Vicente Soto ("Palamunin" and "Ang Matanda" are reminiscent of these) and the *dagli* or satire in *El Renacimiento* or *Lipang Kalabaw* or even in the writings of Marcelo del Pilar. Sophisticated techniques such as the flashback (such is used in "Palamunin"), multiple points of view, stream of consciousness, etc. have been

found to be effective in the stories written during the First Quarter Storm such as those collected in *Sigwa* in 1972. Plays and songs produced and popularized during the Hukbalahap days and the FQS period are replete with lessons for those who create *kundiman*, marches, or even pop songs for present needs. Even the art and literature that sprung from the hotbed of people's liberation movements in other Third World countries and protest move-

ments in advanced societies will yield positive influences for the visual and literary artist.

*Magsasaka* points to this direction: the continuing education and struggle of the people's artist that can be found in every true and freedom-loving Filipino. The next volume that belongs to this orientation will mark a higher level of achievement.

Juan Augusto

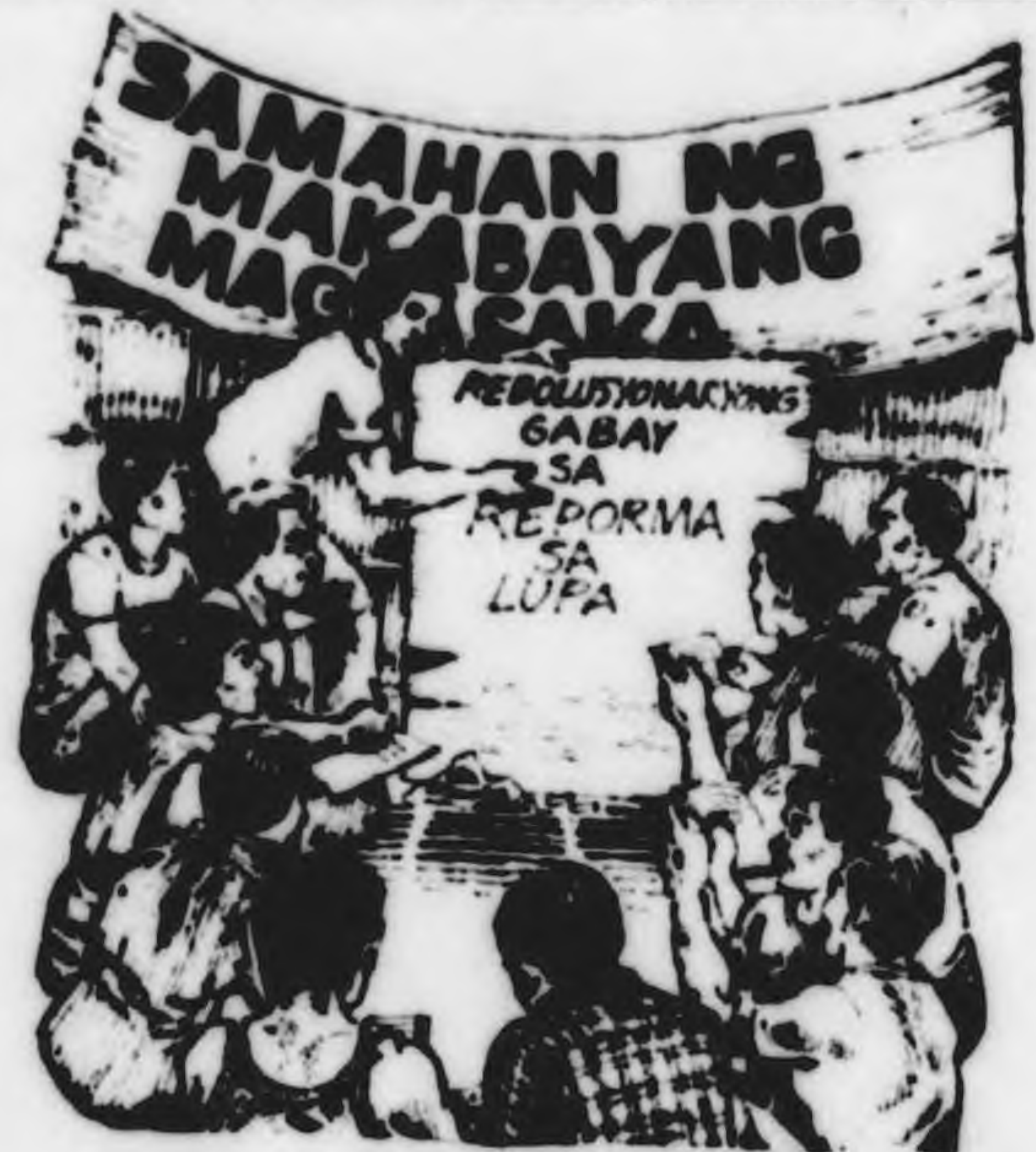
# Illustrations on peasant issues



From *TALIBA NG BAYAN* (Manila-Rizal), May 15, 1974.

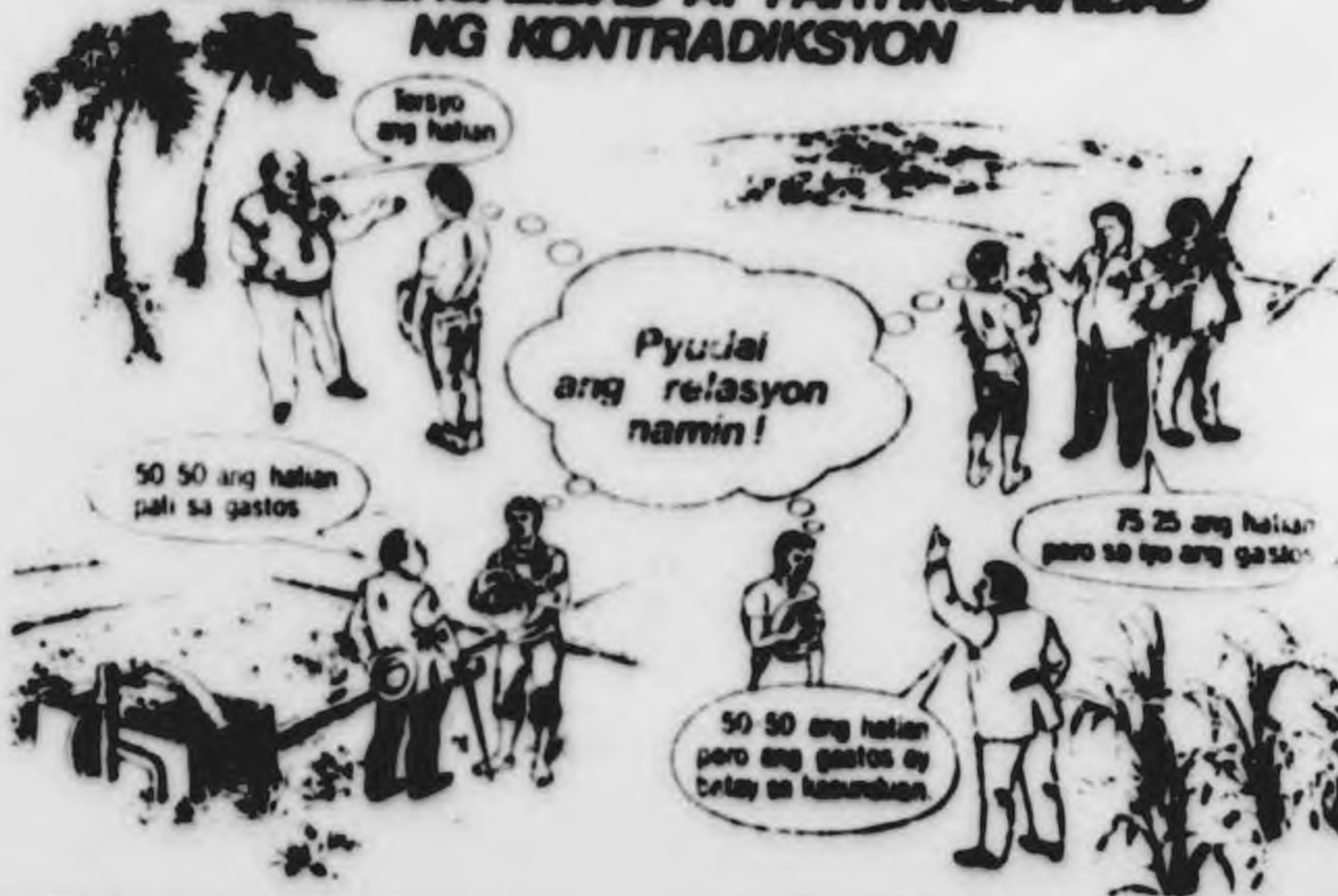


From the story "Kumprontasyon," *ULOS*, No. 1, January 1982.



From an illustration, *Maikling Kurso Tungkol sa Magsasaka*, Commission on Education and Propaganda, September 1981.

## UNIBERSALIDAD AT PARTIKULARIDAD NG KONTRADIKSYON



## UNIBERSALIDAD AT PARTIKULARIDAD NG KONTRADIKSYON

From an illustration, *The long Biswal Para sa Bata yang Kurso ng Partido*, 1981.

# THE ONE PAGE SICK OF THE TIMES

VOLUME 4 NO. 1 ★ SEPTEMBER 1984 ★ ★ ★ ★ NON-FICTION HUMOR ★ ★ FREE

## 90% of Manilans are subversive! - Imelda

Metro Manila Governess Imelda Marcos yesterday ordered the Ministry of Public Works to erect prison walls around Metro Manila following her discovery that 90 percent of its inhabitants are subversives. Imelda's directive came in the wake of a metro-wide survey which revealed that no one in the City of Man likes her. As everybody knows, failure to love the First Family is an offense punishable by death under PD No. 2121. The decree's first victim was the popular Ninoy Aquino who was executed pending trial.

In a related development, Ferdinand Marcos issued LOI No. 1010 renaming Metro Manila as the National Penitentiary. Marcos appointed Nemesio Yabut as the City Warden. Yabut's first task will be to win some affection for the Marcoses by bribing the masses with free rice, sugar and sardines which a known Marcos crony has hoarded. Already, giant posters of Imelda have been set up along the major thoroughfares of the capital. Yabut promised to give P50 to any citizen who can kiss the First Lady's picture without puking. As of press time, Yabut has reportedly given P50,000,000 to himself. He is presently confined at the Makati Medical Center for sore lips.

.....  
The Supreme Court today affirmed the death sentence imposed on Rolando Galman by the Regional Trial Court of Manila. In sustaining the conviction, the court chastised the corpse for failing to live up to his agreement with Gen. Fabian Ver. Ver sued Galman for breach of contract and was awarded P110 million in damages.

On the same day, the High Court acquitted a Constabulary sergeant who went on a rampage and killed

### Ang inumin ng tunay na assassin!



30 people including his own father and mother. Stressing the compassionate nature of the New Republic, Chief Justice Enrique Fernando stated that the Court decided to acquit the poor chap since he was now an orphan.

.....  
An angry crowd lynched to death an unidentified middle-aged man who shot at the First Lady. The assailant, who came within four feet of Imelda Marcos, fired six shots. Asked why they ganged up on the assassin, a member of the mob shouted: "Because the sonava-gun missed! ! !"