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**Build the
Provisional Revolutionary Government!**



EDITORIAL

The audacity of it all

Build the Provisional Revolutionary Government! The call has been sounded to respond to the urgent historical imperative of establishing now the formal structures that will reflect, and propel forward, the deep-going changes in our society.

Never in Philippine history has such a government existed. The Spanish colonialists barged upon a loose network of clans and easily harnessed the traditional rulers (except in the Moro areas) into a regime that institutionalized the power of foreign and domestic oppressors for over three hundred years. The First Philippine Republic, brought into being by the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino masses against Spanish colonialism, was undermined and betrayed by the spineless upper classes which had seized the fledgling state power for themselves. These same reactionary classes then rushed to place themselves at the beck and call of US imperialism, whose interests they have been zealously protecting to this day. After EDSA in February 1986, many were those who ingenuously hoped that "people power" would finally put an end to foreign and elite monopoly over the state; but it still was not a popular revolution, and soon enough, that hope went up in a cloud of foul-smelling smoke.

Through the centuries, the masses of ordinary Filipinos have been governed from above, forced to submit to the rule of their exploiters and oppressors. Indeed, they have incessantly revolted, but their level of political consciousness and organization so far has not been sufficient to topple the long-existing order and create a radically new and democratic one.

As we take upon ourselves today the task of building the Provisional Revolutionary Government, we are doing so in the awareness that the Filipino people are taking a giant step to assert their right to a government that will truly be theirs by its origin, its objectives and policies, and its answerability only to them.

The reactionaries laughed at first: "What, the *wa-ay sapatos, kukulu-kulo ang tiyan*, have the nerve to think of taking over the government! (How do you suppose they will talk with the American ambassador?)" Then they stopped laughing, and now it's "total war."

Even the masses, those of them who have not yet thrown off the ideological shackles that chain them to the reactionary classes, can only shake their heads in despair.

But the revolutionary people are taking the lead, showing the way for their class brothers and sisters out of their fear and desperation. With the Provisional Revolutionary Government vigorously springing up at the grassroots,

they demonstrate that the unthinkable is not only desirable, but practicable.

Here where the future has unassumingly begun, the people are deciding the course of their lives: what to do with the land, how to manage their scarce resources, who is to lead them.

It is a Government that is being built literally through the efforts of millions of people, struggling for the last two decades to acquire the organized strength that will challenge and finally overcome the puppet fascist state. So many of us have died, hundreds of thousands have been driven out of their homes, imprisoned and tortured; we have made mistakes sometimes, retreated sometimes. The enemy has rained bombs on our areas and laid numerous traps. It has slandered and reviled us.

Yet the national-democratic revolution has forged steadily ahead. Through the years it has drawn ever more workers, peasants, young people, intellectuals and nationalists into its ranks. The revolution has awakened and developed the strength of the basic masses, and expanded the horizon of the middle classes. It has opened up new and mutually supportive relationships between them — with a bias, of course, towards enhancing the interests of the overwhelming majority of the disadvantaged, but beneficial also for the interests of their long-term allies, the middle classes.

As the Provisional Revolutionary Government grows upwards from the localities, it should be able, more and more, to express and develop these new social relationships in economic, political and cultural programs of quasi-governmental action. Those of us who are working among the middle classes have the particular task of channeling the aptitudes and skills that the latter possess in support of these programs. The revolution must turn the backward areas of the countryside into advanced models of people-based development.

Defending and nurturing the Provisional Revolutionary Government wherever it is being set up will be a constant necessity, and this requires building up the people's army as well as the revolutionary mass organizations. It also means mobilizing the moral, political and material support, at higher levels than before, of people in the urban areas and also abroad.

With our eyes wide open, we are making a bold leap into the future. To the extent that we have assiduously attended to the fundamentals of arousing, mobilizing and organizing the masses of the people, the sooner shall history vindicate the audacity of the move.

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The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDF) serves as the organizational framework and channel for the unity, cooperation and coordination of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces in the Philippines and for promoting national and solidarity groups abroad. It was established by the Revolutionary Commission for the National Democratic Front on April 24, 1973. LAM-1988-01-02

COVER STORIES

On today's significant issues and events

Rising from the ashes of war

Provisional Revolutionary Government flourishes in towns of Northern Luzon



Defending the Provisional Revolutionary Government: Militia members of San Felipe with home-made rifles

San Felipe is a cluster of three barrios deep in the Cordilleras. Around it are softly rolling hills, countless rivulets and the vague outlines of the great mountain range.

To get to San Felipe, one must hike three hours from the nearest town, or ride a motorized banca for at least two hours. But we were told that people no longer leave San Felipe, especially through the nearest way out.

The target of periodic and massive counter-insurgency operations, the people of San Felipe are too terrified to leave the valley. Since 1981, a total blockade has been imposed on San Felipe by a ring of military detachments set up in all surrounding towns. For the past seven years, the entry of food, fuel, soap and other basic goods has been forbidden by the military.

It took us days to reach the valley ourselves. From afar, we could see a thoroughly green expanse of fields. There was a cluster of nipa and wooden houses at the far west, but the town center of San Felipe was clearly deserted.

We went through rows and rows of empty houses. Although some structures still stood proudly, most had been ravaged by the elements. There were signs that this had been once a prosperous valley — the big rice granaries, the orchards, plus remains of what was once a public market. There

was also a drugstore, a school and a barrio hall which were now being devoured by weeds.

Our guide told us that the people of San Felipe had fled towards the interior barrios. There, they had sought security in the formidable fortress of the mountains.

But life in the interior has not been easy. While counter-insurgency operations are underway, peasants plow their fields at night and engage the enemy at daytime. For days, while aerial bombings shake the earth, the people hide in caves, their teeth clenched on pieces of wood to keep their ears from bleeding. For weeks, the people of San Felipe would alternately be fighting or hiding, farming or storing food.

As we approached a thick cluster of trees at the foot of a hill, barefoot peasants walked towards us, bearing the crudely made coffin of a dead 10-year-old girl. The men's faces were clearly in anguish, but they spoke calmly: "She died yesterday of malaria."

In San Felipe, nine out of 10 people are afflicted with malaria. Even the 15-man council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) could seldom sit en banc because one or two members would suffer from malarial attacks at one time or another.

The inadequacy of food and water

supplies has not only made the people, especially the children, more susceptible to malaria; it has also slowed down production. Many times, a field is left unplowed and crops remain unharvested because of a malaria epidemic.

The war has also obliterated what little formal education was available. When San Felipe became no man's land, teachers from the town centers simply stopped coming. "It was bad enough that 80% of the people here could neither read nor write," said Leda, an NDF cadre who has spent two years in the region. "Now it's worse."

New hopes

But despite the seemingly dismal situation, there was hope in San Felipe. Amid the ravages of war, the people have set up the municipal level Provisional Revolutionary Government and are building a new future for themselves. Prior to this, the National Democratic Front (NDF) — its organizations and forces — had set up committees in four barrios of San Felipe to administer defense, justice, livelihood, agriculture, health and educational projects. The Barrio Revolutionary Committee emerged in 1985, the result of efforts begun as early as 1980.

"Everyone in San Felipe — men, women and youth — became members of the Grupong Magsasaka (GM) in his purok," Ka Jun, the mayor of San Fe-



"Pulong-pulong:" Barriofolk gather to plan community projects

lpe told us.

Small and tanned Ka Jun, also the chairman of the PRG's 15-man council, explained, "The GMs are the basic units of the NDF committees at the barrio level. In San Felipe, it is these NDF committees that are taking the lead in building up the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Early last year, representatives from the NDF barrio committees convened a congress from which 15 officials were elected as municipal council officers."

It is the task of the PRG to draw up a program for all three barrios, supervise its implementation and formulate ordinances and laws. So far, it has passed ordinances regulating the branding of carabaos and identifying which areas could be opened for kai-

ngin farms. The PRG works through four committees: education, health, livelihood and defense. "All of them are important to us," said Jun. "But livelihood and defense are the basics."

Drive for self-sufficiency

San Felipe has more than enough resources to feed its people. The usual crops are rice and corn, fruits and vegetables. The rivers yield fresh-water fish, shrimps and crabs which are prime sources of protein. In the rainy season, river frogs can be gathered right from the rain-fed fields.

The PRG's committee on agriculture believes it can harness these resources despite the war. But also because of it, San Felipe is compelled to make its people self-sufficient in food,

and to increase their capacity to support the New People's Army.

As soon as the PRG was convened last year, it drew up modest plans for San Felipe. Since then, the programs have reached various stages of development.

In the more hilly terrain of San Felipe, people have begun to cultivate root crops such as *ube* and *tuge*. These tubers have never been the town's favorites, but since they require minimal care, they serve as "survival crops" in times of prolonged military campaigns and could sustain the community for weeks.

And yet, there have been no plans to limit production of staple crops such as rice and corn. In fact, since the PRG began its self-sufficiency drive, at least eight hectares more of San Felipe's land have been cultivated, to expand production of rice, corn and sugarcane. The PRG has also procured improved varieties of rice seedlings for distribution to farmers and is upgrading farm implements. In some sections of the territory, some peasants have also begun to cultivate coffee.

More significant are the development of fishponds, the improvement of livestock raising and the introduction of protein-source crops such as legumes. In all these programs, the PRG has sought to elicit the widest participation of the people.

For example, every family in San Felipe contributed at least one chicken each for the communal poultry farm. The communal fishponds were a product of the collective efforts of San Felipe's children, who catch the fry

from the shallow rivers. "It's just a game to them, but we give them five centavos for every piece of tilapia fry they catch, as an incentive," said Leda.

The fact that the people were organized helped ensure the programs' success, said the mayor. For example, when the PRG started to train the peasants in crash seminars, there were some surprises. "There were many practices that did not sit well with sound agricultural methods and we expected a lot of resistance. But instead, the farmers were enthusiastic to learn," he said.

Their being organized also made it easier for the PRG to ad-



"Appro-tech:" NPA and militia make fire suppressors from indigenous materials

minister the experimental communal farms, which total 14 in San Felipe. Here, farmers not only farm collectively, but receive on-the-job training on farming techniques and experiment with innovations.

There is also a program to improve farm technology. Many farmers in San Felipe still rely on the carabao for plowing, but much of the land has also been cleared with the help of bulldozers and tractors confiscated from the logging companies.

Another of San Felipe's innovations — and attractions — is its unique and indigenous irrigation system. Cool, clear water flows abundantly from the mountains of the Cordilleras, and down in the valley, this is diverted into the fields through canals and bamboo pipes. The same system delivers water to homes, although people have been used to fetching water from the fresh brooks and streams that abound in the valley.

On quiet days, San Felipe's people could afford to draw up big plans. During our visit, a turbine was being constructed in San Felipe to supply the area with electricity.

"We believe we can also go into food processing and preservation, especially of coconut and sugarcane," said Leda. "Stockpiling is one major concern here because of the long-term military operations."

"We believe that except for salt, we could actually produce everything here. But it would still be better if we could circumvent the blockade somehow and get items like soap, for instance, from the outside."

The Committee on Livelihood and the Economy also manages the consumer cooperatives that make soap, cooking oil, kerosene and matches for prices affordable to everyone. It also

runs the lone ricemill, which is jointly owned by a private corporation of seven farmers, the PRG and the Pambansang Katipunan ng mga Magbubukid (PKM). The corporation keeps half of the profits, while the other 50% is split between the PRG and the farmers' organization.

As to ownership of the land, anyone can clear up a patch in San Felipe and keep it, as long as he is able to till it apart from the communal farms. There remain small landlords within the territory, who are advised to lease their lands to farm workers to make them productive. Under this arrange-

ment, three-fourths of the produce goes to the tiller and the rest is kept by the landlord. The rental ceases when the owner is fully compensated.

The PRG's goal is to improve on the current situation, where food production in San Felipe is still deficient, and where there is little surplus to sell to its principal buyer — the NPA — much less to neighboring barrios.

Defense and the militia

But the task of building up the people's political power through the PRGs is being systematically subverted by the enemy's relentless counter-insur-



Revelry in San Felipe: Young and old folk dance the "tadok"

Disco dancing in San Felipe

There are several problems and a lot of work to do in San Felipe. But despite all that, the people here have found time to dance, mostly disco dancing. On quiet days, they like to hold dances. On special days, they like to hold dances. ...



Preserving food for emergencies

gency drives. The defense of the people's revolutionary gains was thus a top priority.

We were able to witness San Felipe's defense machinery in action when Ka Derek, the town's tall and youthful commander whom we endearingly called "governor," came to us one early morning. The tall guerrilla let his M16 rest on the stairs, brushed off his sweat, and took a long puff on his cigarette. Coolly, he said: "We have word that the enemy is coming."

There was nothing definite yet about the number of enemy troops nor the pace of their movement. That morning, however, the whole town was put on alert.

On their own, members of the people's militia converged at the station. The men, all past 40, had golden brown skin, broken teeth, soulful eyes and wrinkled faces. There were two who were not yet 20, and they were with the NPA.

Slumped on the grass or on pieces of wood beneath the raised bamboo floors of an empty house, they mapped out a strategy. When the meeting was over, the men went to business: three or four teams gathered bamboo poles which they sharpened into spears of different sizes. The men put up the booby traps — called *bala-is* and *palab-og* — all around the valley: underground, along trails, behind bushes, trees and even in ricefields. Derek said their objective was not so much to kill enemy troops, as to immobilize and demoralize them with fear.

Women and children meanwhile hauled hundreds of sacks of rice, canned goods, fuel, some cattle and other vital supplies in storage caves. During long-drawn enemy offensives, Derek said, San Felipe's food supplies can last for weeks.



Living and loving despite the war

Before the day was over, everyone had been organized into sniping teams, blocking teams and coordinating teams.

During the night, the militia patrolled at the outskirts of the town in shifts. The whole of San Felipe was ready for combat. In case the enemy came with a squadron of warplanes, each family was ready to stake it out inside the caves.

Derek said the people have "no illusions" that San Felipe is impenetrable. But experience has built up their confidence. There were times when large-scale operations, complete

with air strikes and ground assaults, engaged San Felipe for as long as three days. "They only wasted a lot of shells. How could mortars hit us?" Derek asked. The last time enemy troops tried to enter San Felipe, at least 10 soldiers were killed by the booby traps and in the militia's sniping operations.

"The air support lifted the enemy's morale substantially. But the people's evident support for the revolutionary forces, as well as hunger, fear of booby traps and our unknown positions, pulled enemy morale down again," said Derek.

Other programs

When not engaged in war or production, the people of San Felipe are into building infrastructure, or are engaged in educational or leisurely pursuits. We witnessed a small medical clinic, a poultry farm and a ricemill being built in San Felipe — all of them in strategic locations where bomber planes could not detect them.

The PRG's Health Committee said that all its health services are given for free. The services come in the form of acupuncture, acupressure, surgical operations, consultation, dental treatment and check-ups. Medicines, herbal and pharmaceutical, are also given for free. San Felipe's barefoot doctors, called *medik* by the masses, are known to be among the best in the NDF territories. Honed by years of practice, they are capable of performing successful operations despite their lack of formal training.

The PRG has never run out of ideas. Next in its agenda are the building of a safe water system and the improvement of toilet facilities. Leda, who attended a Manila university herself, said the people are doing well on their own, but would need a lot of technical advice. In this regard, the

PRG in San Felipe has aired an appeal to revolutionary sectoral mass organizations to send doctors, engineers, agricultural specialists and teachers to their municipality.

The people of San Felipe have grown accustomed to the war. Because of it, they have learned to fight; and despite it they have learned to live and to look forward to better tomorrows. "Someday," said a peasant wistfully as he stared into space, "the fighting will be over."

Pen Guerrero



Fashioning the deadly bala-is: Immobilizing and demoralizing the enemy

MAINSTREAM

Developments in the people's movements

Reaching out to the masses

NDF scores series of breakthroughs in revolutionary propaganda

The broadcaster's voice was at times barely audible above the hiss of static. But not even that could distract listeners who tuned in for a rare treat. It was 9 p.m. of January 30. From a clandestine radio station somewhere in Metro Manila, a male broadcaster announced, "Ito ang Radyo Sierra Madre, ang Tinig ng Malayang Pilipinas." (This is Radio Sierra Madre, the Voice of a Free Philippines) For the third time since December 26 last year, the NDF was on the air. The second broadcast took place in Southern Tagalog last December 27.

In its third broadcast heard over 106.5 on the FM band, Radio Sierra Madre announced that an amnesty program was being implemented by the Alex Boncayao Brigade. The amnesty program does not cover policemen with blood-debts and those active in counter-insurgency programs and criminal syndicates. Also featured was an interview with NPA chief of staff Fidel Alinea. Citing advances in the armed struggle, Alinea said the NPA has confiscated many high-powered firearms, including M16s and bazookas in its tactical operations against the AFP.

But it is not only in Metro Manila where the NDF has endeavored to reach the Filipino masses through the airwaves. In summer of 1987, Radio Madia-as, the voice of the revolutionary movement in Panay, made its first broadcast from a makeshift radio station in the countryside. Named after one of the highest peaks in Panay, Radio Madia-as' test broadcast was heard in several upland barrios of the island.

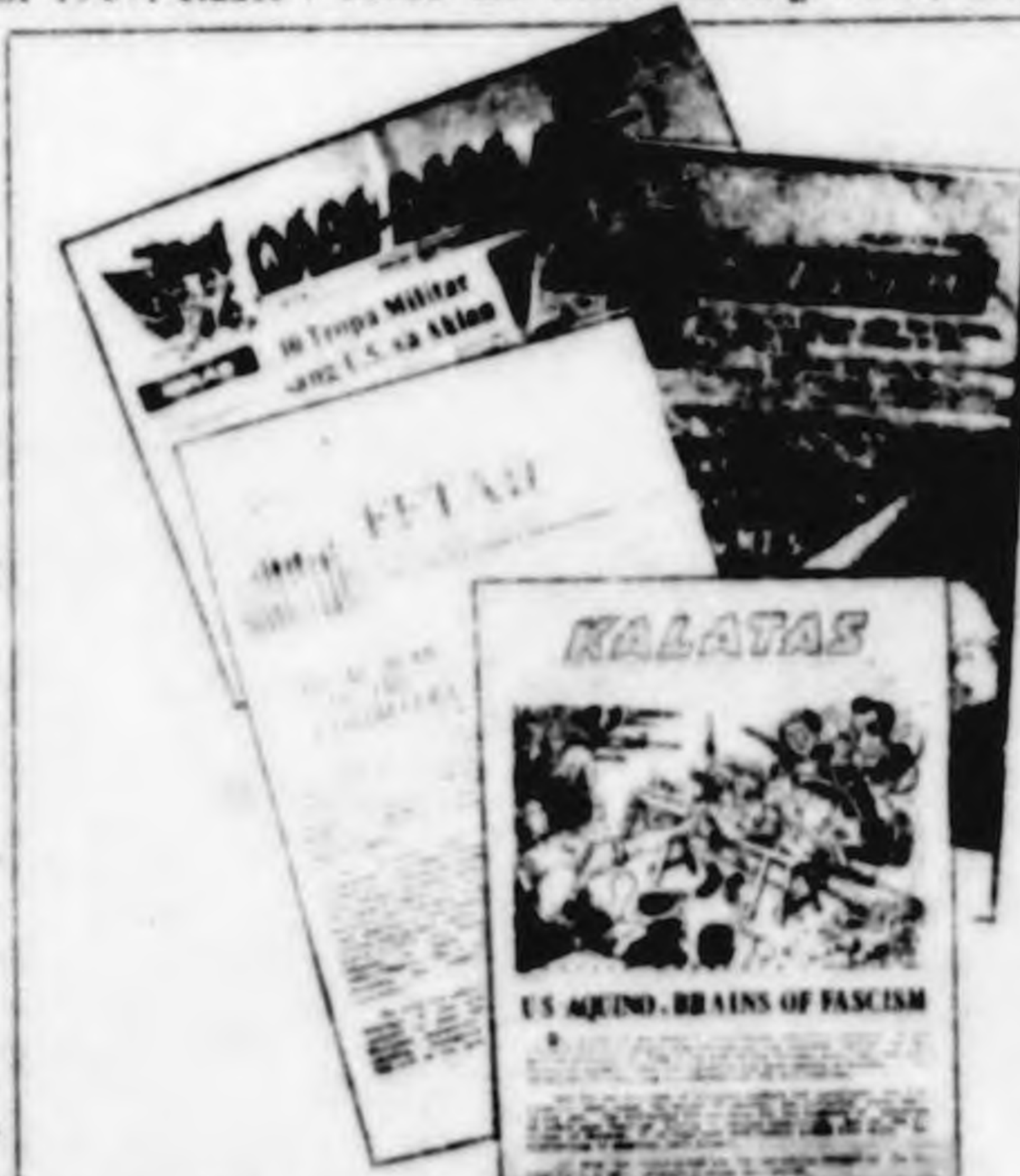
Meanwhile, taped messages from the NDF and the CPP-NPA are also frequently aired over local radio programs in Bicol, Mindanao and Samar.

Other breakthroughs in propaganda work have also been achieved by various regions and sec-



Shifting from mimeo to offset

tors. The NDF in Cagayan-Apayao now publishes two revolutionary mass newspapers: *Nalabaga a Gerilya* (Red Fighter) which comes out in English and Ilocano; and *Baringkuas* (Struggle). The Cordillera People's Democratic Front, on the other hand, came out with the maiden issue of its newsletter *Fetad* (Igorot word for "people's war") this January. Late last year, the NDF in Mindanao likewise published the maiden issue of its English-language mass paper, *Struggle Mindanao*. Said *LIB* in a congratulatory message, "*Struggle Mindanao* comes at a time when our propaganda needs are overwhelming. Now, more



New publications from regions and sectoral groups

than ever, we are compelled to explain the justness of the armed struggle, to show the gains made by the NDF to advance our people's interests, to lay down our vision of a humane society and to expose a government that preaches peace but brandishes the sword of war. While the space for our propaganda has narrowed down (in the open), *Struggle Mindanao* not only exists, but moves forward in struggle." In the same period, the NDF in Northern Samar also came out with its first issue of *Banawag* (Waray for "sun rays"). The CNL in Cebu has also published *Adamah* (Hebrew word for "red earth"). *Kalatas*, the revolutionary mass paper in Southern Luzon, has likewise come out with a quarterly English edition.

While new revolutionary publications are coming out, established regional and sectoral mass newspapers are also shifting from their old reliable mimeographing machines to offset printing presses. Numbered are the days when committed and enterprising propagandists would put out underground newsletters through the *hagod* or V-type method. Today, such papers as *Daba-Daba* (Flame) of Panay, *Pakikbisog* (Struggle) of Cebu and *Pilipinas* of the Christians for National Liberation (CNL) are printed in offset and have taken on a newer, more sophisticated look. The CNL's magazine-style publication even has a glossy front cover in duotone. Already, the propaganda staffs of other regions are studying ways by which they could set up their own clandestine, mobile radio stations or shift to more modern printing methods. From Manila to the farthest reaches of the countryside, revolutionary propaganda work is getting more and more to be a multimedia effort. ■

ERRATA

Contrary to what was printed in newspapers the day after the third broadcast of Radio Sierra Madre, it is the AFP and *not* the NPA that now has 83 battalions.

In page 7 of *LIB*'s December issue, a photo of Lupao peasants was mistakenly identified as being part of the *LIBPHOTOS* collection. *LIB* regrets the error.

Three decades of struggle

A fiftyish Batangueno recounts his days as Huk member, HMB guerrilla and NPA fighter

He is an old man with shocking white hair, fiery eyes and a soft Batangueno accent. Still agile despite his age, his physique is that of a farmer used to working hard in the fields. He is Mang Tibo, ex-Huk, ex-HMB and now an NPA guerrilla.

"Mahigit tatlong dekada na akong nakikidigma," said Mang Tibo. He was barely 12 when he joined the Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon (HUKBALAHAP) in 1943. Born into a poor peasant family, he joined the Huks because he believed in their promise of land and liberation. As a boy-guerrilla, he stole Japanese rifles for the Huks and also bought ammunition from Japanese soldiers.

The Huks were folk heroes back then, he said. Mang Tibo's unit, however, was under the command of an American officer who was safely esconced somewhere in Batangas while they, the guerrillas, carried out orders to strike at the enemy. When the Japanese were defeated, the Huk fighters naturally expected some "victory" paycheck. "Akala namin, pera na ang 'victory,'" he joked. Alas, the Laurels of Batangas staged their chameleon-like change of political colors as swiftly as the Japanese ran, and signed up their relatives as "guerrillas," upstaging the real ones. Mang Tibo and his group were denied their backpay. Betrayed and helpless, they couldn't but hold on to their guns. For this, they were shot at by American and PC troops.

Hounded as a fugitive, Mang Tibo made a momentous decision. He joined the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (HMB or People's Liberation Army) which vowed to carry on the revolutionary struggle after efforts at

parliamentary struggle proved futile. For Mang Tibo, a poor farmer with dreams of improving his lot in life, what else could he have done? "Pakikidigma," he said with affection. "Kahit wala ang Amerikano, talo pa rin ang Hapon," he said. They had almost won the war and the land. But now, he had to go on fighting.

But Mang Tibo's stint with the HMB was instead instructive on how



Mang Tibo: Old fighter with new weapons

not to wage revolution. "Luis Taruc, the Huk Supremo, had other things in mind. He and his small clique of adventurers were contemplating victory within two years' time," he said. "Tuwing labanan, naliwan din sa kampo ang mga lider namin, at kami ang nasusubong sa gyera."

Political work was relegated to the

background. Mang Tibo admitted involvement in numerous HMB excesses including executions of suspected criminals without revolutionary due process. Back then, all a barrio captain or resident had to do was point out bad elements in the community, "tapos, dadalhin lang namin sa tabi at babanatan na. Wala nang imbestigasyon. Wala na ring ibang pagpapaliwanag sa masa." The HMB fighters ended up being isolated from the masses. Eventually, it was Taruc himself who turned them in.

Mang Tibo, along with hundreds of HMB captives, was tried, convicted and sentenced to six years imprisonment at the Muntinlupa penitentiary. One good thing resulted from his incarceration, though. Mang Tibo and the others learned how to read and write. "But we had to learn our *abakada* in secret," he said, "for fear of being accused of studying Communist doctrines."

Serving out his entire term, Mang Tibo migrated to Quezon province in 1962, made part of its hinterland productive, married and sired nine children.

By the early '70s, comrades from the newly revived and consolidated Communist Party started paying their respects to the old fighter. Nilo Tayag tried and failed to win him back. But the old man had learned his lesson. He decided to wait it out.

For a full decade and a half, Mang Tibo watched his beloved *hukbong bayan*, now the New People's Army (NPA), grow into a real fighting force and build its reputation of a real people's army. Nowadays, "may kakayanan sa pamumunong pampulitika at pangmilitar ang mga lider. At hindi lang sila naliwan sa kampo na tulad ng dati. Kasama namin silang lumalaban."

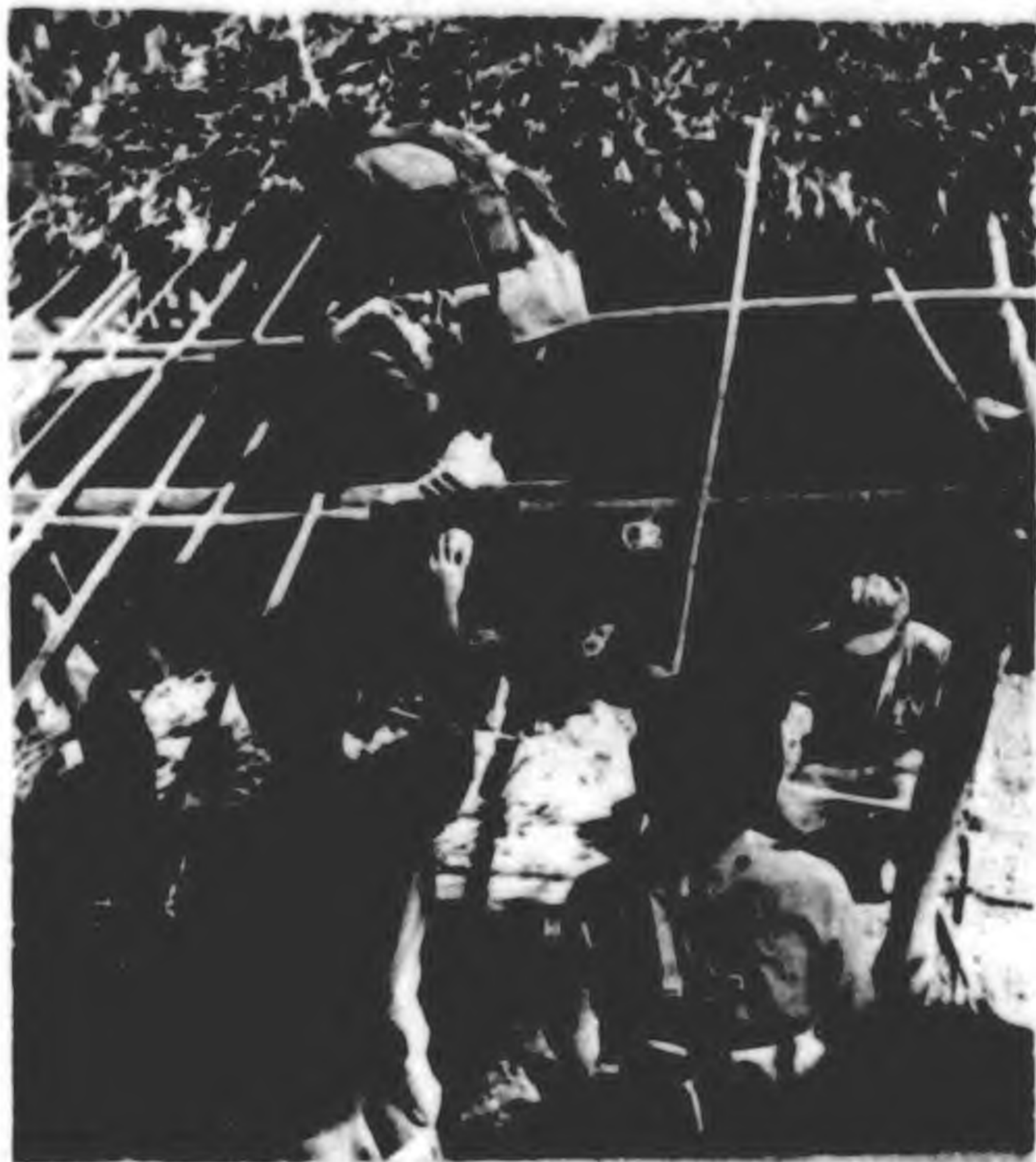
Investigations are also held before a man who has been accused of a crime is arrested. "Ngayon, mayroon na ring paglilitis." Thinking of how totally different it was a lifetime ago, he would nearly be moved to tears.

Has age overcome the stubborn Red fighter? No, he says with confidence. "Dito ako nadapa't bumangon, dito ko na rin sasalubungin ang pagsikat ng bagong araw ng kalayaan. Bakit pa ako hihinto?"

In mid-1985, he rejoined the *hukbong bayan* as a combatant. He was then 53 years old, with greying hair, fire in his eyes and a kind of determination one senses only by the way he cuddles his M16. ■

SPARKS

Newsbriefs about people's struggles



Red fighters rebuilding storm-damaged house

NPA LAUNCHES SOCIO-CIVIC PROGRAM IN BICOL

The NPA-Bicol launched in December a rehabilitation program to help the victims of typhoon "Sisang." "Sisang," which battered the Bicol region that month, destroyed millions of pesos worth of property and claimed the lives of almost 1,000 people. The NPA's program was undertaken during the nine-day unilateral ceasefire declared by the NDF-Bicol last December. Red fighters and NDF forces put up a fund — material and monetary — to be shared with the masses; built huts for the calamity victims; extended medical services and gave medicines to the masses; and helped in the cultivation of farms.

According to reports, the revolutionary movement in Bicol allotted 20 to 30% of its budget to finance the rehabilitation program. It also confiscated property and products—especially those being used for military campaigns—from big landlords, the local reactionary government and the latter's agents and distributed these among the people.

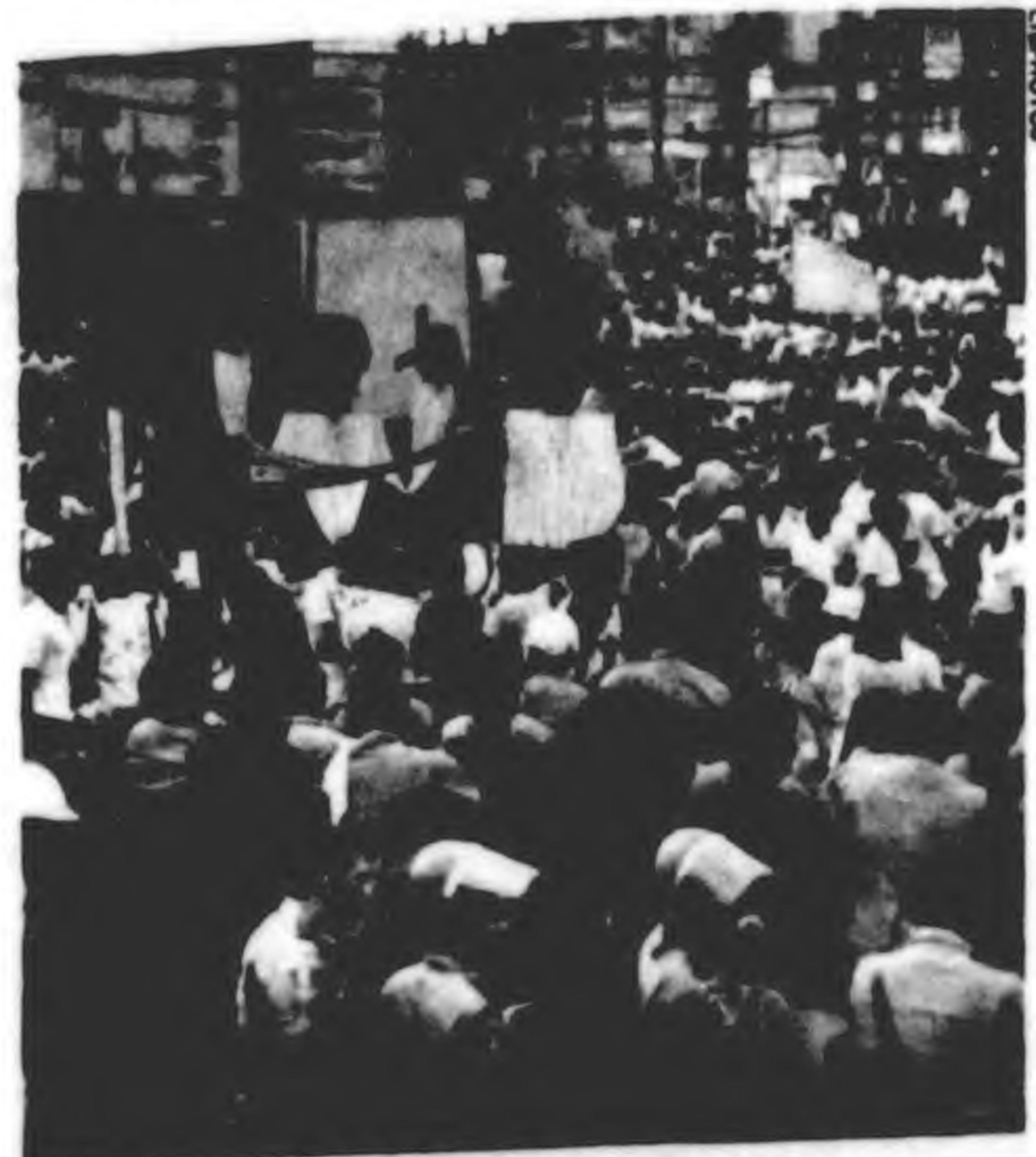
COMMISSION EXPOSES HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

Numerous cases of "serious and unjustifiable human rights violations" have been perpetrated in the Philippines, said the Asian Human Rights Commission in a news conference held last Jan. 30. The Commission, which was composed of nine members invited by the United Council of Churches in the Philippines, spent 12 days visiting the Bicol region, Mindoro island, Cebu, Iloilo, Cotabato and Mindanao to survey the real situation of human rights in the country. Jane Kelsey, a New Zealand lawyer who led the group, said that "the situation now is as bad as, if not worse than, during the time of (ousted President) Marcos because in Marcos' time there were no bombings of villages or killings by vigilante groups." The Commission also said it was "deeply disturbed" by a recent statement of Aquino, brushing aside reports of human rights violations.

KGM HOLDS SECOND NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Katipunan ng mga Gurong Makabayan (KGM) held its Second National Congress in the last week of December. The three-day congress, held somewhere in Luzon, was attended by representatives of regional and provincial teachers' revolutionary organizations. They discussed and approved the by-laws and adopted the revised General Program, KGM's Program for Philippine Education, Organizing Guide and the KGM Activist Training and Development Guide.

The Congress participants also drafted a two-year program that focuses on the continued building-up of KGM as a national revolutionary political center for teachers and the implementation of the organization's Program for Philippine Education. The delegates likewise elected new members into the National Council and the Executive Committee and swore in honorary members from different countries who have supported the program of KGM and the NDF.



Peasant protest: Denouncing deaths and fake land reform

MENDIOLA MASSACRE COMMEMORATED

The Kilusan ng Magbubukid sa Pilipinas (KMP) held a rally last January 22 to commemorate the 1987 "Mendiola Massacre" where 18 demonstrators were murdered by police and military forces. More than 7,000 rallyists, mostly peasants who came all the way from Central Luzon, Southern Tagalog and Rizal, gathered at the foot of Mendiola Bridge to denounce the government's land reform program. Saying that the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program signed by Aquino was meant to deceive the farmers, KMP chairman Jaime Tadeo said that the rallyists' presence in Manila "will be the last for they (the peasants) will go back to the countryside and implement a genuine land reform."

Calling it "people-power land reform," Tadeo said this would include taking over idle, sequestered or "crony" lands. The rally culminated a four-day protest which included the filing of a P7-million civil suit by the heirs and victims of the Mendiola Massacre against the government and 24 ranking military and police officers.

"Daybreak in my homeland"

Revolutionary front al-Fatah leads national liberation struggle in Palestine

"O homeland!
We were born and raised in your wound,
And ate the fruit of your trees,
To witness the birth of your daybreak."
- Mahmud Darwish

Even her poets grieved over this ravished land called Palestine. A narrow strip of fertile hills and valleys bounded on the north by Lebanon, on the northeast by Syria, on the west by Jordan, on the southwest by Egypt and on the northwest by the Mediterranean Sea, it has for decades been the scene of bitter fighting.

For centuries, Jews, Christians and Muslims co-existed in Palestine and shared the bounty of the land. But by the early 1900s, the British imperialists, along with their French and American counterparts, conspired to divide and redivide among themselves the Middle East, which was fast becoming the world's chief source of cheap and plentiful petroleum.

To secure a foothold in the region, they accommodated the Zionists' demand for a "purely Jewish state" in Palestine. The Zionists were thereafter allowed by their colonial benefactors to control immigration and settlement in Palestine and drive Palestinian Arabs away from their land and employment.

By 1947, Palestine was partitioned by the British. By 1948, the state of Israel was imposed upon the Palestinian people. Zionist occupation forces launched a systematic campaign of destruction, laying to waste entire Palestinian villages, blowing up houses and massacring Palestinians to pressure them to leave their homeland.

Amid these conditions, underground armed and unarmed Palestinian resistance groups multiplied. The leading Palestinian organizations then advocated Arab nationalism and the development of an Arab armed forces to liberate Palestine from Israel's colonial clutches.

The birth of al-Fatah

In 1955, various resistance groups in the Gaza strip decided to form a united front movement to spearhead the Palestinian struggle. It was called the National Unity Front al-Fatah and led by the founders of the Palestinian Students Federation, Yasser Arafat, Abu Iyyad and Farouk Kaddoumi.

The al-Fatah blazed a new trail in the Palestinian struggle by upholding

the line that only through the formation of a separate and independent armed Palestinian resistance movement could Palestine be freed from Israeli occupation and the Arab masses won over to its struggle.

Al-Fatah argued that the division of the Arab world into East and West and the effects of colonial spheres of influence in the Middle East prevented the Arab countries from working out a solid, unified armed opposition to Israeli occupation in the region.



Palestine: Strife-torn land

In addition, al-Fatah played a leading role in organizing not only students but also engineers, doctors and above all, workers, into the Palestinian underground resistance. It initiated the setting up of Palestinian workers' clubs in the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria and Switzerland, aside from underground cells of students and teachers in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States.

The breakup of the United Arab Republic and the rift between Egypt and Syria in 1961 as well as the continuing lack of a strong and united response of Arab countries to Israeli aggression, such as diversion of Jordan waters into Israel, increasingly dispelled the earlier skepticism and doubts regarding an independent Palestinian armed struggle.

In June 1964, the First Palestinian National Council met to found the Palestinian Liberation Organization, ratify a Palestinian National Charter and form a Palestinian Liberation Army.

However, the overwhelming majority of its delegates belonged to the traditional elite while only a few representatives of farmers', workers', students' and women's organizations attended the gathering. Guerrilla organizations were not admitted.

The PLO then had been convened at the initiative of the Arab heads of state, particularly Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, and had been controlled by them during its first few years.

However, the Palestinian traditional elite was unable to cope with the challenges of a war of national liberation. In the meantime, with a few leftover arms from the 1956 war with Israel, and a few more purchased rifles, the al-Fatah began its military operations on December 31, 1964, and up to 1967 conducted more than 200 raids and ambushes. By then, the Arab nationalists led by Dr. George Habash, who subsequently formed the Popular Front, the second largest resistance organization after al-Fatah, had been won over to the al-Fatah belief in the need for an independent armed Palestinian movement. Al-Fatah had been vindicated.

In 1968, the Palestinian National Council reconvened, but this time with the great majority of delegates coming from the armed resistance organizations and the mass organizations. In the elections that took place during the congress, al-Fatah won about a third of the seats. In 1969, Yasser Arafat, one of al-Fatah's leaders, was elected head of the executive committee of the PLO.

Rethinking its strategy

In 1973, after years of continuing victories in armed resistance, the outbreak of war between Egypt and Israel in 1973 led to another watershed in the Palestinian struggle, in which al-Fatah once more played a critical role. The military exploits of Israel during this war pushed the Arab countries to organize an oil boycott and among others, press the Western countries for recognition of the Palestinian people's national right to self-determination. The diplomacy that the PLO undertook with a wide section of the international community led to serious rethinking and debate within the PLO regarding its strategy.

Prior to and during the 1974 PLO Congress, al-Fatah and the Democratic

Front, another armed resistance organization, took up the position that the PLO should fight first for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in any occupied territory vacated by Israel. The other groups within the PLO initially argued the opposite view, that either a Palestinian state is established over all Palestinian territories, or no Palestinian state is established at all.

After much heated discussion, the Congress delegates arrived at a unified position supported by the great majority, affirming the revised strategy proposed by al-Fatah and other resistance groups. This strategy soon led to successive triumphs of the PLO in the diplomatic field. Since then, the PLO has been recognized by the majority — 135 — of member-states of the United Nations. In addition, it has been grant-



Palestinian protester arrested

ed full membership in the Non-Aligned Movement and Arab League, observer status in the UN General Assembly and full membership in all UN sub-organizations.

The overwhelming clamor of the Palestinian people for an independent Palestinian state in any Palestinian territory — especially in the West Bank and Gaza strip — as shown by the recent protest actions in the occupied territories, reflect the correctness of this revised strategy first advanced by among others, the al-Fatah.

Today, 33 years after its founding, the al-Fatah continues to be the largest Palestinian resistance organization. The continuing historical movement of the Palestinian people towards national liberation indicates that the al-Fatah shall continue to play a brilliant and exemplary role in the Palestinian epic. One day, the poets of this land will stop grieving, and sing of their people "eating of the fruits (of the) trees (of Palestine, and witnessing) the birth of daybreak (in their homeland)." Isabel Cruz



Israeli police forces: Enforcing Zionist occupation of Palestinian territories

NDF supports Palestinian protests

Following is the National Democratic Front's statement of support for the Palestinian people's relentless protest actions which have been rocking the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip since the third week of December.

The National Democratic Front salutes the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) for their six weeks of valiant and resolute mass actions for an independent Palestinian state. At the same time, it condemns the Israeli occupation forces which have been carrying out fascist attacks against Palestinian protest actions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The longest-sustained wave of protests in the face of the extremely brutal measures by the Israeli government highlights the steadfastness and courage of the Palestinian people in their 70 years of epic struggle for Palestinian self-determination and a Palestinian homeland. The murder of 38 Palestinian demonstrators, the wounding by gunfire and beatings of hundreds of others, the arrest of thousands for trial in Israeli military courts and the deportation of four Palestinians have failed to dampen the resolve of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian struggle has incited similar demonstrations among Israeli Arabs and non-Arabs in Bethlehem and Jerusalem in solidarity with the Palestinian protests in the occupied territories. It has induced as well the refusal of various units of the Israeli military to be deployed against the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The violent repression of Palestinian protesters has so incensed the international community that even the US was forced to go along with a UN Security Council resolution against Israeli actions.

However, the US continues to back Israel in blocking efforts to achieve a political settlement of the Palestinian question which would involve the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Earlier last December, the US together with Israel and Honduras voted against the proposal in the United Nations to convene an international conference on the Middle East as a means of settling the Palestinian question and other issues in the region. While the US and Israeli governments continue to disregard the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, their hopes to bypass the PLO are being dashed as the Palestinian protesters continue to display PLO flags in defiance of Israeli laws.

In backing up the Israeli Zionists to the hilt, the US imperialists seek to control the entire Middle East and keep the Arab states divided by exploiting the conflicts in the region, including the Iran-Iraq war.

We express our firmest solidarity with the Palestinian people and their leader, the PLO, against the futile efforts of US imperialism and Zionism to crush the Palestinian resistance movement. We stand shoulder to shoulder with them in their struggle to establish an independent Palestinian state in Palestine and to attain national liberation. ■

TRIBUTE

Life and struggles of revolutionary martyrs

A Cordillera son comes home

Wright Molintas Jr. (March 14, 1963 - July 6, 1987)

In the following tribute to Ka Chadli, the LIB staff pieced together the inspiring accounts told by his comrades and countless friends — and how he was loved by the people whose lives he touched:

On July 6, 1987, Ka Chadli (Wright Molintas Jr.), a young cadre of the Cordillera People's Democratic Front (CPDF), was killed by government troops in Bagulin, La Union. He was unarmed and travelling incognito, tasked to do research and pre-organizing work in the area.

Ka Chadli, 24, was shot in the back when two squads of PC troops chanced upon him along a footpath in Barrio Cardis. The soldiers also arrested the two men walking alongside him. His companions were ordered to strap the dying Chadli to a pole and carry him on the way to the Bagulin municipal hall where, witnesses said, the soldiers dumped his body.

Son of the government provincial treasurer, Molintas hailed from an illustrious family in Benguet. During his wake, local officials led by then Benguet Gov. Bantas Suanding, a relative, paid their respects to the slain guerrilla leader.

His comrades also came to honor the brave warrior they dearly called Ka Chadli. Deep in the night, two jeeploads of unarmed CPDF cadres slipped into the church. They draped his coffin with a bright red flag bearing a large yellow sun pierced by eight spears, the CPDF symbol.

Ka Chadli's death was mourned all over and beyond the Cordillera. But this grief is one that yields boundless hope and inner strength. It leaves behind the fondest memories of a revolutionary martyr, a hero of the Cordillera people's struggle.

We remember Ka Chadli, the tall, cheerful and youthful guerrilla spokesperson who wore a black baseball cap during the CPDF Congress in Sagada, in January 1987.

We remember how he delivered his speech with fiery eloquence in front of an open-air stage draped with a just as fiery CPDF flag. It was peace talks season. In that first-ever congress held in the open, the revolutionary forces among the Kaigorotan villagefolk gathered at the Sagada plaza for a day-long program, where Ka Chadli was a member of the presiding panel. But that was not the first time we met Ka Chadli.

He was among the spokespersons in an earlier Cordillera press conference, held one late night in December 1986.



Ka Chadli's flag-draped casket

In light moments during that night, he talked genially with a newsman whom he had met back in his university years. "Ano'ng pangalan mo rito?" the newsman asked this long-time friend who had gone to the hills. Chadli simply smiled. During the press conference proper, he introduced himself using his ethnic name, "Ka Chadli, an Ibaloi native, representing the CPDF Guerrilla Force."

Ka Chadli was mainly based in the Cordillera guerrilla fronts since 1981, after he quit school and gave up the comforts of a middle class life, choosing to serve and share his life with the minority peoples from whom he traced his roots.

He left behind a young wife, who shared and pursues the same commitment to the Kaigorotan struggle, and a new-born child he never got to see.

Coming home

Wright Molintas Jr. entered college in 1979. Keenly interested in military work, he could have been a student of the Philippine Military Academy (PMA), having taken and passed its entrance exam. He opted to take up Geo-

detic Engineering at the University of the Philippines.

In school, he joined a fraternity which ushered in his exposure to the nationalist and democratic movement. Fraternity brods remember him as an intent, dedicated and hardworking student activist but one who always had a bright disposition. Likewise, he loved poring over books on political theories and examining concrete situations.

Molintas joined the underground in 1980. At the outset, he envisioned himself as part of the struggle in the Cordillera countryside, and had a special interest in military tasks. This perspective was actualized in 1981; a Cordillera son had come home.

Born and bred in the city, he passionately fostered his indigenous roots. Both of his parents come from distinguished Ibaloi clans in Benguet, very much attached to the native culture and their people. When the past government built the Ambuklao Dam, their clans and the whole tribe were uprooted and dispersed across different parts of the Cordilleras. Molintas had the chance to renew links with his relatives, this time, as an NPA cadre.

In his family's hometown, Bokod, the old people speak of him in awe, telling stories they had heard about his military exploits. "He had brains. His family had enough money to give him a good education. He could have made it big in the world. But he gave all this up, and chose to live the difficult life of an NPA guerrilla," they say of the young man whom they knew as Junior, "anak ti Molintas."

He was Ka Chadli to his comrades, although he had many names in the underground movement. He lives forever as Ka Chadli to the minority peoples all over the Cordilleras — from Kalinga to Benguet to as far as Nueva Vizcaya. For his revolutionary work and leadership, his name came to be revered in many guerrilla fronts in the area.

A cheerful and friendly comrade, as he will always be remembered, Ka Chadli was one who had countless stories to tell and always a willing mood for community singing and *patong*. This easy-going style went well with a serious and maturing mind tempered in armed struggle.

He rose from the ranks since 1981, when he was first deployed in the Cordilleras. Chadli started off as a political

officer for one guerrilla squad, and later assumed district and front level tasks until he was elected Regional Committee member and spokesperson of the Cordillera Guerrilla Force.

Comrade and leader

In the same breath as Chadli evolved into a comprehensive cadre, the CPDF and its guerrilla force were achieving significant breakthroughs. He accomplished, in 1984, a social investigation task in the Nueva Vizcaya-Ifugao-Benguet hinterlands and, together with a group of cadres, summed up the experience of applying a distinct line to the Kaigorotan political economy. On this basis, the germ for CPDF-building evolved.

Chadli was a hardworking organizer of the barrio people into CPDF chapters. Through this painstaking mass work among the minorities in the area, various combat support units were formed. These units gave direct support to the war effort in terms of food, logistics, intelligence work and others.

As he closely worked with them, Chadli grew closer to the hearts of the masses of minorities. At a time when a serious illness afflicted him, they cared for him. Local officials in the area donated medicine. The village folk brought him all the way to the CPDF base area.

Chadli was a comrade who could always boost the morale and fighting spirit of the revolutionary forces and the barrio people in the Cordilleras, and his comrades as well. With concern, he attended to comrades' political or personal problems, big or small.

Those who had the chance to work with him, albeit briefly, attest that he was a natural leader.

"What impressed us most when we first met Ka Chadli was his skill in synthesis," remembers a group of documentary filmmakers who once covered the Cordillera guerrilla fronts. Admiringly, they speak of his flair "in ordering ideas that had hitherto been scattered; in organizing activities such that they assumed meaningful direction; in giving structured expression to what would otherwise be a shapeless putting-together of human experiences."

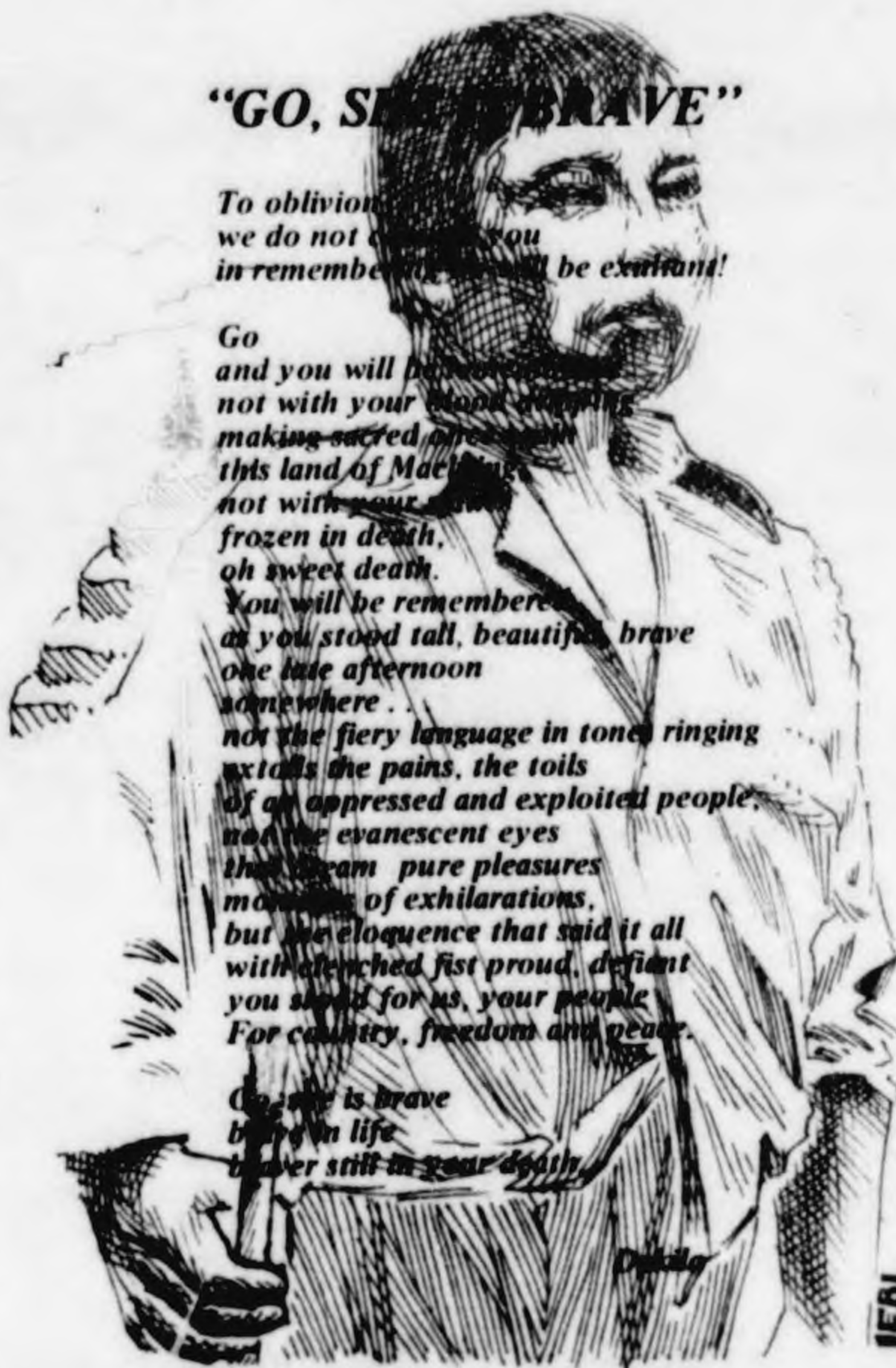
In the same manner, he too excelled as a propagandist. When the camera started to roll, Chadli was consistently coherent and totally animated as he spoke about the current status and role of guerrilla fighters in Igorot society. The crowd who had listened to him, one time or another, will always remember the firm voice and the wit that always marked the speeches he delivered.

"GO, SHED YOUR BRAVE"

To oblivion you will go
we do not care how you
in-remembering you will be exultant!

Go
and you will be remembered
not with your blood
making sacred ones
this land of Maezang
not with your
frozen in death,
oh sweet death.
You will be remembered
as you stood tall, beautiful, brave
one late afternoon
somewhere...
not the fiery language in tones ringing
extolls the pains, the toils
of an oppressed and exploited people,
nor the evanescent eyes
that dream pure pleasures
moments of exhilarations,
but the eloquence that said it all
with clenched fist proud, defiant
you stood for us, your people
For country, freedom and peace.

Chadli is brave
brave in life
brave still in your death.



Military cadre

Militia-building became his forte. In 1985, Ka Chadli pioneered in developing methods to mobilize the Cordillera armed masses for people's war.

A particularity of the minority peoples, who have to attend to their livelihood as they wage their war, was that they could only act as seasonal guerrilla fighters. Chadli and his group were able to resolve the problem on expanding regular combat forces. From this, the Cordillera People's Guerrilla Force (CPGF) emerged.

Late in 1985, Ka Chadli led the very first militia they formed during an assault on a PC-CHDF detachment along the Lamut-Lagawe highway. With its success, he gained the high respect of the militia forces just as it cast away the unit's earlier reluctance and lack of confidence. This same group, later started to join the regular guer-

rilla operations.

Militia units were formed one after another, and the CPGF has since expanded to several hundreds of forces all over Cordillera.

The CPGF, autonomous as it is, now coexists and fights hand-in-hand with the NPA guerrillas in the area against their common enemy - the AFP and its appendages. Meanwhile, the NPA's Cordillera Operational Command has been renamed Chadli Molintas Command, in honor of one of the region's finest sons.

The huge contribution in advancing guerrilla and indigenous warfare counts among the legacies Ka Chadli left behind. His name will always be remembered, inspiring the Cordilleras and the entire Filipino people to carry on with the revolutionary struggle he so exemplified and died for.

LIB Staff

Newsmakers, newsbreakers

A gLIB assessment of people and events that made 1987 an indelible year

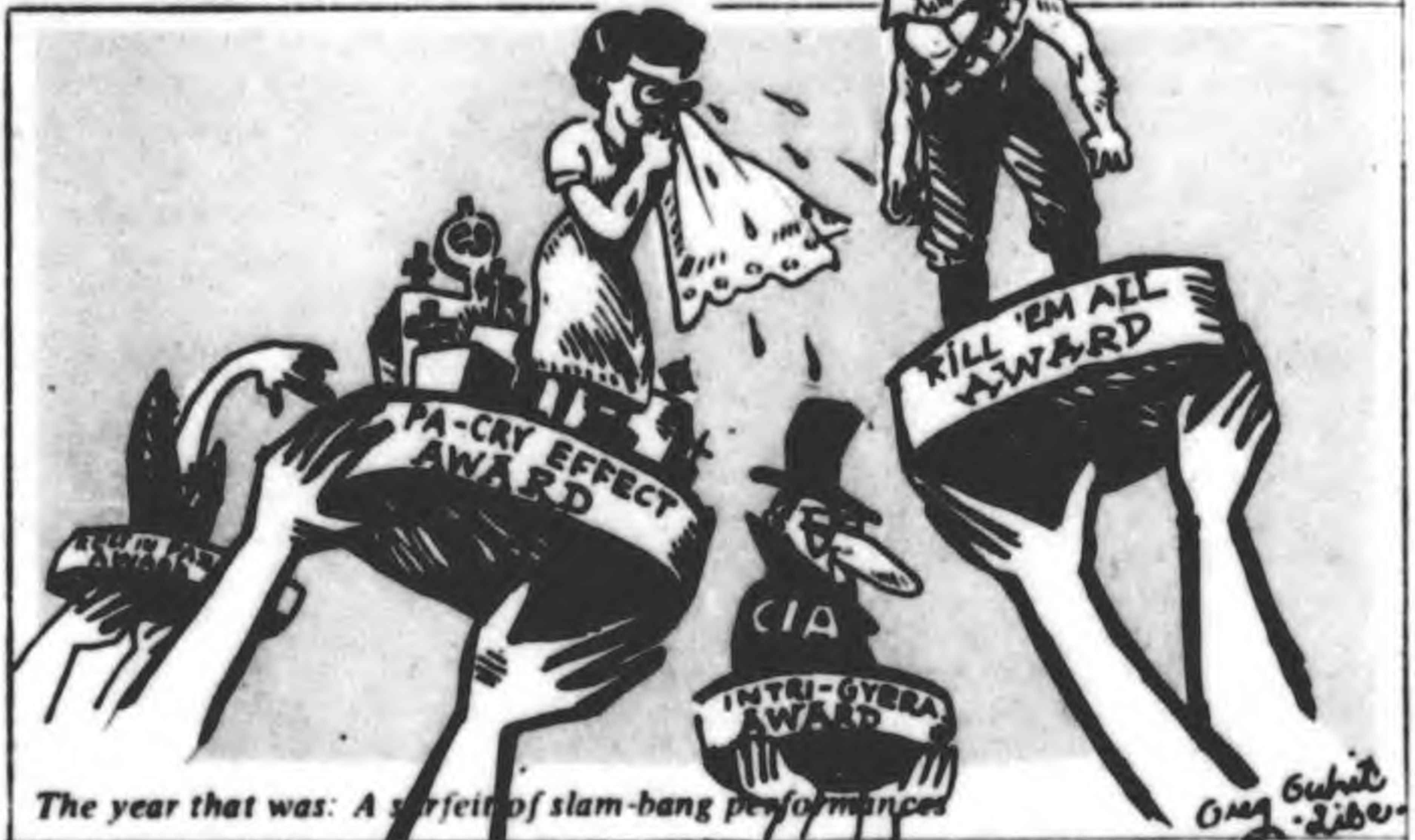
It's better late than never to present the **Annual gLIB Awards and Citations for 1987!**

Best Performer. No, it's not Randy Santiago, and definitely not Kris Aquino. But who else? Ta-ran... Mrs. Corazon Cojuangco Aquino! Her histrionic prowess was repeatedly proven by her tears before the Lupao and Mendiola victims; her smirk (as when the Mendiola Commission charged Jaime Tadeo et. al. with insurrection, rebellion and subversion); her lies (all those broken promises); her dancing (to the sway of the American-military-big business-landowner tune); and her singing (like a broken record, "We are in control, there shall be no terms, we are in control, there shall be no terms," with occasional "dambuhalas" in between).

So good was Cory that she bested competent rivals like Vilma Santos ("Tagos ng Dugo"); Tingting Cojuangco's "double" (as Tingting Cojuangco in "The Great \$1 Million Dollar Scam"); Johnny Ponce Enrile (as a saint in his campaign ad); Gringo Honasan ("Wake Up, Little Sushi") and Fidel Ramos ("I'm in Control").

The **Cecil B. de Mille Spectacle Award** goes to the 1987 Congressional Elections, produced using the Filipino people's money and directed by the CIA, big business and experienced, elite politicians. In terms of blood, guts, goons and gold, nothing was spared in delivering the goods.

Also noted were the Lupao Massacre (produced and directed by the military), the Mendiola Massacre (pro-



The year that was: A surfeit of slam-bang performances

duced and directed by the military), the August 28 Coup (produced by the CIA and similarly inclined individuals, directed by and starring Gringo Honasan, him of "Sushi" fame), the ASEAN Summit (at P30 million, the next most expensive production last year) and the MV Dona Paz Disaster (with a cast of 3,000 dead, 26 survivors and thousands of angry relatives).

But for sheer spectacle, casting and cost, the '87 Election was still hard to beat (The '88 local election, however, has surpassed this comedy).

The **Malthusian non-Imelda Black Hole Trophy** goes to the Cory government. Malthus postulated that (population) growth is exponential; in a non-Imelda Black Hole, time is warped. Both descriptions apply to the Cory government.

In 20 months, the human rights violations of the Cory government have surpassed those of 20 years of Marcos rule. In 20 months, militarization has grown to proportions not achieved in 20 years of Marcos rule.

And everything is increasing, exponentially: population, strikes, penetration movies, graft and corruption, Cory's version of cronyism, killings, military operations, the NPA, prices. Name it, it's increasing. Poverty is increasing. US intervention is increasing. The number of newspapers is increasing. Wages and salaries... well...

Best Performance by an Actor Award goes to Ronnie Poe in "The Zayco Case." His quotable quote can never be forgotten: "Communist ka, ano? Pasasabugin ko ang ulo mo!" (That performance also proved that

this actor is schizoid - he cannot distinguish between film acting and reality!)

Following is gLIB's **List of People and Things Who Were Disowned in 1987:**

Pete Lacaba disowned "Victor Corpus."

Ricky Lee disowned "Olongapo... the Great American Dream."

PDP-Laban disowned Bobbit Sanchez.

The NPA disowned "Balweg" (both the man and his movie).

The Alex Boncayao Brigade disowned "Sparrow Unit" (the movie).

Sharon Cuneta disowned Gabby Concepcion.

Gabby Concepcion disowned Sharon Cuneta.

Sulpicio Lines disowned overloading (overcrowding lang daw).

That year, the Philippines again proved that it is truly **World Class**. It once more made the Guinness Book of World Records. In 1986, the Philippines made Guinness when Apo Ferdie was listed as the Biggest Thief of All Time. Last year, he and the Philippines again made Guinness (most number of cases filed against). This year, the Philippines will again be in Guinness (World's Worst Maritime Disaster in History) beating even, golly gee, the Titanic. World Class. Tsk, tsk.

It's New Year and They're Here Again. The manghuhulas are *uso* again, hardy perennials these and never mind if most of their *hulas* become *bolas*.

Except maybe that one about Cory Aquino falling from power.

Justo Pascual



Cory tears: For the whitewash

PATAK-PITIK

Cal Y. Juete

How not to read a newspaper

"Cal Y. Juete," a responsible officer of the National Democratic Front, demurred when we asked for a photograph. The following is Cal's first offering as guest columnist of LIB.

"Give me a nat-sit," he says. "I'm meeting a new group tomorrow and I have to give them a nat-sit."

"So, give them one," you say. "You read two or three papers a day, and we had a long discussion just before the local elections. If you take an hour or so to prepare, organize your thoughts, I think you're going to be well enough prepared. Remember, we agreed, no spoon-feeding?"

"Okay," he concedes. "But what if they ask why Ito resigned?" It was just in the papers that morning.

"It's all right to admit you don't know yet. Neither do I. We'll be able to say more precisely in a few days. What's evident for now is that there's a difference in style between him and Ramos. But both agree we should be crushed, and the sooner the better."

How is an activist going to go about "giving a nat-sit?"

We have gotten into the habit of depending on a few comrades to give short talks analyzing what's going on in the country today. It's a habit we ought to discard. It encourages intellectual laziness and besides we have to give these ever-reliable comrades a break.

Actually, every activist should make it a point to make sense, by himself or herself, of the jumble of data available every day, and use that continuing analysis to inform others, think up the appropriate responses, and motivate group action.

First, the framework.

Basically, analyzing the national situation means sizing up the balance of forces, the strengths and weaknesses relative to each other of the political forces that are for revolution and change, on one hand, and for reaction and the status quo, on the other.

You're going to be looking at the objectives (long-term and short-term) of both sides, as well as each one's potentials, capabilities and problems — from the array of NDF forces, to the Moro revolutionaries, the progressives, all the way to the Aquino camp, the US imperialists, the Church, big business, the AFP, not to forget the middle forces whom we shall never tire of trying to win over to the side of the revolution.

Being familiar with the framework of analysis, and being disciplined about sticking to it, entails a lot of hard work. You have to study — in groups and on your own. Ask around what books to read. Exchange reading materials (and return what you borrowed). Take notes. The best time to do this is when you're young and energetic, so plug away before middle age catches up on you and lulls you to sleep after two pages of text. (If you're 35 or older, better do your serious reading in the morning, because you can read the Sunday papers in the evening and fall asleep without a bad conscience.)

It's good to get the framework down straight. This way, you make sure you don't forget the fundamentals and get carried away by spells of euphoria, doomsday scenarios and such. It compels you to look back, look ahead, and not to mistake the battle for the war.

But also of course you need facts, figures, *kwento* to

fill out your framework. Otherwise, you'll be talking like a broken record.

This part is slightly easier than the first (studying the theory of Philippine revolution). Half the work of exposing the Aquino faction's reactionary actions is being done by the anti-Aquino rivals, who know all about the sins of the other side because they are masters at the same game. However, we still need to cultivate our own independent sources of information inside both camps.

Then there's the abundance of written and electronic material. What you need to develop is a keen sense for the reliability quotient of the sources. Very often, people don't bother to find out who is supposed to have been the source of a news item, and that's inexcusable for us. Because you can be sure it's disinformation if the news item cites "military sources" or "unidentified sources."

Also, beware of misleading headlines. Bourgeois journalists hate grey areas, especially when they have to describe the grey area in a headline of five or six words which American-style journalism tells them to do. Stories about the NDF are often distorted because of their insistence on putting black-or-white statements into our mouths.

By the way, your organization should think of putting out an information bulletin, or subscribing to one. It saves time by digesting and systematizing information that will be useful in your political work.

What you probably need to do something about urgently is your access to the underground press. Their job,

Don't just sit there and wait for the "nat-sit" to come to you. You're one of those who make the "nat-sit" happen the way it does.

precisely, is to keep you posted on the latest development in the Red areas, what the other revolutionary organizations are doing and how, what we're all being asked to do at a particular time and why. Plus of course with every issue you get a comprehensive "nat-sit."

Sure there are problems — the issues come to you very late, they get lost along the way, you have to beg other units to share their copies with yours.

Well, if there's anything the movement teaches you, it's not to remain passive about problems. Find out how you can move the distribution faster. Make arrangements for speedy and safe transportation and reproduction. Keep reminding your political officer and your education officer to get you your copies already.

More than that, you should get involved with your underground newspaper, *Liberation*, for instance. Send articles, write letters to the staff suggesting improvements and urging them to come out on time. Pay for your copies and solicit subscriptions and donations.

So don't just sit there and wait for the "nat-sit" to come to you. Don't forget, you're one of those who make the "nat-sit" happen the way it does. ■



Dear Raquel,

February 17, 1988

San Felipe is a far cry from the city hospital I used to work in.

But out here, I get a lingering feeling of satisfaction from knowing how much help I am to the town's revolutionary health program. I teach the medics some things about western medicine and they've taught me quite a few things, too, about herbs and acupuncture (that's me in the picture, lending a hand in making acu-needles. We use fishwire for this because the real ones are expensive. That's "agro-tech".)

It'll be summer in less than three months. Would you like to spend summer vacation here? We need help with our health program. We also need teachers, agriculturists, people with technical training. All we need are a few seminars and we'll take care of the rest....

STR,
Leda