

Nuke Food!

Campus Anti-Apartheid Round-Up

Inside the Philippine Underground

Yippie! Interview w/ Abbie Hoffman

Big Mountain Re-location?

OVER THE HORIZON



IF YOU BELIEVE
YIPPIES EXISTED
YOU ARE NOTHING
BUT A
SHEEP.

REMEMBER
THE
60s

OVERTHROW

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Inside the Philippine Resistance

Zoltan Grossman visited the Philippines in April-July of last year as a freelance journalist examining the growing movement against the Marcos dictatorship. Past articles have examined the anti-nuclear movement, and the situation at the U.S. Naval Base at Subic Bay. In the following article he visits the guerrillas of the New People's Army (NPA) and the Moro Nationalist Liberation Front (MNLF). Presently President Aquino wants a ceasefire but fighting continues as heavy as ever. Her military commanders think Marcos was too lax on counterinsurgency, and would like to step up the war with the planned increase in U.S. military aid.

II. CORDILLERA

The battle-hardened guerrilla thinks of his next move. Deep within the forest, he is facing an opponent with nearly equal skill and determination as he. A precise but flexible strategy is absolutely essential; one false move on either one's part can mean the end. The guerrilla has chosen to encircle his opponent, flanking him now on both sides. He makes his move. His bishop takes a pawn. "Check."

These are the guerrillas of the New People's Army (NPA) of the Philippines, who between battles hone their military tactics on the chessboard. To them, the mock warfare between plastic rooks and pawns is more than a game. Pointing to the king, one laughs, "This is the dictator." To make up for their relative weakness in firepower, the rebels say, they need to have superior brainpower. Indeed, if the NPA fighters fight half as well as many of them play chess, the regime of President Ferdinand Marcos is in serious trouble.

I am in an NPA base camp high in the Cordillera Mountains of northern Luzon island, 275 kilometers north of Manila. I



Father Conrado Balweg—priest, member of Tinggian minority, and an NPA Commander—on patrol with NPA regulars.

am spending a week in the guerrilla zone, which extends throughout much of the homeland of the Igorot tribal peoples. The Igorots, like the other "national minorities" who make up 10% of the



Traditional Igorot bird dance performed at peace pact celebration.

population, are Filipinos who resisted conquest and cultural assimilation throughout the Spanish, American and Japanese colonial eras. Today they are fighting giant development projects funded by multinational corporations and agencies, and are being joined by the NPA, the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

The Cordillera is not what comes to mind when one thinks of the tropics. Its cool—at night even cold—climate, dry ridges, pines and ferns remind an American more of the Black Hills in South Dakota than of mountains in Southeast Asia. Like the Black Hills, outsiders have long sought the Cordillera's rich mineral deposits, forest reserves and hydroelectric potential. However, unlike South Dakota, no "Custer" has successfully consolidated outside rule over these mountains. Though

foreign cultural and religious influences are strong, the indigenous peoples have fought to hold onto their basic tribal values. And this time, the Filipino "warriors" are armed with M-16s.

The Igorots are famed for their sophisticated system of rice terraces. Concentrated in the valley of the Chico River, the terraces form enormous steps, each anywhere from 5 to 60 feet high. An intricate irrigation network has been maintained by hand, in some areas for over a millenium. Hiking on the terraces, one often comes across old women and men, smoking pipes as they tend the paddies. Along the Chico, it is as if a painter brushed the steep hillsides an unforgettable bright green. Without the sustenance of the terraces, the Igorots would have to rely solely on their slash-and-burn agricultural

continued on pg. 8

Inter- view with ABBIE HOFFMAN

by David Spaner

"It's nice to be in the People's Republic of Vancouver. Home of the Wobblies. Home of Greenpeace. Canadian headquarters of the Youth International Party (Yippie!) during the Vietnam War years."

With that greeting to Vancouver, Abbie Hoffman kicked off another debate with his one-time compatriot Jerry Rubin.

Shortly after they squared off, a woman sprinted on stage and tossed a pie in Rubin's direction.

"Those tactics are the tactics of the past," Rubin protested, as he brushed the pastry from his suit. "The last place this happened was Madison, Wisconsin."

Pie-throwers don't target Hoffman in places like Madison and

continued on pg. 11



President of the African National Congress (ANC), the South African liberation movement, NELSON MANDELA has been imprisoned for over twenty years. The ANC, formed in 1912, is Africa's oldest liberation movement.

NATIONAL WEEKS OF ANTI-APARTHEID ACTION SPARK SPRING CAMPUS UPSURGE

Protests against U.S. support for apartheid swept across the nation during Weeks of Anti-Apartheid from March 21—the anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre in South Africa—through April 6—the anniversary of the execution of African National Congress freedom fighter Solomon Mahlangu.

On fifteen campuses the dramatic construction of shantytowns—symbolizing the living conditions of South African Blacks—provided a major focal point for action, as did the April 4 National Divestment Protest Day commemorating Martin Luther King during which many groups tied anti-apartheid action to struggles against racism in this country. In addition, around the March 21 Sharpeville Anniversary there were successful efforts to link opposition to U.S. funding for UNITA in Angola and for the Contras in Nicaragua. In all anti-apartheid activities occurred on over 100 campuses in 35 states, and more than 300 protesters were arrested during the Weeks of Action.

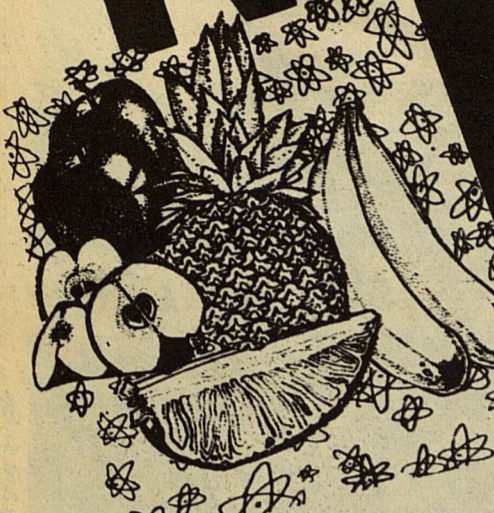
Like last year's upsurge, the 1986 Weeks of Action have also helped to spark militant protest for divestment throughout April involving shantytown construction and hundreds more arrests. In addition, we have seen the campus anti-apartheid movement develop in important ways:

First, there have been serious efforts to link the anti-apartheid movement to struggles against domestic racism. Second, there has

continued on pg. 5

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Nuke Food



by Bill Weinberg

In their latest attempt to prop up the ailing dinosaur of the nuclear industry, the nuclear technocracy has revived a scheme from the innocent days of Atoms for Peace: the use of atomic radiation as a food preservative. Proponents are claiming that food irradiation is the wave of the future, a key to ending world hunger and destined to have as big an impact on the food industry as freezing or canning. Critics see food irradiation as a dangerous industry boondoggle to find a profitable use for nuclear waste. In any event, the federal Food and Drug Administration has just OK'd its use on fresh produce and the infrastructure for the new food-irradiation industry is now in place.

Med-Fly Madness Unleashes Nuclear Nightmare

It is ironic that now, with the public's awareness of the dangers of nuclear technology at a peak, the nuclear industry has succeeded in bringing back a technology that was scrapped as unsafe and unworkable more than a generation ago. Food irradiation was first pioneered by the Army after World War II, in the search for peaceful uses of the atom and indestructible K-ration. The Army enlisted the co-operation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at Natick Research Laboratories, where it was ultimately determined that although the process did not actually render the food radioactive, it did seriously deplete both flavor and nutritional value. Irradiated meat reportedly tasted like "wet dog" and vitamins A, E,

C, B6, B12, thiamine and some building blocks of protein were all diminished. The final blow came in 1958 when the Food and Drug Administration decided that radiation must be considered a food additive, rather than a food process. This meant that irradiated supermarket products would have to be exhaustively tested.

In the early '60s the FDA allowed the irradiation of potatoes and wheat, but the process was never widely used because the conventional preservation methods proved more economical. In 1963 irradiated bacon was briefly allowed by the FDA in response

"Here we are trying to get rid of CHEMICALS-- a four-letter word-- with RADIATION-- another four-letter word."

to a request from the Department of Defense. However, the approval was rescinded five years later, as the FDA discovered "deficiencies" in the Army research data that had declared the process safe. For years thereafter, food irradiation was used only in food for astronauts on space flights and cancer patients at a research center in Seattle.

Then in 1982, a pestilential menace struck California's central valley, some of the most important agricultural land in America--the dreaded Mediterranean Fruit-fly, or Med-fly. Finally capitulating to pressure from agribusiness, Governor Jerry Brown had the state blanket-sprayed

with the pesticide malathion. To keep the med-fly from spreading beyond the infested area, transported fruit was fumigated with the highly toxic ethylene dibromide (EDB). Truckers were reluctant to handle EDB-treated shipments and agribusiness began eyeing irradiation as an alternative. After nearly twenty years, the idea was being taken seriously again.

In 1984, as evidence linking EDB to cancer began to mount, the Environmental Protection Agency started to restrict its use. Simultaneously the FDA began work on new regulations that would allow food irradiation. In February 1984, in response to the lobbying of the McCormick spice company, the FDA allowed the irradiation of dried spices up to 30 kiloGray. (1 kilogray equals 100,000 rads. 10,000 rads is well more than enough to kill a person.) Anticipating an eventual OK for irradiation of fruits and vegetables, a San Jose-based firm, Emergent Technologies, launched plans to build 20 irradiation plants throughout California over the next decade. Said Emergent Technologies president Neil Nielson: "It's going to have as big an impact on the food industry as freezing had, perhaps as big an impact as canning had." But more cautious voices were already anticipating a public relations problem. Said Robert Steeves, deputy director of the U.S. Office of Consumer Affairs: "There is no question that it will be a good thing for the consumer. But the public isn't going to understand that immediately. There will be a need for education, like in the case of the microwave oven."

1984 also saw the inception of the Coalition for Food Irradiation, a lobbying group made up of over thirty companies and organizations including the National Food Processors Association, Campbell Soup, Ralston-Purina, General Foods and the National Pork Producers' Council.

In July 1985, the FDA approved the use of up to one kiloGray to destroy the trichinosis parasite in pork. Radiation Technology, a firm based in Rockaway, New Jersey, anticipated leading "one of the largest growth industries in the history of this nation."

"I expect that within two years we will have FDA approval for the irradiation of all foods," said Radiation Technology spokesperson Martin Welt in an interview in *Popular Science*. "We currently irradiate hundreds of thousands of pounds of frozen shrimp, frog legs and refrigerated fish fillets for shipment to Europe. But we're set up so that when we're finished with one product we can easily switch to another, whether it's spices, turkeys or medical supplies."

Star Wars in Your Supermarket?

Others, like John Gofman, a professor of medical physics at the University of California at Berkeley, claim that the FDA's approval of irradiation is "pure hype and baloney." He claims that none of the necessary exhaustive studies have been done to determine how irradiation changes the chemical structure of food. Still others, like Manuel Lagunas-Solar, a radiation chemist from the University of California at Davis, are eyeing the research at Livermore National Laboratory as a key to bypassing the problems of food irradiation. Livermore, which works closely with U.C. Berkeley, is the nation's foremost nuclear weapons lab and is now developing the "third generation" of nuclear weapons--the particle beams and anti-missile lasers which President Reagan envisioned in his historic "Star Wars" speech of 1983. Lagunas-Solar believes that Livermore's new Linear Induction Electron Accelerator can be scaled down to knock med-flies and micro-organisms off meat and produce instead of incoming Soviet warheads out of the sky. But Lagunas-Solar acknowledges the irony inherent in the research: "Here we are trying to get rid of chemicals--a four-letter word--with radiation--another four-letter word."

However, with the x-ray lasers and other Star Wars technology still in the research-and-development phase, the FDA and the embryonic industry are charging ahead with plain old ionizing atomic radiation. In April of 1986, final clearance was granted

continued on pg. 20

NUCLEAR FREE AMERICA CALLS BOYCOTT

Nuclear Free America is calling for a nationwide boycott of Morton-Thiokol as part of its broader campaign against the top 50 nuclear weapons contractors. The campaign is increasing public awareness of



consumer links to the nuclear arms race and providing citizens with specific ways of taking action against nuclear weapons contractors.

Morton-Thiokol was selected as the initial target because, although the company is well-known for its salt (and as the folks who didn't want to launch the ill-fated Space Shuttle), few people are aware of its key role in the nuclear arms race. The company, which received over \$318 million in war contracts last year, makes solid rocket boosters for every strategic nuclear missile in the U.S. arsenal, as well as propulsion systems for many "conventional" weapons systems.

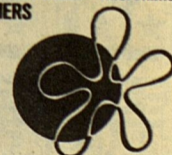
MORE INFO: NFA, 325 East 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218. (301) 235-3575. Nuclear Free America is also an international clearinghouse for the nuclear free zone movement, which has over 3,000 zones in 17 countries. The SALT BOYCOTT includes Morton Salt, and some store brands made by Morton (Acme, A&P, Grand Union, IGA, Red 'n White, Stop 'N Shop). Morton is the largest salt producer in the world, with subsidiaries in 24 countries, including South Africa.

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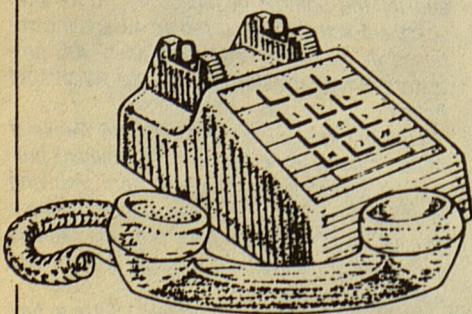
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Quote on front cover taken from *REVOLUTION FOR THE HELL OF IT* by Abbie Hoffman in 1968 (pg. 121)

Reach Out and Touch A Weapons Contractor

Of the nine major long distance services, all but three are involved in the manufacturing of weapons systems.



Research by Nuclear Free America.

—reprinted from *Money Matters*

Here they are in alphabetical order:
Allnet. No defense contracts.

AT&T. Makes communications equipment for the Poseidon and Nike-Hercules missiles and operates the Sandia nuclear weapons lab in Albuquerque.

GTE (Sprint). Makes components for the MX, Minuteman and cruise missiles.

ITT. Over \$1 billion in defense contracts.

MCI. Until now an independent company with no weapons work. Plans to merge with SBS Skyline, owned by IBM, the 18th largest defense contractor.

National Home-WATS. An independent company with no military contracts.

SBS Skyline. Owned by IBM.

U.S. Telecom. Merging with GTE Sprint.

Western Union. Some military contracts, but not in weapons.



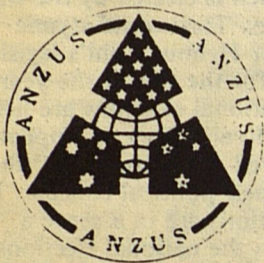
An Appeal for New Zealand

by *Byran Bence, Campaign Liaison,*
GREENPEACE USA, NYC office

New Zealand has long been a leader in the movement to curb the nuclear arms race. Since 1972, the government of New Zealand has urged the world's nuclear powers to conclude a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and abide by the provisions of the Non-proliferation Treaty. In addition, New Zealand has consistently opposed the nuclearization of the South Pacific, in particular, the French nuclear testing program at Mururoa Atoll.

Today, New Zealand's anti-nuclear policy is in conflict with U.S. global military interests. This conflict stems from differing perceptions of the security requirements for the South Pacific region. From New Zealand's perspective, nuclear weapons are not needed to defend their country. Strategically, New Zealand does not want to see the South Pacific become a Super-Power battleground. Furthermore, they do not wish to be "morally" complicit in a global nuclear arms race.

In a September 1984 speech before the Foreign Policy Association, Prime Minister David Lange attempted to smooth the ruffled feathers of U.S. military and political leaders. He said:



"We are not about to turn our backs on longstanding friendships because of our nuclear policies... Our policies are not anti-alliance, they are anti-nuclear."

Mr. Lange's words have done little to placate military hardliners who contend that New Zealand's anti-nuclear stance undermines Western security interests. At the heart of the dispute between long-time allies is New Zealand's nuclear transit policy which forbids port visits by nuclear-powered and/or nuclear armed ships. The U.S. has a policy of neither confirming nor denying the presence of nuclear weapons on its ships. Since February 1985, when New Zealand refused a port call by the

U.S.S. Buchanan, relations between the long-time allies have been strained.

Recently, the U.S. has been re-evaluating New Zealand's status in the ANZUS partnership. Critics of New Zealand's position have suggested that the 1951 ANZUS Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States should be scrapped in favor of a bilateral agreement between the U.S. and Australia. However, unlike NATO, ANZUS does not have a unified military command structure nor a standing military force. More-over, it has never been an alliance dependent on a nuclear deterrent.

To suggest that New Zealand is no longer a worthy friend of the U.S. is to ignore the common experience of these countries in world affairs. New Zealand, we should remember, fought with us in both World Wars, Korea and Vietnam.

Recent U.S. pressure to change New Zealand's nuclear transit policy detracts from the positive role New Zealand has played in ensuring the stability and prosperity of the South Pacific region. This role, as leader of South Pacific democracies, directly serves the United States' interests. Since the end of World War II, the Soviet Union has been virtually absent from the region.

The time to speak up for New Zealand is now. A small country in both area and population, New Zealand relies on international trade to support its economy. In the U.S. Greenpeace urges people to buy New Zealand products in the spirit of friendship and solidarity. Among the products which can be purchased here are:



Wool—Monarch Trading, Ltd.,
1-8000-367-6002

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Carpet—Macy's, Emporium, Breuner's
Granny Smith/Gala Apples—Safeway,
Lucky, Raley's
Kiwi fruit—at most grocery stores
(when in season)
Beer—Steinlager
Wine—Safeway, Liquor Barn
Crackers—Aulsebrooks
Blackberries, Strawberries, Blue-
berries—A&P, Stop & Shop, Purity
Supreme

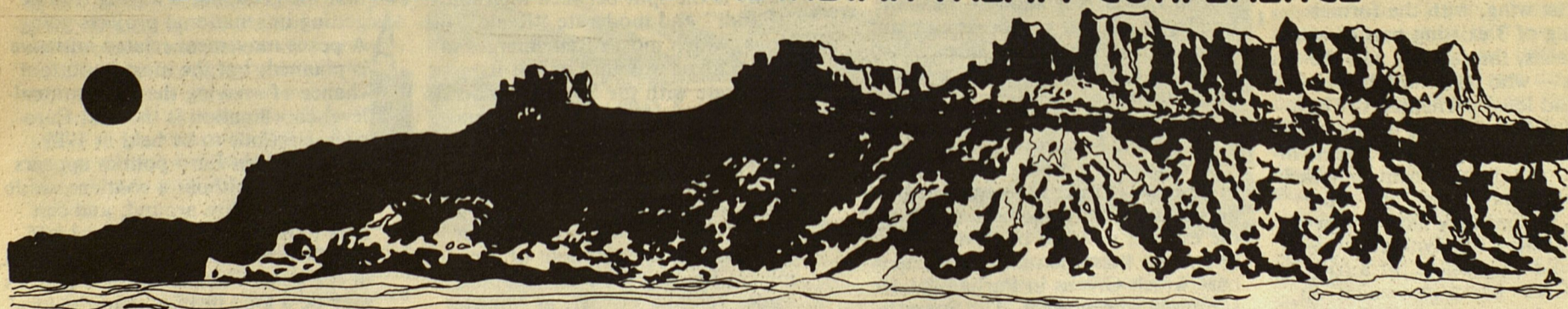
One may find an availability chart of
New Zealand products through Turners

and Growers, Ltd. brochure.
213-933-1645.

Greenpeace also urges U.S. citizens to write letters of support for New Zealand's anti-nuclear policy. These letters should be sent to Prime Minister Lange and President Reagan.

Rt. Hon. David Lange
Parliament House
Private Bag
Wellington, New Zealand
Hon. Ronald W. Reagan
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

11TH ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL INDIAN TREATY CONFERENCE



HOSTED BY THE BIG MOUNTAIN SOVEREIGN DINEH NATION

The International Indian Treaty Council held its Eleventh Annual Conference at Big Mountain, Arizona, June 2-8, 1986. The IITC is a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) that provides a voice in the United Nations Commission on Human Rights for 99 traditional indigenous nations.

The agenda of the conference touched on many topics including land and water rights, Indian youth, the Grand Canal, political prisoners, Columbia fishing rights, Big Mountain and ethnocide-genocide. Delegates arrived throughout the week from several nations.

BIG MOUNTAIN UPDATE

Tuesdays discussions were devoted to Big Mountain. The Flagstaff legal team fielded questions from traditional Hopi and Dineh. Some Dineh are dubious of white lawyers representing them. The Big Mountain Legal Defence/Offence Committee (BMLDOC), was formed by the Elders and remains true to their collective

direction. People were mainly concerned about the Repeal Bill, promised but undelivered. Lee Phillips and Lou Gerwitz responded that they need the absolute consent of all the traditional Dineh and Hopi on the land as to the wording and substance of the bill before it can be introduced. It is a long process of taking the bill to each camp and reworking it so that it still makes legal sense and conveys the intent of the people. Ron Dellums and Mickey Leland have agreed to sponsor the bill when completed.

Support for Future Generations (POB 22134, Flagstaff, AZ 86001), with BMLDOC is filing a Freedom of Religion Act suit with attorney Bruce Ellison (Black Hills). The class action suit challenges the constitutionality of relocation as a violation of religious freedom under the First Amendment. It defines the land as sacred alter to the Hopi and Dineh religions. The suit would restrain any forc-

ed relocation attempt by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Two moratorium bills have been introduced. Richardson and Cranston have both called a moratorium pending investigation. BMLDOC supports

Cranston's initiative. An Appropriations Bill that allows further federal funding for relocation must be passed by October 1st. Efforts to halt this bill are being directed at Sidney Yates (2234 Rayburn House Office Building, Wash. DC 20515).



by Jim Mangis

THE HOPI-NAVAJO LAND RESETTLEMENT ACT (Federal Public Law 93-531) NEEDS REPEALING before the Navajo people are forced from their home at Big Mountain.

In an area of northeastern Arizona known as Big Mountain, over 10,000 American Indians are faced with the threat

of forcible eviction from land they have occupied for generations. They stand in the way of progress in the form of several giant energy companies who want to strip mine the area of its natural resources.

The Big Mountain area has been occupied harmoniously by the Hopi and Navajo people for hundreds of years. But

continued on pg. 7

WESTERN EUROPEAN

GREENS:

A Mixed Bag

by Phil Hill, Washington, DC

A brief visit to western Europe in March found a Green movement experiencing successes and setbacks, growth and stagnation, unity and factionalism. There remains the difference in perspective as to what Green politics means, as well as how Greens should relate to the "established" political forces -- particularly the Social Democrats. And while the Greens are to some extent establishing themselves as the progressive alternative to the political establishment on the left, there is another -- fast growing -- alternative on the fascist right as well.

On the electoral scene, the Greens faced major tests in at least 4 countries during the first part of the year. Their only real success came in West Germany, their stronghold, where they won a respectable 7.5% in a state-wide string of local elections in the northern state of Schleswig-Holstein. The state was the last to hold local votes since the Greens became a major force on the local level in the early '80s, and the success means the radicals are now present in all but a very few city/county councils throughout the country, as well as in most significant lower-level (town, ward, etc.) councils. The success also indicates that the party is making a comeback after its defeats in several state-legislative elections a year ago, and should do well in 3 more state elections coming up this year.

Elsewhere, the news was not good. In the Netherlands, the Green movement is split into a leftist and an anti-leftist wing, with the former consisting of 3 existing parties -- the communists, the radicals and the pacifists -- who have long been in national and local parliaments. They united for the purposes of the 1984 European elections to win 2 seats in the continental parliament, but each also has an anti-Green, anti-unity faction, so that they have not been able to achieve the dynamic growth that would be possible for a truly united Green party/movement. In addition, there is an anti-left Green party; it, too, has not done well, winning only a few seats in a handful of towns, while the three "small-left" parties lost a lot of votes, particularly in Amsterdam, to the Labor Party. The vote was a harbinger of the national elections coming up in May, and according to the results, Labor may be able to oust the existing conservative coalition. However, a Labor-Liberal-"small-left" coalition is out of the question, both because they wouldn't have enough seats and because the moderate leftist parties won't work with the radicals. That means that Labor will have align with one of the conservative parties -- which will mean more of the same, although it would give Ronald Reagan a renewed headache in regard to approval of the Dutch cruise missiles. In any case, the Dutch radical movement, whether Green or otherwise, looks stagnant on the electoral scene for the time being.

Even worse was the situation in France and Spain. In Paris, the morning after the March election that swept the conservatives back into power, it was impossible to get a Green on the phone, and they remained out of commission for the rest of the week. The French Greens had suffered a crushing blow, the fruits of years of factionalism, the decline of their movement base, and their inability to unite with the non-dogmatic left, which has been making overtures toward them. The 1.7% of the vote they got was a drop from the 3.5% achieved even in the European elections. The setback was particularly painful because France had introduced 2 electoral innovations which should have fitted the Greens like a glove. For one thing, a system of proportional representation was adopted which, like in Germany and Holland, would permit small parties to gain seats on the basis of their percentage of the vote. At least in the large departments -- Paris, the Mouth of the Rhone, etc., Green victories should have been a possibility. Also, France was, for the first time, electing regional legislatures, similar to German state legislatures, and based to some extent on the traditional provinces of France. These are cultural entities to which people relate, and Greens should have been able to mobilize their support (if they had any) to win seats on these new bodies. In fact, they won only one seat in Lower Normandy -- near the Le Hague nuclear reprocessing plant -- and two in Alsace, a Germanic region in northeastern France where the influence of the German Greens is a factor, and where there is a province-wide network of grass-roots environmental activists. The message to Greens is clear: How the electoral deck may or may not be stacked by the existing political process is less important than the mass, movement base which Greens in Parliament are supposed to represent. The Spanish experience, too, illustrates this point.

For years, the left has been involved in the campaign against NATO membership, and the more leftist Greens had hoped to establish themselves as a viable force by making a strong contribution to that campaign. The March vote by the Spanish people to ratify membership not only was a defeat for the left; the Greens, too, had shown themselves to be a marginal and insignificant force during the campaign, and now have little credibility: they weren't there when people needed them.

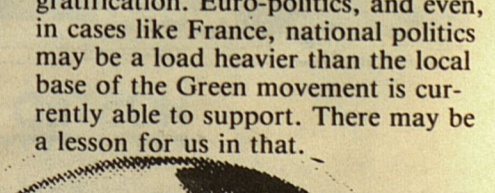
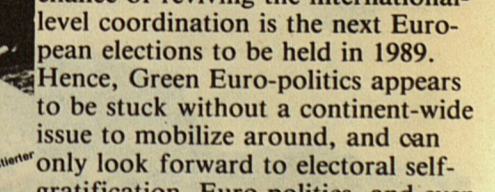
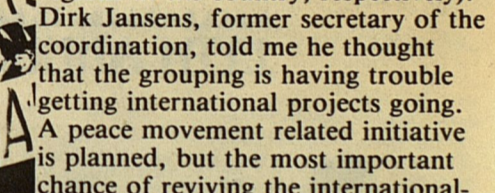
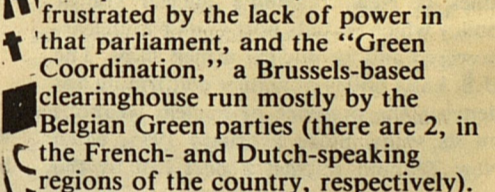
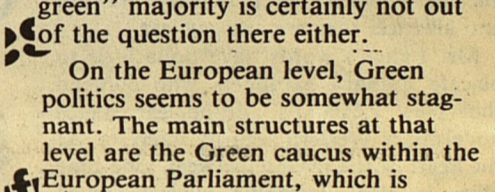
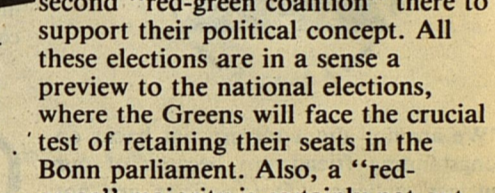
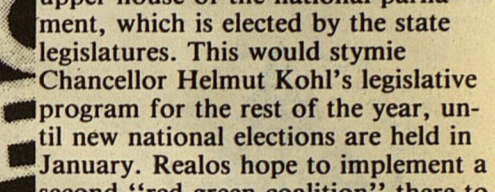
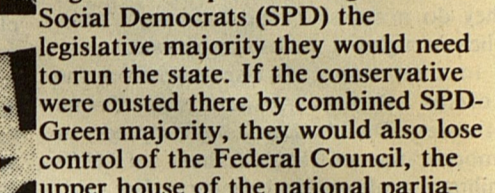
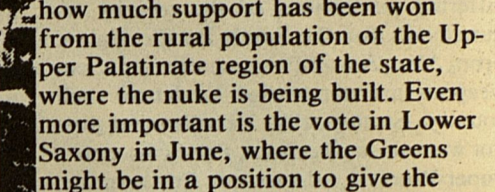
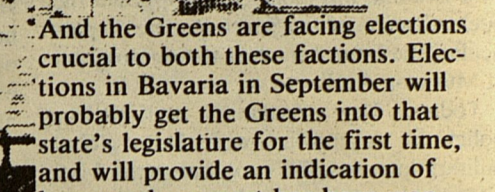
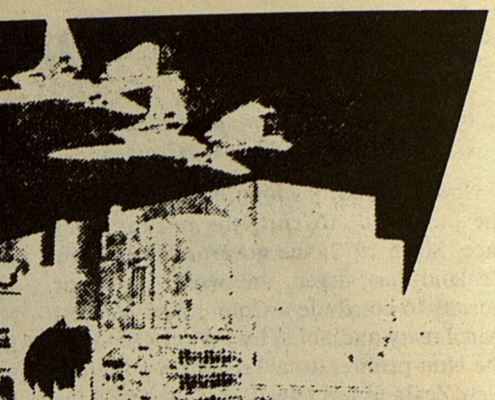
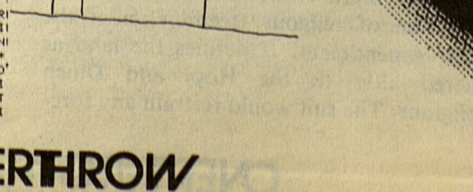
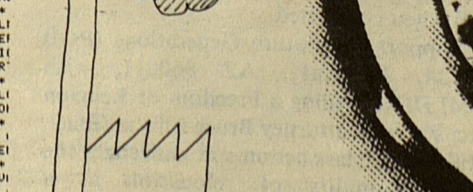
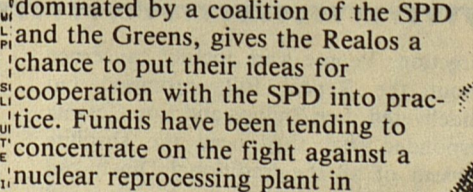
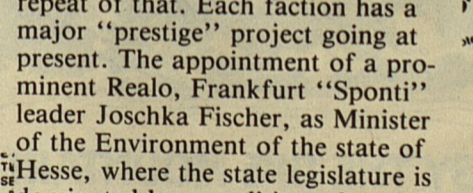
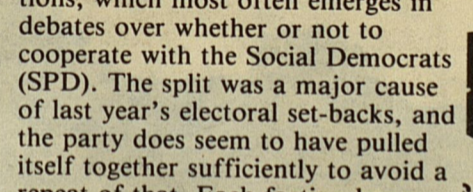
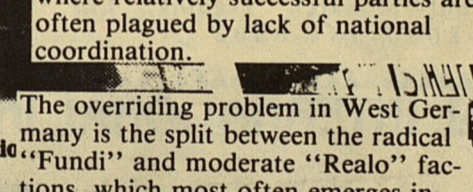
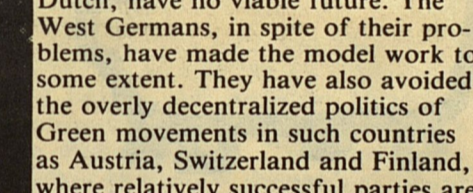
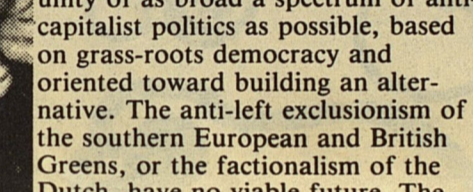
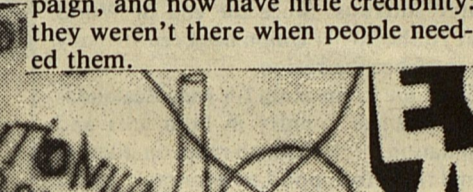
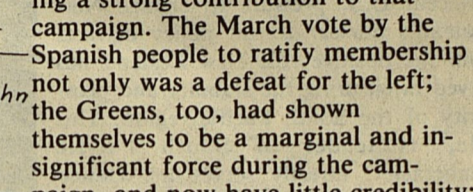
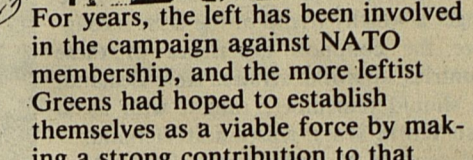
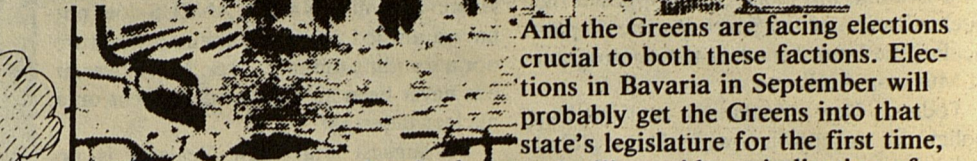
These developments indicate a continuing trend in European Green politics: The Greens' future is one of unity of as broad a spectrum of anti-capitalist politics as possible, based on grass-roots democracy and oriented toward building an alternative. The anti-left exclusionism of the southern European and British Greens, or the factionalism of the Dutch, have no viable future. The West Germans, in spite of their problems, have made the model work to some extent. They have also avoided the overly decentralized politics of Green movements in such countries as Austria, Switzerland and Finland, where relatively successful parties are often plagued by lack of national coordination.

The overriding problem in West Germany is the split between the radical "Fundis" and moderate "Realo" factions, which most often emerges in debates over whether or not to cooperate with the Social Democrats (SPD). The split was a major cause of last year's electoral set-backs, and the party does seem to have pulled itself together sufficiently to avoid a repeat of that. Each faction has a major "prestige" project going at present. The appointment of a prominent Realo, Frankfurt "Sponti" leader Joschka Fischer, as Minister of the Environment of the state of Hesse, where the state legislature is dominated by a coalition of the SPD and the Greens, gives the Realos a chance to put their ideas for cooperation with the SPD into practice. Fundis have been tending to concentrate on the fight against a nuclear reprocessing plant in Bavaria.

And the Greens are facing elections crucial to both these factions. Elections in Bavaria in September will probably get the Greens into that state's legislature for the first time, and will provide an indication of how much support has been won from the rural population of the Upper Palatinate region of the state, where the nuke is being built. Even more important is the vote in Lower Saxony in June, where the Greens might be in a position to give the Social Democrats (SPD) the legislative majority they would need to run the state. If the conservative were ousted there by combined SPD-Green majority, they would also lose control of the Federal Council, the upper house of the national parliament, which is elected by the state legislatures. This would stymie Chancellor Helmut Kohl's legislative program for the rest of the year, until new national elections are held in January. Realos hope to implement a second "red-green coalition" there to support their political concept. All these elections are in a sense a preview to the national elections, where the Greens will face the crucial test of retaining their seats in the Bonn parliament. Also, a "red-green" majority is certainly not out of the question there either.

On the European level, Green politics seems to be somewhat stagnant. The main structures at that level are the Green caucus within the European Parliament, which is frustrated by the lack of power in that parliament, and the "Green Coordination," a Brussels-based clearinghouse run mostly by the Belgian Green parties (there are 2, in the French- and Dutch-speaking regions of the country, respectively). Dirk Jansens, former secretary of the coordination, told me he thought that the grouping is having trouble getting international projects going. A peace movement related initiative is planned, but the most important chance of reviving the international-level coordination is the next European elections to be held in 1989. Hence, Green Euro-politics appears to be stuck without a continent-wide issue to mobilize around, and can only look forward to electoral self-gratification. Euro-politics, and even, in cases like France, national politics may be a load heavier than the local base of the Green movement is currently able to support. There may be a lesson for us in that.

Greenwave



SPRING CAMPUS ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIONS

continued from page one

also been greater stress placed on providing material and political support for the liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa. This political development has underscored that divestment is a means to assist the liberation struggle and not an end in itself. Third, **direct action** involving blockades, sit-ins and building occupations in addition to shanties, has become an integral component of campus anti-apartheid organizing. Student organizers feel that the publicity from escalated actions directly discourages U.S. investment in South Africa—in the last year 28 companies announced plans to withdraw—while broadening the student network.

HISTORIC PROTESTS AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA/BERKELEY

The University of California system has investments of \$2.4 billion in 33 U.S. companies involved in South Africa, by far the largest such holdings of any U.S. university. The size of the holdings and intransigent position of the university have led to building blockades at UC-Berkeley in December 1984, April 1985, December 1985 and intense protests during the Weeks of Action.

On March 31, the three main campus anti-apartheid groups—the UC-Berkeley Campaign Against Apartheid, United People of Color, and the UC Divestment Committee—held a rally of 2500 people culminating in a march to California Hall, the main Administration building. There, protesters constructed 15 shanties and blockaded the building's entrances demanding full divestment as well as an end to institutionalized racism as reflected in admissions policies, curricula and faculty hiring. At 2:00 a.m. on April 1 over 100 policemen arrested 61 protesters defending the shanties while other supporters built barricades preventing police vans from leaving campus for several hours. Next day 500 people marched back to California Hall and reconstructed twenty shanties. Among those were several people who had been banned from campus under a California law whose violation results in an automatic 10 day jail term. At 2:45 a.m. 200 policemen in riot gear began an assault on the shanties by arresting all legal observers and clubbing a press photographer who was hospitalized. Two hundred protesters defended the shanties by linking arms while a crowd twice that size built barricades to prevent police buses from getting on or off campus. Outraged by police brutality, demonstrators fought back with bare hands, bottles and stones and prevented the buses filled with arrested activists from leaving campus until 7:30 a.m. Over 120 people were arrested and two dozen protesters hurt, many seriously.

The day after the police assault on April 4, 800 people rallied on campus, and on April 8 several hundred blockaders shut down California Hall for seven hours resulting in 12 arrests. Another rally was held on April 29 in which fifteen shanties were brought back onto the campus.

WESTERN STATES

At UCLA students have also been putting pressure on the University of California regents to divest. For six weeks, they have maintained a shanty on the main campus green and on April 23, 250 students then occupied the University Placement Center (where corporations hold recruiting meetings). University police with batons swinging arrested 25 protesters, while supporters blocked paddy-wagons. At the University's Long Beach campus, students have also constructed a shanty and protests occurred at UC-San Diego. At Stanford University students have built several shanties this April.

At the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, students erected their third shanty on campus on April 1 to increase the pressure for total divestment. At the University of Wyoming in Laramie, students rallied April 4 and forced the school to totally divest two weeks later of \$1.4 million. On March 21, the Hawaii Committee for Africa rallied in Honolulu against U.S. funding of UNITA, and on April 2 an anti-apartheid program was held at the University of Hawaii. On April 4 at the University of Washington in Seattle, students held a divestment protest involving the symbolic burning of passbooks and constructed a shanty on April 23.

STUDENT ACTIONS AGAINST IBM

In Portland, Oregon on April 4, twelve students from Portland State, Reed and Lewis & Clark Colleges were arrested after a four hour

sit-in at the offices of IBM, a supplier of computers to the South African regime. Leading into the Weeks of Action on March 19, fourteen students from Brown University and the University of Rhode Island in Providence were arrested at offices of IBM. Twelve students from Marist, Dutchess Community and Vassar Colleges were also arrested for sitting in at IBM offices in Poughkeepsie on April 10.

MIDWESTERN STATES

In Madison, students from the University of Wisconsin marched to the Capitol green in support of state divestment and built a shanty on April 4, which was then razed by police. In response 200 students reconstructed three shanties the next day before 70 policemen tore them down with protesters still inside. 17 protesters were arrested and on April 10, 800 students carrying lumber reconstructed 10 shanties, which were demolished at 5:00 a.m. the next morning. On April 4 at Purdue University five hundred students marched into the Ad-



ministration building before constructing a shanty which was demolished by local police, resulting in 22 arrests, the following day.

On April 8, 1000 students at the University of Illinois in Champaign constructed a sprawling shantytown complex and 60 students were then arrested during a building occupation two days later. In Ann Arbor at the University of Michigan a shanty was built on the center of campus March 20 and was put up again after a fire attack by right-wingers on April 5. 500 Michigan students also held a March Against Racism and Apartheid on April 4 which ended in the Black community of Ann Arbor. Western Michigan University students also marched from their campus into the Kalamazoo community on March 21 in opposition to the Reagan Administration's southern African, Central American and domestic policies. In Chicago on March 20, 1500 people targeted Reagan's regional policies, particularly funding for UNITA and the Nicaraguan contras. On April 4-5, there were also protests at University of Chicago, Northwestern, Kansas University (where shanties were set up), Grinnell College, University of Iowa, University of Minnesota and



Student-built shanties on the College Green at Dartmouth (above), and at Columbia University (right) symbolize living conditions for Blacks under apartheid in South Africa. Some of the shacks at Dartmouth, including the one at center, were damaged in an attack by sledgehammer-wielding students. Police response to the shanties is seen above on (left) Berkeley and (right) Madison campuses.

Macalister College and rallies for state and university divestment in Cleveland and Denver.

SOUTHERN STATES

Following anti-UNITA and divestment rallies during the Weeks of Action, 42 activists at the University of Texas in Austin were arrested defending a shanty on April 11. One week later 180 students were arrested when they defied University free speech restrictions limiting demonstrations on the main mall to one hour. At the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill shanties stood for over 4 weeks till the Administration demolished them in mid-April and arrested 10 protesters. In Atlanta a large commemoration of Sharpeville was held and on April 4 a picket of Coca-Cola headquarters. Other actions occurred in Houston (with daily pickets of Shell Oil), and at Vanderbilt University (site of a shanty), University of Virginia (sit-in), University of Florida, University of Arizona, Alabama A & M, and a speaking tour organized by the Africa Fund and CISPES which linked US policy in southern Africa and Central America and traveled to Alabama, South Carolina, North Carolina, Texas, and

Kentucky. At Duke University seven students were arrested defending a shanty on April 26.

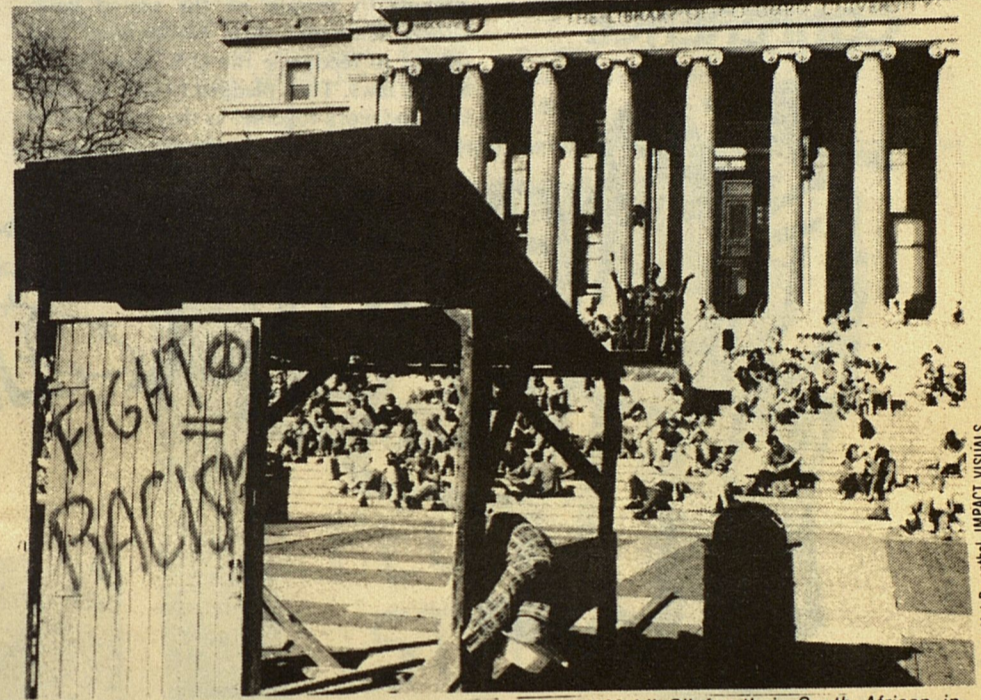
NORTHEASTERN STATES

On April 4 at Yale University students erected shanties on the main campus green, and after several threats the Administration had the police demolish the shanties and arrest 78 students on April 14. Since then the Yale Coalition has organized blockades of administrative offices resulting in over 100 more arrests, and on April 22 a community and union civil disobedience of 109 people supported total divestment of Yale's \$400 million linked to South Africa. At neighboring Wesleyan University students held a march against racism on April 4 and a building blockade on April 12 that forced the trustees to change their meeting place.

In Washington, DC the DC Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism kicked off the Weeks of Action on March 21 by erecting a shanty outside the State Department to protest U.S. funding for UNITA. At the University of Maryland in College Park students set up a shanty April 4 that was then demolished by the Administration, leading to a sit-in and arrest of 12 students on April 16. Georgetown University students staged a reverse apartheid simulation on April 3 in which white students were "arrested" for pass law violations by Black student "policemen." Since then students have been blockading the main administration building and 35 were arrested April 25 defending a shanty and blocking police vans. At John Hopkins (site of a sit-in April 4) and American University shanties have also been constructed



photo by Leslie Madison



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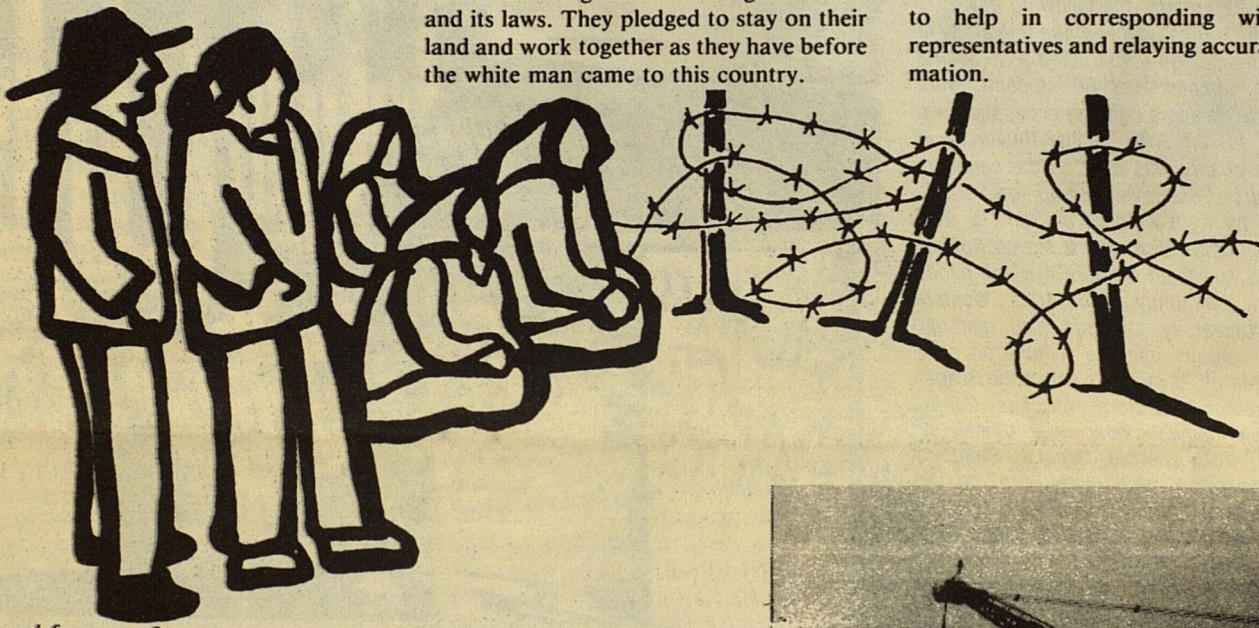
Oil and Mobil Oil for their South African investments. Participating in the march were students from City University and Columbia University where three shanties were set up from April 2-4 to protest the University's institutional racism. The April 4 march followed a March 21 protest of 1000 people in NYC against U.S. funding for UNITA and the Nicaraguan contras. That same day Dartmouth College students and the United Steel Workers of America cosponsored a rally of 250 people outside Phelps Dodge headquarters on Park Avenue. The Dartmouth Coalition brought down their shanty (which had been vandalized by right-wing students) and demanded that Phelps Dodge Chairman George Munroe resign from the Dartmouth Trustee Board because of his company's South African operations and hardline anti-unionism.

On April 4 at Hamilton College in upstate New York 200 students rallied and occupied the campus business office for several hours. On April 23 fifty activists then traveled 4 hours to picket a Trustees meeting in NYC and next day set up their third campus shanty. At Cornell University twenty students occupied the President's office on March 21 and one student was arrested for announcing the occupation of the Trustees' meeting. Shanties have been up now for over six weeks at Penn State University where 65 faculty members fasted for a week till an April 4 divestment rally of 200 people. That same day in Pittsburgh several hundred students from Carnegie Mellon University and the University of Pittsburgh held a joint anti-apartheid march. On March 21, 150 students at the University of Pennsylvania held a mock funeral procession to commemorate Sharpeville before disrupting an April 11 Trustees meeting. Recently full divestment was achieved at Northeastern (\$14 million) and University of Connecticut (\$200,000).

—reprinted from the Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter, Africa Fund (Associated with the American Committee on Africa), 198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038. (212) 962-1210. Prepared by Joshua Nessen



INTERNATIONAL INDIAN TREATY CONFERENCE



continued from pg. 3

After pressure from support groups on their congressional representatives and senators, Morris Udall on June 6, withdrew his compromise Bill HR-4281 that really was no compromise. It made no provisions for refugees wishing to return to the land, forced the Dineh to mine their land to pay \$300 million to the Hopi, reduced the Dineh reservation by 550,000 acres, maintained livestock reductions, and required all suits against the government and the Tribal Council to be dropped.

Mo Udall swore by his mother's deathbed that he would never do anything that would effect the well being of a certain wealthy Mormon Hopi family. Rumor has it the Bill was never intended to pass, but was meant to reopen discussion between Tribal Councils and on the floor of Congress.

After the BMLDOC update, members of the Navajo Tribal Council were invited to speak. Chairman Zah did not attend, but sent two spokespersons. They said that there would be no forced relocation and that they supported the Dineh resistance within the legal framework. Pauline Whitesinger said that ever since she voted for Zah he seems to be afraid of her. He never comes to the land. Kathleen Smith compared Goldwater to a wolf attacking sheep and the Tribal council as the pups.

During the discussion thunderclouds appeared from the South, bolts of lightning and thunder rumbled overhead. Hailstones and rain pounded the Earth so that we could not hear each other speak. After twenty minutes, it let up. When we broke for lunch, there was a long period of silence as we emerged from the big top to a full double rainbow with lightning bolts running through it in the southern sky. It was said that it was a good sign.

After lunch, Thomas Benyakya (Hopi Elder) spoke of the spiritual significance of the land and the four mountains. He recounted the history of relocation and the struggle to remain on the sacred land. Others reiterated their Nationhood and refusal to recognize the U.S. government and its laws. They pledged to stay on their land and work together as they have before the white man came to this country.

concerned with this issue. In particular *Kit Carson in a Three Piece Suit*, *Geopolitics of the Navajo Hopi Land Dispute*, *Big Mountain News* and *The Second Long Walk*. After writing to your senator and congressperson you should send for some literature. BMLDOC is anxious and willing to help in corresponding with your representatives and relaying accurate information.

Construction of the Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River in Oregon in the 1930s, destroyed fishing sites of the Yakima, Umatilla and Warm Springs Tribes. The BIA granted temporary fishing sites to the Tribes for use during the Season. The Government now alleges that the Indians have settled illegally on these sites and are violating the fishing regulations. Residents insist that the fishing season runs all year. It just slows down at times.

There are roughly 300 Indian Fishermen and women along the 140 mile span between Bonneville and McNary Dams. Of those only five were issued official eviction notices, but most believe that it is an attempt to wipe out their treaty rights and their traditional ways.

Over seventyfive people have been arrested or indicted by multiple jurisdictions. In some cases entire families, including mothers and sons, have been arrested. On June 17, 1982 at Cooks Landing a para-military raid took place, with use of

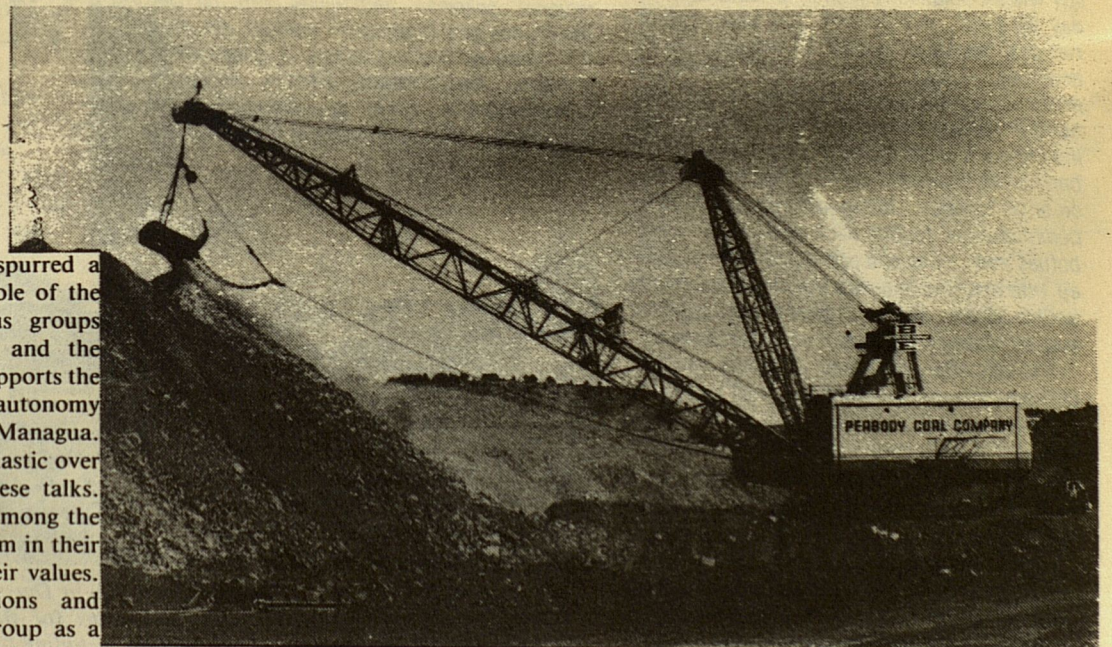
INDIANS UNITE

The Nicaraguan Delegation spurred a series of talks concerning the role of the Treaty Council and Indigenous groups supportive of the Sandinistas and the Misquito. The Treaty Council supports the Sandinista Government and the autonomy talks currently going on in Managua. Other individuals are less enthusiastic over the actual progress made in these talks. The issue has become a wedge among the Indian community. Many are firm in their views and not eager to sway their values. Through determined negotiations and open minded discussion, the group as a whole agreed to unify against the common element, the CIA, and its covert war. This perhaps is what the conference was all about. The unification of all Indigenous people as a global community.

ACTIONS

On July 6, several support actions took place. Two thousand people gathered in DC to demonstrate against relocation. The Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with Native People (CASNP) held a border stand with hundreds at Niagara Falls to call attention to Big Mountain and address local issues. On August 9th; Hands Across the Fence will be staged by the Dineh and Hopi as a demonstration of solidarity. The Berkeley support group is calling for actions at local BIA offices to end the harassments by BIA rangers. 11 people were arrested when they refused to leave the Berkeley BIA office, after the official there refused to contact BIA in DC to convey the petitioners' appeals.

Flagstaff has an excellent supply of reading material that is essential to anyone



COLUMBIA RIVER

David SoHappy Sr. came to Big Mountain to share his experience and vision with the community. SoHappy is an elder Yakima fisherman from the Columbia River.

Indians in the Pacific Northwest have been the focus of harassment and surveillance by Federal and State agents over their alleged defiance of treaty-based fishing rights along the Columbia River in Oregon and Washington. The Feds claim to be enforcing environmental conservation laws and regulations which they say are being violated by excessive falloff in fish population due to Indian overfishing. Actually any falloff is caused by the short-sighted policies of greedy timber, fishery and utility conglomerates.

fire arms and physical abuse of Indian men, women and children. Homes have been ransacked and physical injuries have resulted. Personal property, cars, fishing gear, legal documents and other items were seized by the Law enforcement raiders.

The National Marine Fisheries Service implicated tribal members with "illegal" catch and sale of fish. Nineteen of those arrested were indicted in the Federal court for violation of the Lacey Act which makes violation of local state laws concerning wildlife a federal crime. Among the nineteen were longtime activist Yakima traditionals David SoHappy and his wife Myra. SoHappy was the original plaintiff in the Boalt/Belloni decision that extended traditional fishing rights.

Most of the evidence against the defendants was inadmissible due to improper procedure, but harsh sentences were handed out to the SoHappy family. Two days after the verdict, a public study totally absolved Indian fishing for any measurable loss of fish in the Columbia River.

Amnesty International's representative

continued from pg. 3

in the 1950's, oil, natural gas, coal and uranium were discovered there. In order to get their greedy hands on these resources, an incestuous group of energy developers and their allies engineered a fictitious "land war" between the Hopis and Navajos to convince Congress to partition the land.

In 1974, Congress passed Public Law 93-531, the Hopi-Navajo Land Resettlement Act, to divide 1.8 million acres around Big Mountain between the two tribes, thereby clearing the way for the energy companies to sign mining leases with the respective tribal governments. A barbed-wire fence was constructed along



the new border, and anyone living on the wrong side of the fence was required to move. The deadline for relocation was set for July 7, 1986.

There are an estimated 10,000 Navajos living on the Hopi side of the fence. There is no room left for them on the Navajo Reservation. It has been very difficult for most of them to adjust to life in town—some have died and over half have already lost their homes. Most of the Navajos have refused to leave their land and have defied relocation authorities by pulling out fence posts and chasing off fencing crews. Relocation officials, in turn,

and observer of the trials considers the prosecution "racist and politically motivated."

It is not instantly clear why the government would spend such an enormous amount of time and money on prosecuting Indian fishermen, whose activities even the government now admits do no harm to the ecology. (It is an undisputed fact that the Columbia River Dams in the past 20 years have killed an estimated 44 million fish.) Millions of dollars have been spent in the courts and congress.

There are two possible answers. The first, is that in 1981 the US District Courts began to grant Treaty Indians the right to use the Courts to insure that there will be fish in the Columbia River. Rights to control habitat and breeding were recognized as being superior to the short-term economic desires of those industries whose activities do great damage to the fish resource. The representatives of these powerful interests within the state and federal governments, saw the potential legal power that the Indians were obtaining, and they sought to use their political power to make a pre-emptive strike against the Tribes.

Second, there is the broader historic pattern at work in these cases. The object is to make Indians dependent upon either the White government, or White corporations, for their subsistence. If Indians become financially tied to the white structures, they will be less likely to use their political and cultural strengths to fight those structures.



have instituted a "stock reduction program" to kill the resisters' sheep and destroy their grazing areas.

Traditional people of both tribes steadfastly oppose relocation of the Big Mountain Navajos. They do not recognize the federal government's right to move them off their ancestral land, nor the right of a few "progressive" Indians, sitting as the tribal councils, to lease their land for strip mining.

Coal mined at Big Mountain would be used to fuel nearby power plants to generate electricity for Las Vegas. These plants have already seriously polluted what was once the cleanest air in the United States. One of the plants uses 20 million gallons of precious water every day! Uranium, of course, would be used to fuel nuclear power plants and to make nuclear weapons. Part of the Big Mountain area has already been left dangerously radioac-

tive by uranium mining.

The Navajo and Hopi people have asked for our help. They have requested that we contact our Congressional representatives to demand the immediate repeal of PL 93-531. Please act now because time is running out.

For more information, contact the Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee at 2501 North 4th Street, Suite 18, Flagstaff, AZ. 86001. Telephone: (602) 774-5233.

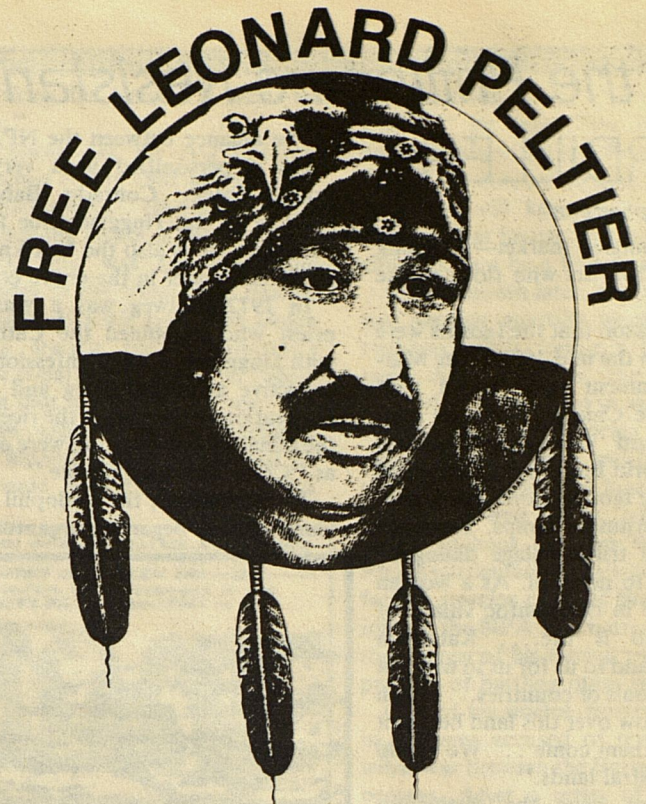
—reprinted from GREEN NET, originally summarized by Sequoia Alliance and BARC Recycling in Visalia, CA.

GRAND CANAL

"The GRAND Canal Concept" promoted by the Canadian Environmental Law Association (CELA), would dam the mouth of James Bay where it enters the Hudson Bay to create a fresh water lake. This fresh water would then be pumped to the west and southwest states. Plans include to use the water in mining operations in Big Mountain.

CASNP (The Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with the Native People, 16 Sadina Road, Toronto, Ontario, M5R 2S7), has been documenting the mega-project.

The Great Recycling Northern Development Canal Concept (GRANDCO) consists of a complex series of dams, dykes, aquaducts, pumping stations and reservoirs. The plan was first developed in the early 1930's by T.W. Kierans, from St. Johns Newfoundland. It was first proposed to the Canadian Government in 1960 and again in '65. Former Premier Robert Bourassa has strongly supported the project in his book *power from the north*. When asked if the opposition of the Cree People living in Northern Quebec was a threat to GRANDCO, Bourassa replied: "There are several thousand Crees but there are six million Quebecers and the territory belongs to them. I don't think that the Indian question is as important as it was in the seventies." Ronald Reagan as Governor of California made it clear that he was "anxious to talk to anyone who



Bill Wahpepah, IITC Director of Information, and Stephanie Autumn Peltier, visited the Soviet Union in January, 1986 at the invitation of the Soviet Peace Committee. By the time their ten day tour was completed, Soviet citizens had sent 17,000,000 (that's right, seventeen million) registered letters to President Ronald Reagan demanding justice for Leonard Peltier.

Please lend your support. Write to the three-judge panel, urging them to order a new trial for Leonard Peltier.

The Honorables: Donald Ross, John Gibson, Gerald Heaney.

Judges, 8th Circuit Court of Appeals, 1114 Market St., St. Louis, MO 63101. reprinted from Treaty Council News, 777 United Nations Plaza, NYC 10017/1259 Folsom St., SF, CA 94103



might have surplus water available to diversion south." Canada's ambassador to the US and consultant to GRANDCO, Simon Reisman, said the project "could provide a key to the free trade agreement with the United States." Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his conservative government are committed to free trade and have indicated he might be prepared to sell some of Canada's abundant water to the US.

GRANDCO LTD, an investor owned company with its office in Newfoundland, has a joint venture agreement with four leading Canadian engineering and construction management companies carrying out studies and providing services toward development of the Concept. The companies include Bechtel Canada Ltd. of Toronto, the UMA Group of Calgary, the Rousseau, Suave and Warren Inc. of Montreal, and SNC of Montreal.

GRANDCO LTD estimates that it will cost \$50 billion to transport the water to the Great Lakes within ten years. The cost of distribution and storage to the south and west may double that.

A hundred mile long dyke would be built at the mouth of the James Bay which would close it off from the Hudson Bay

and turn the James Bay into a freshwater lake. The water would be "recycled" (diverted) South via canals. It would be pumped to 950 feet up stepped reservoirs and aquaducts for 170 miles within the Harricana River Valley. This would reverse the flow of the river. From Amos, Quebec, it would cut across to the Upper Ottawa River near Val D'Or. From there it would flow south to Lake Nipissing, then via the French River, into Lake Huron.

Power for the project would be generated by nuclear plants along the canal. The Native communities at Wollaston Lake Saskatchewan; Fort Franklyn and Fort Rae, Northwest Territories; Cutler, Serpent River, Massey and the North Shore region, Ontario; as well as Lakota, Laguna, Hopi and Navajo communities in the US, are all presently being destroyed by continued mining of uranium for nuke plants.

Mega-projects such as the GRAND canal flood land. Plants and animals are wiped out. Pollution is bound to result from building the project. The influx of hundreds of thousands of workers alien to the northern ways will cause severe cultural problems. Native people are relocated and their cultures die. This is called Omnicide.

Inside the Philippine Resistance

II. CORDILLERA

continued from page one

plots, and the outside market—including dancing for the tourists who flock to the region.

It is for this reason that the Igorots were alarmed when, in the mid-1970's, the Martial Law government went ahead with plans to dam the Chico, to provide electricity to lowland industries. Financed partly by the World Bank, the plans called for relocating the Igorots from their flooded lands to government camps. The Bontoc and Kalinga tribal village dialogued with authorities to no avail. As a woman elder says to me in the Bontoc village of Belwang, "Land is life... Kabunian (God) gave this land to us for us to use, not for other individuals or countries... Even our blood will flow over this land before it is grabbed. Let them come... We would die for our ancestral lands."

Igorot women have the distinction among other tribes in the world of being able to own and inherit land. With the phasing-out of intertribal warfare, and the diminished stature of male warriors, the women have played an increasingly vocal political role within the villages. Whereas before the wives could only influence through their husbands, they now freely interrupt or reprimand the male elders.)

The engineers arrived to build the dam; village women disrobed in front of some to shame them. Others were killed, and their camps burned. The military retaliated harshly, and in desperation, the Igorots say, they turned to the NPA. Until that time, the NPA had little presence in the area; one male fighter had married a local woman to integrate into the culture. But then a process of recruitment began, the result of which today is a regional NPA which is, from my observations, at least 90% tribal.

Over the same period of time, Igorot elders, youth and professionals drew together to openly call for tribal rights, culminating in 1984 with the formation of the Cordillera People's Alliance, led by Atty. William Claver. Faced with the combination of ecological protest and insurgency, the government has at least temporarily shelved its plan for the dams.

The degree of local sympathy for the NPA can be seen in the militia training camp which is on the other side of the valley. Forty local kids train in a two-week course; all came under the guidance of their parents. The weapons they train with testify to the arms shortage the NPA faces: three U.S.-made Armalites, Springfield rifles from the war against the Spanish and Americans, a few M-1's, an air gun, wooden mock rifle, and a beautifully carved homemade .22. "Our weapons are not the most important thing," a militia leader says, "Political unity comes before the armed struggle. Why fight if you don't know what you're fighting for and against?"

Every morning, the students go through a rigorous calisthenics session, designed to build the climbing muscles. They are divided into three age groups—from 12 to 22—and particularly seem to relish dashing to hide in the trees upon the warning of "helicopter!". During one session, an NPA medical team passes through the camp headed west; a militia leader points out a man smoking a cigarette, who lost his young son when the military raided his home.

All political-military instruction at the camp is conducted by three NPA regulars in the Bontoc-Kankanaey language of the students. In one night class, the NPA instructor outlines how the village militia unit backs up the NPA, defends the village and its internal security. In between lessons, the class sings traditional songs, but with reworded verses about the dams, the military, and the U.S. An older instructor, Ka Delfin ("Ka" is short for "kasama," meaning "companion" or "comrade") sings the tribal lyrical poem called the "ulalim," which echoes hauntingly through the woods, mixing with the songs of the forest birds.

The alliance between the NPA and the tribes is personified in a very unusual priest. Father Conrado Balweg is a member of the Tinggian tribe from Abra Province. He is also the best-known guerrilla commander in the entire country.

In 1972, Balweg was a young parish priest who combined the Catholic mass with Tinggian rituals. Confession became a collective affair, planting and harvesting celebrations were held in the ricefields, and the tribal ways of sharing were encouraged as "Christianity in practice."

The same year, the Cellophil Resources Corp. (CRC) began a gargantuan logging

fighters, and wears a cross made out of two spent M-16 bullet casings.

The relationship between lowland and highland Filipinos is critical to the grand chess game in the country. In some countries, tribal peoples have been armed by foreign governments to combat other nationalist armies of the Left. The Montagnards of Indochina, the Khoi-khoi tribes of Namibia, and the Miskito Indians of Nicaragua have all had their populations divided over support for revolutionary movements. Why has the situation developed in the Cordillera more like that in Guatemala or Chile, where indigenous

nation... It's impractical for us to fight alone, but we have to be respected. We don't want mistakes made here like in Nicaragua."

Most Filipino leftists agree that avoiding these "mistakes" means understanding the tribal cultures, respecting their integrity, and defending them as living, developing cultures rather than relics of the past. They do respect the tribes' closeness to the land, and how they have fought to protect it. Activists often stress what they see as the "positive" aspects of the societies, such as the "communal" system of labor exchange. "Marxism is basically the philosophy of the elimination of oppression of man over man," says Balweg. "It coincides to a great degree with the present stage of the minority wherein the communal life is very strong. Class society is not yet developed... So in that way it is very similar."

Among some Christian and Marxist activists in the Cordillera, however, one can detect the kind of romanticization of Western science that is common to a colonized nation. While they oppose large-scale projects such as dams and nuclear plants, there is sometimes an air of condescension toward the "pagan superstitions" that are still strong in the villages. This criticism often barely mentions the poor track record of Western science toward nature; or the "material basis" for many so-called superstitions (though NPA medics do use herbal medicines). Balweg, for example, emphasizes scientific education—that a poor harvest may be caused by mice rather than angry gods. Yet he opposes eliminating any tribal beliefs. While NPA members at times seem uncritical of Western thought, they seem to have enough respect for the tribes not to impose their beliefs.

One story brought up by many Igorots concerns a large red bird called the "kuling." Igorot lore holds that if the kuling flies over and sings a certain way, it can be interpreted as a good or bad omen. Upon seeing the kuling, some NPA militia members would refuse to go any further. Some who did proceed were ambushed, "proving" the belief correct. So the NPA had long meetings on what to do about "that bird." While some fighters ridiculed the whole idea, others tried to explain experiences they had after seeing the kuling. Perhaps, some said, the soldiers had frightened the bird into flight. Balweg urged the fighters to respect the culture even if they disagreed with it. He tells his own story: "We were in a barrio when the military came... For their own safety, the elders retreated with us... All around us we were surrounded, bombs were dropping nearby. It was very tense. And in the midst of all this, the elders stood aside and held a small ritual. They were talking with the birds... It was very touching."

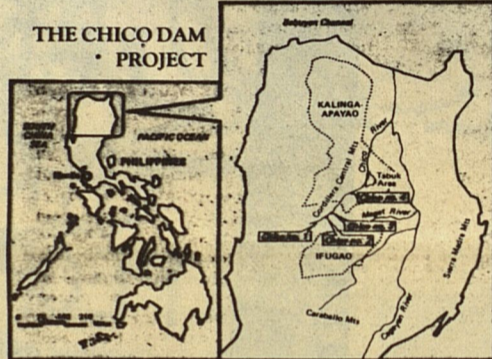
One night at dinner, over rice and dried fish served in the main camp tent, Balweg is talking with me about the traditional religion of the Igorots. Ka Jun taps us both on the shoulders. With a worried expression, he tells us that "We are in a military situation." Hundreds of government troops have been flown in by helicopter to nearby towns; and two task forces totalling nearly 90 soldiers are moving in a pincer motion converging on the area. Balweg confers with his unit, and gives the order: "Let them hit air." "They are trying to provoke a confrontation to find us," he says. "We won't give it to them."

That night, some of the guerrillas sit around the campfire to sing, and tell stories and jokes to alleviate the tension. Perhaps indicating the increasing distance of the CPP from China, Ka Jun tells "Chinese jokes"—one commenting on the current Chinese leader and his policies of commercialism, represented by the sale of Coca-Cola: "It's the real Deng." Other jokes focus on the Maoist era; Ka Victor, an NPA for 15 years, was in China in the 1960's, seeing "both positive and negative aspects."

Though alert, the guerrillas face the situation calmly. I tell Ka Jun that I had expected the NPA's to be a bunch of tough guys, who would talk with cigarettes in their mouths and spit through their teeth.



(above) For over 400 years, the Kalinga and Bontoc have built these spectacular terraced rice paddies which climb the steep mountain slopes along the Chico River.



(below) NPA combat unit on patrol—including Rick and Tina in front.



operation in Abra, restricting Tinggian access to wide swaths of the forest. Under new decrees, the tribe became squatters on their own ancestral lands. Balweg and his parishioners delivered pronouncements against the project, but as Balweg says, "The bishop just kept his mouth shut... The old folks were being imprisoned, the houses were being burnt, the ricefields that were ready for harvest were being bulldozed—and no moral pronouncement yet from the church."

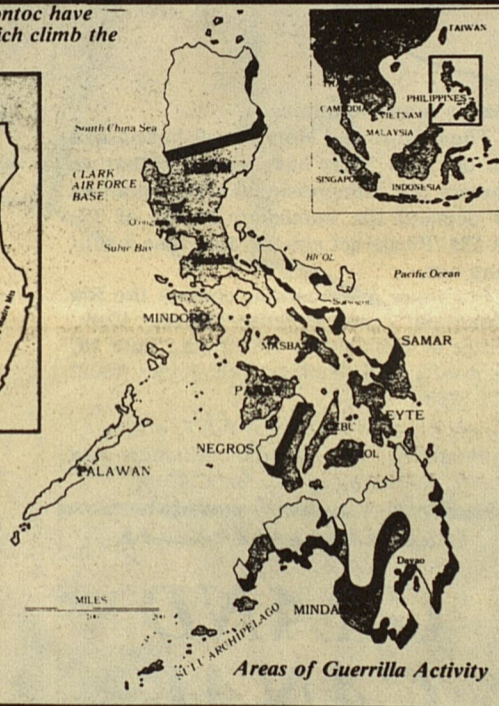
For his activities, Balweg was accused of being an NPA sympathizer, though he claims he never met the rebels. After receiving many death threats, in 1979 he fled to the hills and joined the NPA. "We could no longer continue with our services, our education, so what should we do?" he asks, "Should we surrender?... The people should really stand on their own and build their society, their community... It was very clear to me that the church is the business of the people."

Ka Rick is also a Tinggian from Abra; though quiet and reserved, he is recognized hands-down as the most captivating singer in Balweg's combat unit. During tense periods, his soothing voice can often be heard through the thick moss and trees, intoning revolutionary ballads. As a translator and youth organizer in Abra, he was shot near the hip by a government agent. "I grabbed the gun barrel," he says, "so it couldn't discharge again. That's why I'm alive today." After weeks in the hospital, he joined the NPA. Today, he walks with a slight limp behind the other

peoples are joining the Left en masse?

One answer can be found in the program of the National Democratic Front (NDF), of which both the CPP and the NPA are members. It calls for the "right of self-determination" for the "national minorities" such as the Igorots, and the Islamic Moro peoples of Mindanao. Self-determination, the NDF stresses, is necessary if the tribes are to join the other sectors of society—such as workers, peasants and students—in a Democratic Coalition Government. Ka Jun, a CPP regional officer stationed at Balweg's camp, claims that the NDF program goes beyond the "autonomy" offered in existing socialist countries, allowing the tribes a veto power over any resource development project.

The Igorots I have spoken with want to stay part of the Philippines, and accept small-scale resource and technical development appropriate to their cultures. Balweg says, "The consciousness of our people in the Cordillera is we are Filipinos, but at the same time we have a different history apart from the rest of the Filipino people... Our people, the minorities here in the Cordillera, have always been the collective master of their society. And it's not for any outsider to destroy... Anybody who would not respect this, they have to confront it... So it is up to them (the NDF) to prove that we respect each other, and we unite." A Kankanaey student in the underground puts it to me more bluntly: "At times there were problems—the lowland cadre didn't understand us as a



"We do recruit some tough guys," he laughs, "but they mellow out after joining." I have to admit the idea of someone "mellowing out" after joining an armed revolutionary organization hasn't occurred to me before. Yet the entire time in the guerrilla zone, I never hear a voice raised in anger, nor an M-16 brandished to prove one's manhood.

Over the next three days, I observe perhaps some of the reasons for the confident air about the NPA's. Though the government troops are approaching the vicinity, they have no guide and have lost any element of surprise. At all times, we know where the soldiers are, how many there are, what they are asking the villagers, even what they are eating. Villagers constantly watch the soldiers in the woods, and send runners up to the camp with messages, as well as rice supplies. One village violates its own taboo—of people entering or leaving during a sacred day—to provide this service.

One runner is roughly questioned by the soldiers, but keeps his message tucked away in his armpit. Another messenger wears the thick grass rain cape of the Igorot elders. Ka Lucas, a 77-year-old Kalinga elder at the camp who was a guerrilla during World War II, is the Political Officer of his village militia. He joined because of experiences with the military in his barrio, including men being tied to banana trees and tortured. "Our customs and traditional ways are being destroyed," he says. "We join to recover our ways... which is part of our inheritance from our ancestors."

One of the last major battles to take place in this area was about two months ago, when the NPA raided the municipality of Sadanga. According to the account of the residents, shooting started at the town hall (the pockmarks of which are still visible). In the midst of the gun battle, a woman in a nearby house was giving birth. Balweg ordered a ceasefire, while the family removed the mother and newborn infant, and then quickly forced the government soldiers to surrender. One local fighter today sports a military cap that he seized that day; and the baby was named "Conrado."

It is this type of incident that gives the NPA a "Robin Hood" image in the Cordillera and other Philippine regions. To throw off eavesdroppers, Filipinos can variously refer to the NPA as the "Nice People Around", "No Permanent Address", or for priests like Balweg, "No Parish Assignment." The CPP is also sometimes called "Colgate-Palmolive Philippines."

"It was never we who would directly recruit," says Balweg, "but the community... And they always say 'Do not surrender! And do not do anything that would be a shame to your tribe.'" He claims that villagers help the family of an NPA recruit with their harvesting and house-building.

This relationship between the guerrillas and villagers has not always been so close. "It used to be that the people would give us supplies because they were afraid of our guns," says Balweg, "So we now have a rule that we pay fairly for everything." (The money comes not from foreign governments, but from an elaborate "taxation" system; corporations operating in the vicinity pay up or face destruction of their equipment. Even CRC has to pay; logging operations have been suspended in some regions by the government to stem this form of fund-raising.)

Ka Victor also mentions an "error" the NPA made in the early 1970's, when it carried out a major campaign against feudalism which advocated the collectivization of land. "There was only one small problem with that," he says, "There is no feudalism in the Cordillera. The land is already collective, and the people told us so. We changed that one in a hurry."

With the more recent popularity of the NPA, the military has placed a 200,000 peso (\$12,000) price on Balweg's head, but he seems unconcerned. When last year, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile sent a personal message to the NPA Commander, requesting a meeting where he

could convince Balweg to unconditionally surrender, Balweg publicly replied, "Catch me if you can."

"It's not hard to intimidate the soldiers," says Balweg. "Once when they came close, we threw rocks and yelled 'granada!' (grenade!). They ran away screaming for their mothers." He says that some soldiers "are realizing they are just pawns," and are providing information and even ammunition to the NPA. The regime will find it difficult to win at chess if indeed the "pawns" opt out.

Ka Tina, an 18-year-old Kalinga, is one of the three women in the combat unit.

Dungoc, shaking his head, "A waste of ammunition."

Dungoc, known as Ka AG (Above-ground) was before 1981 an organizer against the dam project. He was seen as a deputy to Macli-ing Dulag, a pangat (traditional elder), who was considered the foremost leader in the tribal fight against the dam. When officials presented Dulag with papers stating the government's ownership of tribal lands, he stated, "How can you own that which outlives you?"

Dulag and other pangats concluded peace pacts among themselves, to put an end to chronic intertribal wars which

contradiction...". "If the NDF is sincere," he says, "the interests of the cultural minorities will be respected." But if they are not, he says, stroking his head-bend, he will keep fighting. He hopes, though, that he can join his wife and four children, and be a farmer again.

Over a month later, on June 28, Dungoc and another guerrilla would be killed, as typhoon winds topple a tree onto their camp shelter. At first, the military would claim they were killed in an encounter.

Further up the mountain trails, the guerrillas stop in a dense and damp corner of the forest. Within two hours, they build a completely new camp, using their bolo knives to hack out new tent poles. One who is particularly keen with his bolo is the former warrior chief of Bugnay, who saw joining the NPA as a better way to defend the interest of his Butbut tribe than his old practice of battling other tribes.

One of his uncles, however, was earlier in the year accused of trying to ignite a tribal war between the Butbut and Sadanga peoples. After a series of warnings, the NPA wanted to expell or "eliminate" him. According to Balweg's version, the barriofolk instead wanted to "reform" him, but failed. When he persisted, Balweg said, they placed him under house arrest, and later called for the NPA. A "People's Court" was conducted outdoors, with all the people of Bugnay as "judges". After being found guilty, he was privately "executed." His NPA cousin claims that he and other family members approved of the execution as a last resort, along with the rest of the Butbut.

Whatever the real story, it is clear that the chess game is for keeps, and whoever is in the pay of the military—whether soldier, agent, informer or provocateur—is fair game. When a rook or a knight is taken out of the game, it is not placed gently by the side of the board.

No one denies that the NPA is growing. A U.S. Senate Committee has estimated NPA strength in the whole country at 30,000 regulars and irregulars, while the NPA claims 32,000 full-time and part-time fighters, two-thirds armed with high-powered rifles bought on the black market or captured. The NPA's are spread evenly throughout 58 provinces in the different regions of the country. If the guerrillas and generals are playing chess, the "chess board" is the 7,100 islands in the archipelago. A favorite joke of the NPA's is that they cannot repeat Chairman Mao's Long March which brought him to power, lest it turn into a "Long Swim." Both the NPA and State Department agree that within 3-5 years, the NPA could reach a "strategic stalemate" with the military, at which point there's nowhere for the government to go but downhill.

In some ways, the war in the Cordillera is similar to the usual guerrilla war in the Philippines (or in other countries), and in some ways it is different. It is a war where ingenuity and creativity—throwing off old strategies and creating new ones—is the only way to encircle the king. The old military practice of "winning hearts and minds" is infinitely more complex than simply having outsiders come in to plow crops or build roads. It involves recognizing a cultural battle that has been waged for centuries.

It is a war where reclaiming culture is as important as recapturing territory. Like other indigenous peoples, the Igorots are faced with the perils which come with Westernization, such as alcoholism and suicide. It is not uncommon to see a young woman in the traditional Bird Dance sporting a brand-new "Ghostbusters" T-shirt. But it is through political battles, the legal and underground activists say, that many youth are rediscovering their culture.

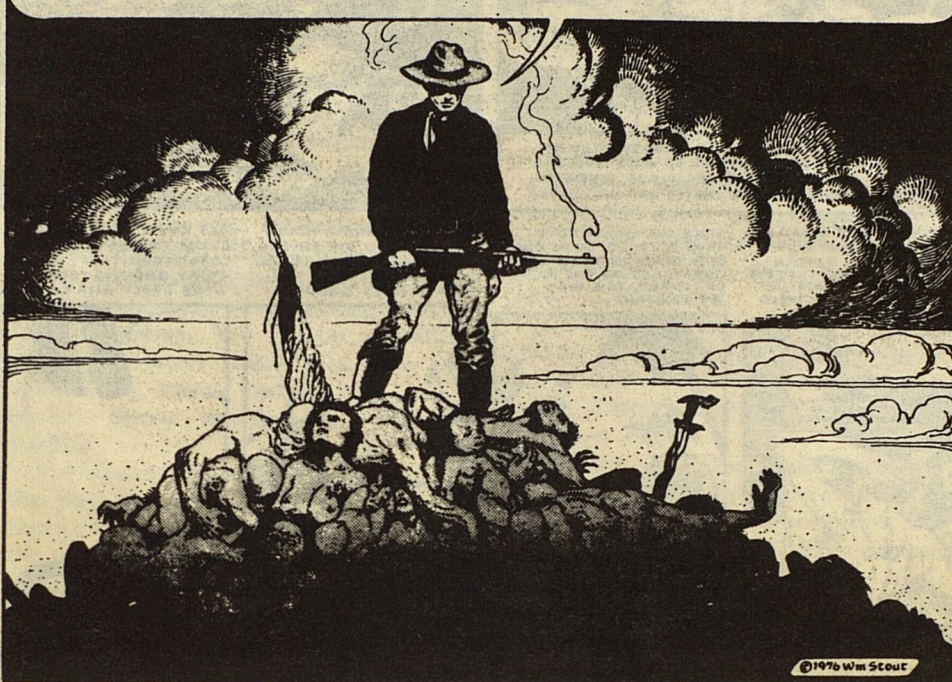
It is a war where future plans affect present realities—the promise of a Cordillera autonomous region ranks in importance with the establishment of a new guerrilla front. Whether or not the NDF is sincere to the Igorots is the key; as Balweg says, it will be "answerable to the people of the Cordillera."

It is a war where the long, slow process of establishing trust with the villagers has

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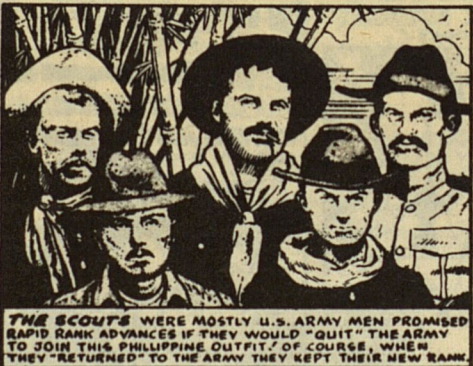
MY NAME IS THIRD LIEUTENANT... ACTUALLY, I'D PREFER NOT TO TELL YOU MY NAME! YOU SEE, I WAS PERSONALLY INVOLVED IN AMERICA'S DEEPEST DISGRACE, A SORDID SCAR ON OUR PAST YOU WON'T FIND IN YOUR HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY BOOKS! I SAW THE WHOLESALE SLAUGHTER OF WOMEN AND MEN—THE MASS BUTCHERY OF THEIR BABIES AND CHILDREN! I CONFESS TO INVOLVEMENT IN THE BIGGEST MASS GENOCIDE EVER COMMITTED UNTIL THE ADVENT OF HITLER! I TOOK PART IN THE ...

FILIPINO MASSACRE



IN 1900 WE TOOK THE PHILIPPINES FROM SPAIN AND IMMEDIATELY SET UP MILITARY CONTROL. THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WAS OUTRAGED AND HEAVILY OPPOSED OUR INVOLVEMENT! TO DECEIVE THE PUBLIC INTO THINKING THERE WERE FEWER U.S. ARMY PERSONNEL IN THE PHILIPPINES THAN IN ACTUALITY, THE PHILIPPINE SCOUTS WERE ESTABLISHED ...

THE MOROS WERE THE FIERCE, PROUD RULING TRIBE OF THE PHILIPPINES. THEY LIVED MOSTLY ON THE ISLAND OF MINDANAO AND IN THE PROVINCE OF SULU. THE MORO PEOPLE WERE (AND STILL ARE) DEVOUT FOLLOWERS OF MOHAMMED ...



THE SCOUTS WERE MOSTLY U.S. ARMY MEN PROMISED RAPID RANK ADVANCES IF THEY WOULD "QUIT" THE ARMY TO JOIN THIS PHILIPPINE OUTFIT. OF COURSE, WHEN THEY "RETURNED" TO THE ARMY THEY KEPT THEIR NEW RANK ...



... THIS CAUSED QUITE A FEW PROBLEMS ...

Because of the male warrior tradition of the Igorots, fewer women join the NPA in the Cordillera than in other regions. Tina left home four years ago, originally against her parents' will, but later with a "mutual understanding." She has been in a number of ambushes and once escaped from an encirclement by government troops. She concurs with Balweg that these soldiers are not so brave in the field, and are especially shocked to be facing women rebels.

On the third day of the military offensive, the guerrillas meet at dawn to prepare for a retreat. The military has been sighted one and one-half kilometers away, and mortar shelling has been heard. Tina is standing wrapped in a blanket near Balweg, who for brief moments tightens his face muscles and for the first time looks like a hunted man. He is to head seven others in a "stay-behind group," which will protect the camp, while the rest establish a new camp further up the mountain.

It is a beautiful morning as we climb the dry ridge, knee-deep in grass, camouflaging our backpacks with branches to avoid detection. Leading this group is Pedro Dungoc, a Kalinga from the village of Bugnay. After a half-hour of silent climbing, we hear in the distance seven shots from an Armalite, and bursts of M-60 machine gun fire. "They're clearing the forest ahead of their advance," says

prevented unity against the dams. Balweg claims that the NPA has played an intermediary role in conflicts between tribes and villages which threaten to erupt into warfare. NPA members are also not permitted to get embroiled in tribal warfare. The NDF publication *Liberation* claims that the NPA has arbitrated settlements in seven cases.

Macli-ing Dulag's role was seen as so threatening to government plans for the region that, on the night of April 24, 1980, a team allegedly led by an Army lieutenant shot him dead in his home. Dungoc's home was also raided, and he was shot in the left wrist. Every year, hundreds of Igorots and their supporters gather near the Chico River to commemorate the assassination and renew the peace pact.

After the shooting, Dungoc joined the NPA and eventually the CPP. (One-third of the guerrillas are Party members, a figure which the Underground wants to reduce.) He says, "There is much concern for an individual to integrate into the tribe... It is not the name Communist or Tribal that is important. What is important is how you deal... with your fellow man." However, he says, "There are some comrades from the lowlands. Of course, they have the kind of living they have in the lowlands. In the Cordillera there is much difference. In the national issues, we are fighting for the same cause, but there is a

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proved more effective for the NPA than major offensives have for the military. After my leaving the Cordillera (which was accomplished with a mixture of luck and good timing), I would receive a letter from the underground describing "...the very heavy militarization they staged just after you left... It was the civilians who suffered the consequences—they had the real scare in their life. According to one of them it was just like World War II—bombs being dropped in the mountains and helicopters hovering all day long. As of now they have ceased their operations, maybe because they can't find anybody anywhere."

It is a war where the gongs of tribal dancers are as important as mortar shells, where rice terraces are as important as tanks, where omen birds are as important as armalites. Whoever is on the side of the culture has a better chance of winning, because it is the culture which has defeated all previous invaders. It is one ingredient that the NPA hopes will carry its chess game to Stalemate, and ultimately to Checkmate.

III. MINDANAO

I am off to meet the guerrillas. It is late June in Marawi, a Muslim city in Western Mindanao. I'm not so sure it's a good idea to be here at all. When you tell someone in Manila that you're going to Mindanao, they often say, "You're going where?" and give you a look as if you'd told them you're going on a safari in El Salvador.

But now I'm off to see the guerrillas—the Muslim rebels who have been fighting government troops for 13 years now. A thousand questions run through my head. Is it dangerous? Will the rebels accept my presence? What questions do I ask them? What will my story be if stopped by the military? And, of course, the most important question: *What do I wear?*

Yesterday I arrived in Marawi alone—the only white face in town. The silver-domed village mosques, the flowing colorful robes, the wailing prayers, muslim caps and fezes, and the suffocating military presence give the Muslim region a completely different feeling from the rest of the Philippines. In just a one-hour ride, I have crossed from the Christian to the Islamic world.

In order to pose as a tourist, I hired a motorized tricycle to take me to a museum on the campus of Mindanao State University (MSU). It is here that, after President Marcos' declaration of Martial Law in 1972, a group of young armed Muslims sparked an uprising. After raiding the campus, they seized the university radio station and broadcast a call to insurrection. Muslims, also known as "Moros" (the Spanish word for Muslims), heeded the call throughout Western Mindanao, where they remain dominant. And thus the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) was born.

The museum turns out to be closed. Instead, to my consternation, the military has chosen the day for its military parade rehearsal. An army band played tinny marching tunes, as soldiers and members of the Integrated Civilian Home Defense Force (ICHDF) went through their drills. Automatic rifles of all shapes and sizes bristle everywhere. The paramilitary ICHDF has been accused of some of the craziest and most grisly atrocities of the war. Mindanao opponents of the regime talk about it using code words based on its acronym: "I Came Here to Dance Free."

The view from MSU is breathtaking. Green mountains tower over Lake Lanao, the center of the Maranao Moro tribe's culture. A beautiful mosque on campus built by the late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia testifies to the local link with the Muslim world. (Even the Coca-Cola signs are in Arabic.) But the appearance is deceptive. MSU is the most militarized campus in the Philippines. Its chancellor, Mohammed Ali Dimaporo, also happens to be governor of Lanao del Sur province and a Marcos crony. A reporter who had

uncovered some of Dimaporo's financial dealings was killed—allegedly by the head of University Security. He was one of a dozen reporters killed recently in the country. I decided it was time to leave.

The next day, under these kinds of conditions, I go to see the guerrillas in the hills. This is where the question of clothing comes in. If I'm going to be sticking my white face into places where it looks conspicuous, there had better be a damn good reason. One of my hosts graciously allows me to wear a flowing Arab white robe and headdress. For a time, I go around Marawi disguised as an Arab missionary, trying to act Egyptian. If someone greets me with

THE CHRISTIANS CONSIDERED THE MOHAMMEDANS TO BE INFIDELS. THE MOHAMMEDANS MAINTAINED THE CHRISTIANS WERE THE INFIDELS...



MOHAMMEDANS ARE PARTICULARLY AGGRAVATED BY CHRISTIANS BECAUSE CHRISTIANS DO NOT DISCUSS MOHAMMED AT ALL IN THEIR TEACHINGS, WHEREAS THE MOGLES DO DISCUSS CHRIST AND HIS WAYS!

THE MOROS WERE RULED BY THEIR SULTAN AND DIDN'T RECOGNIZE OUR GOVERNMENT AS THEIRS. THAT DID NOT STOP OUR TAX NOTICES FROM APPEARING IN THEIR VILLAGES...



UNFORTUNATELY, THEY DID NOT READ ENGLISH...

"THE MOROS DO NOT WANT YOUR ROADS — OUR OKEN HAVE NO NEED OF PAVEMENT. YOUR ROADS ARE BUILT NOT FOR US BUT FOR YOU AND YOUR WAR MACHINES..."



"Salaam Aleikum" ("Peace be with you"), I am to answer with an "Aleikum wa-Salaam" ("And with you"). But it's getting dark, and the white robe is all too visible. My contacts decide I should wear a white Muslim cap, with a mahlong wrapped around my face. If confronted, I am to say that I'm a "White Muslim" like Cat Stevens (Now "Yusuf Islam"), whose music is very popular in these parts. This works quite well.

With Joel Paredes, a Filipino reporter for Agence France-Presse, and two others, we drive along a road at times lined with government soldiers. Luckily, they are afraid to be out at night and it's also raining. I smoke one of my first cigarettes ever and try to relax. After we reach our destination, the rain stops. We take a peaceful two-hour walk towards the hills through ricefields, under the crescent moon—a good omen, someone says. When we reach a darkened village, dogs bark and young men emerge from the houses with rifles. They greet us warmly, and invite us in for coffee. It's good to find that while most Filipinos are drinking Nescafe, the "national minorities" are still drinking the real stuff.

We discuss some of the background to the conflict, and the roles of the "three peoples" of Mindanao: the first were the tribal peoples, or Lumads. Many of the lowland tribes were then converted to

Islam by traders; Mindanao became the eastern edge of the Muslim world. Up until the early 1960's, Muslims were the majority on the island. But a program had begun under the U.S. colonial regime which settled Christians from northern islands on Mindanao. Most of these settlers were from the Visayas and spoke the Cebuano language, now the dominant tongue in Mindanao.

The authorities settled Christians as tenants on Muslim and Lumad lands, by then owned by Christian landlords. The settlers were given certain advantages and privileges over the original inhabitants. Many of them were also armed. More and

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES SENT INTO THE MORO JUNGLES WERE SELDOM SEEN AGAIN. EVERY SPANISH CONTINGENT WAS WIPE OUT...

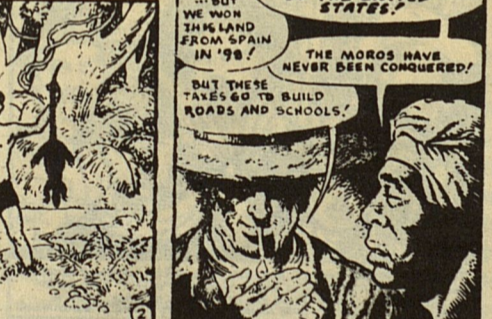


THE ABUSED MORO WOULD COMPLAIN TO HIS SULTAN WHO WOULD SEND HIS SOLDIERS TO RECOVER THE CONFISCATED GOODS...



BUT ANY ATTEMPT TO RECLAIM POSSESSIONS WAS CONSIDERED THEFT BY THE ARMY, AND THE "THIEVES" WERE DEALT WITH SWIFTLY...

"WE HAVE NO USE FOR WHAT YOU TEACH! ONE DAY I HAD A TALK WITH A CAPTIVE MORO — A BRIGHT FELLOW...



more Muslim land was being taken away, and the Muslims blamed the settlers rather than American or Filipino officials. Manila officials patted themselves on their backs for directing the attention of Muslim warriors away from themselves. The land takeovers, the gunslinging atmosphere, and frontier-type towns gave Mindanao a "Wild West" feeling that lasts to this day.

After the battle for MSU, the MNLF's Bangsa Moro Army (BMA) began fighting an incredibly intense guerrilla war for secession. Conservative estimates count 60,000 people dead so far. The BMA received support from both conservative and radical Muslim countries, in the form of weapons, training, and providing a refuge for the leadership of different factions. The MNLF's factionalism, emphasis on leaders, and reliance on foreign support proved to be its fatal flaws. The foreign based leaders lost touch with the pulse of the movement and wishes of field commanders. In 1977, Libya arbitrated an autonomy pact between the MNLF and Marcos, which he renounced the following year. Foreign supporters cut off much of their aid, differences were exacerbated between the different tribal and political factions within the Muslim movement, and Marcos offered financial incentives to BMA commanders to surrender, which many did. In a feudal society based on blood ties, the leader commands all

authority; if he goes, his men go with him.

Like the former Huk rebels in Luzon, the surrenderees were hired by the government to turn their weapons against the "godless" NPA, which has moved in to fill the gap left by the dwindling BMA—becoming a far more powerful military force in Mindanao. The surrenderees accused the NPA of attacking Moro villages. One of the surrenderee groups, carrying out particularly gruesome attacks on alleged NPA sympathizers proudly calls itself the "PLO"—"Philippine Liberation Organization." Other surrenderees were hired to the ICHDF. At Independence Day ceremonies on June 12th in Manila, President Marcos shared the stage with a group of MNLF surrenderees—who symbolize one of his greatest victories.

One BMA Commander who did not surrender was Pantagonan Al Sabbar, whose nom-de-guerre is Narra Abdul Jabbar. It is he who we have come to interview. Commander "Narra" (which translates as "mahogany") is a 32-year-old MSU graduate formerly in the MNLF-Reformist faction led by Dimas Pendato, now aligned with the U.S.-based conservative opposition. In 1984, Narra united the MNLF factions in a 76-day war which successfully held off government troops in the region, and gained a reputation as a folk hero after the battles. However, the Philippine Air Force was accused at the time of dropping chemical and napalm bombs on Muslim villages in Lanao del Sur. The small village where we meet the BMA rebels was itself burned to the ground in 1976. The villagers seem to be very accepting of the rebels' presence and mingle with them freely.

The next morning, Narra arrives with a contingent of his men. He still looks like a student—young, soft-spoken, handsome features, wire-rimmed glasses. But his confident manner of speaking, punctuated with a hundred gestures, change his image to a hardened but sharp guerrilla commander. He makes two things clear to us. First, he will not surrender, as the Defense Minister recently urged him to do. He accuses those who have surrendered of being weak in Muslim ideology, and speaks positively of uniting the remaining factions into a loose umbrella coalition like the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Second, he is an avowed anti-Communist, opposed to the "godlessness" of the NPA, and convinced that all Communist nations oppress Muslims (like in Afghanistan). However, like some other Moro field commanders, he is open to "tactical cooperation" with the NPA, including trading information, training, and perhaps even covering for each other. "... It is my policy that the enemy of your enemy is your friend, and the friend of your enemy is your enemy," he says. He mistrusts the NPA's call for the Moro right to self-determination, though he concedes that if it is sincere, he could cooperate or even participate in a revolutionary Democratic Coalition Government.

The differences between this BMA combat unit, and the NPA combat unit I was with last month in Northern Luzon are very apparent. There are no women with arms here. In the Underground, most of the contacts I've had were women—twice with a group of only women. The internal dynamics of Narra's group are totally different—fashioned by blood ties and focused on the leader. Narra refers to the fighters as "my" men. Had an NPA Commander said that, he or she would be hauled into a criticism/self-criticism session for a good five hours. The replaceable nature of NPA commanders may be one reason for the group's resiliency. Finally, the Moros seem much better armed than the Igorot NPA combatants I visited—including an M-60 mounted machine gun. Many of the weapons (all of Western make) came before the foreign cutoff, but lately the BMA has adopted the NPA tactic of capturing arms from soldiers. They also seem very proud of their guns—brandishing them and showing them off with relish. Perhaps this is an outgrowth of the importance of swords in the Moro culture, but whatever the case,

continued on pg. 15

ADDIE HOFFMAN

continued from page one

Vancouver.

Unlike yuppie Rubin, Hoffman is still a political organizer, currently active in environmental campaigns and Nicaragua support work.

The afternoon of the Vancouver debate, Hoffman conducted this interview for Overthrow.

Q: You've been doing a lot of Sandinista support work. Any suggestions about what people can do to organize around Nicaragua?

A: For me, the first line of organizing is simply to get as many people down there as possible.

You go down there with your tape recorder and cameras—however you travel as a tourist—and bring that back to your local community to share your experience.

The international element of the Nicaraguan revolution is vital. It's more like the Spanish Civil War than, say, Vietnam in that respect. Internationalists, including North Americans, will fight on their side if they are invaded by the U.S. military.

What's sad when you're in Nicaragua is to try and picture what this experiment looked like in '80, '81, before the war with the contras, and would look like today without the war.

What aspects are related to the fortress mentality that exists and what aspects are a product of the revolution?

That's difficult to tell and it's unfortunate. It's a tragedy because I believe it's the most important experiment in human living on this planet and it's not allowed to actualize its potential, to find its own level of balance between individual needs and collective needs in a very exciting way.

Q: What impact did the North American new left have on the Sandinista leadership that emerged in the 1960s?

A: They ask about the Chicago trial and they want to know about Saul Alinsky and Cesar Chavez, Dorothy Day or the Ber-rigans. These are all people and events that influenced them.

If you like the '60s, you would like Nicaragua because these people smoked dope, they had long hair, they liked rock and roll. They're all poets. Poetry or culture and politics were blended. They were non-ideological really in the same way we were in the '60s.

Q: Is the Sandinistas' non-ideological style similar to Uruguay's Tupamaros, who organized as an extension of Uruguayans' concerns rather than an extension of a European ideology?

A: In the development of the Sandinistas there were three predominant strains.

There was the mass organization-building in the cities. A traditional Marxist approach.

Then there was the prolonged struggle, kind of a Chinese Maoist point of view. Let them chase you into the mountains, where you had the advantage.

Then there was the insurrectionist movement. It was the least ideological. It was the most pragmatic. They were the yuppies.

That was the Ortegas, that was revolution by example, by deed, robbing banks, the kidnapping, the defiant gestures against the power structure to show its vulnerability, leading toward a mass insurrection. Strong emphasis on symbolic warfare.

The insurrectionist tendency is the one that predominates in the nine-member national directorate. And yes, that thrust was the same as the Tupamaros or the Montoneros in Argentina and to some extent the yuppies and, I suppose, the weather-people.

The counter-culture and an emphasis on youth as the vehicle for revolution was most important.

Q: Much of the left wrote off your early writings as non-ideological and simplistic, but the fact they could perceive them as stupid was one of the intelligent things about them. The books were so non-academic and emotional that an apolitical person could pick one up and become a radical by the time they put it down.



A: They could make a breakthrough. They could say "society sucks."

Q: What about the left's criticism?

A: It was a compliment, a backhanded compliment.

I've always been made on the left to feel embarrassed about being popular. My books have sold about two-and-a-half million copies. Maybe three now, I don't know.

I have an article on community organizing that was in *Parade* magazine with 27 million readers. I had to rewrite it 20 times making it more simple. This is not as easy to do as it reads.

You have to take complicated ideas and make them simple, the language has to be constantly gone over for certain words that Americans will read and tune out on, and you have to be aware of a very short attention span.

I've compared it closer to writing advertising copy than to, say, writing a book like Murray Bookchin. Now, I appreciate Murray Bookchin, but if I want to talk about what Murray is saying I have to boil it down to one or two ideas and then I have to translate it into American because this is just simply not the language that large numbers of people use.

Since the collapse of the trade union movement, the left has been trapped in academia. The language reflects that.

This is a difficult area, because now they'll say, "Well, you're not serious," or "You mean we've got to make ourselves saleable commodities," when all I'm saying is, "Look, this is how this society communicates."

It communicates through symbols, styles, personalities, issues, it's non-literate and non-ideological, it's visual imagery, short bursts one minute long. That's a TV commercial and you think just because something has five volumes that it's giving more information than that one minute?

Maybe yes, maybe no, but those one minutes transmit a lot of information. The art of communication is finding the one word that says what you want. Yippie was one of those words. That was a good word. Solidarity. Justice. Sanctuary. My mind scans constantly for key words to express and motivate people.

When we started Yippie! it was to get people to go to Chicago to demonstrate the new culture and protest the war. We didn't have a big bureaucratic structure, we didn't have money, we didn't have control of the media. We had some underlying philosophical notions of course—the attack against guilt and original sin, for example.

Also, we attacked boredom. I still believe that the best organizers understand people are easily bored in our society and if you add to that boredom you are a piss-poor organizer and, in a sense, adding to their oppression.

People in power can afford to bore people. They're in power, they don't have to be creative. I'm not saying we can all be extraordinarily talented as communicators but it's the rare leftist that even tries to improve.

Q: Most of the left doesn't understand the concept of popularity, of creating a movement that people want to be involved in, that attracts people like a popular culture.

A: There's a lot of reasons for that and it's important to discuss why that is so. We should be much more concerned about our internal tickings and learning the mechanics of organizing.

You pick up a left journal, you don't read about real problems that activists share. For example, what happens when one member of a couple gets disillusioned?

I want to understand why the left doesn't understand about depression, why it always associates it with their politics. I want to understand why there aren't more discussions about small-group psychology, about decision-making in small groups, about what motivates people, about the mechanics of making things work.

It's true there is an element on the left that thinks if it's popular it's bad. There are people that want to reach the proletariat masses but brag about not watching TV.

I don't know where the proletariat mass is in the United States, to tell you the truth. I don't know where that is and if you're plugged into that language you're not operating in this world, you're not a serious person.

I'm an organizer, not an activist. An activist goes to meetings, an organizer knocks on doors. I have spoken at Kiwanis clubs. I have spoken to the League of Women Voters in New Jersey. I have spoken at an American Legion Hall.

I want to reach people that are not the believers, that are not already there. I want to reach people who are confused about what's going on in Central America and don't understand it. I want to reach Americans.

I'm not interested in the left. The people you are talking about are not interested in Americans. They're afraid to go and meet people that are different from them and so the world is a cult and when you look at the world from a cult point of view there are all these conspiracies going on out there.

I mean, after all if the ruling class controls the media, which of course it does but like (snore), then you don't have to learn to write. I mean you learn how to write leaflets that 10 people will read.

You don't have to learn how the local newspaper works, who the assignment editor is, how to do a press conference, how to publish things, how to make a TV commercial that you can get on TV for nothing, how to use the courts.

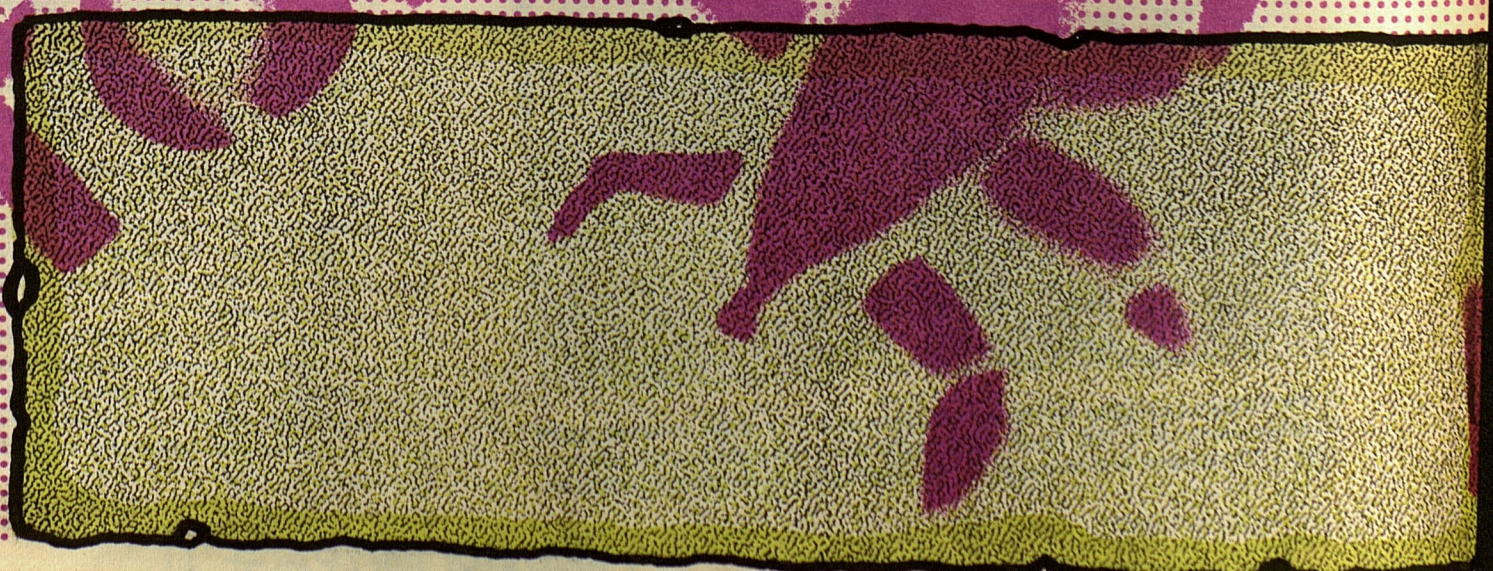
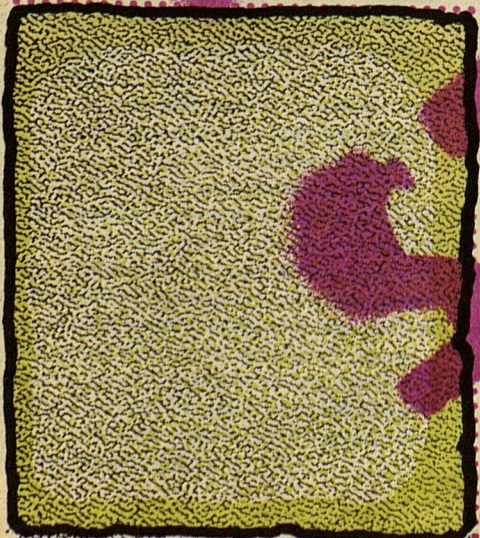
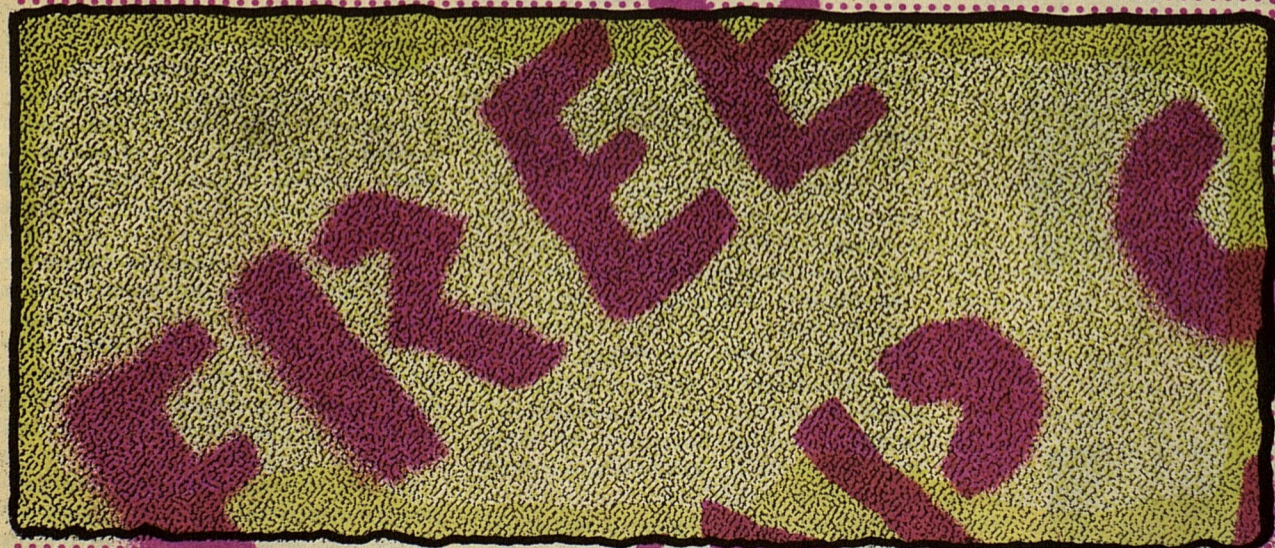
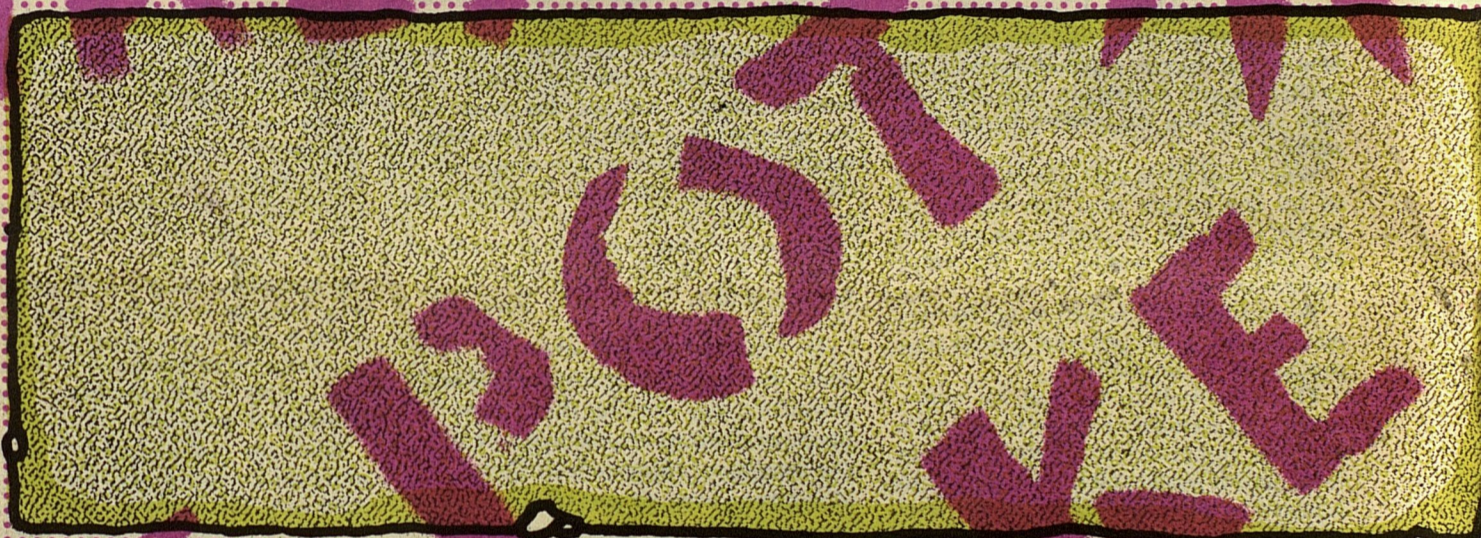
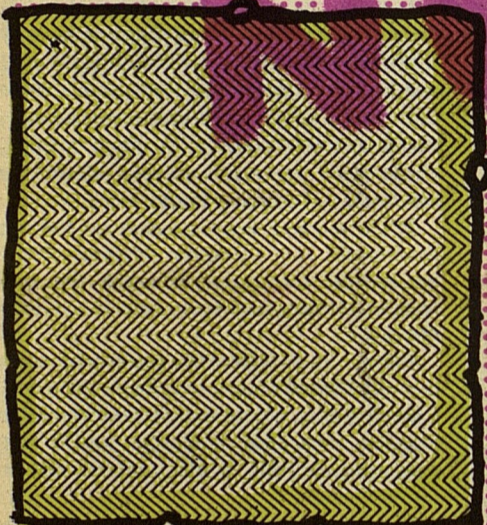
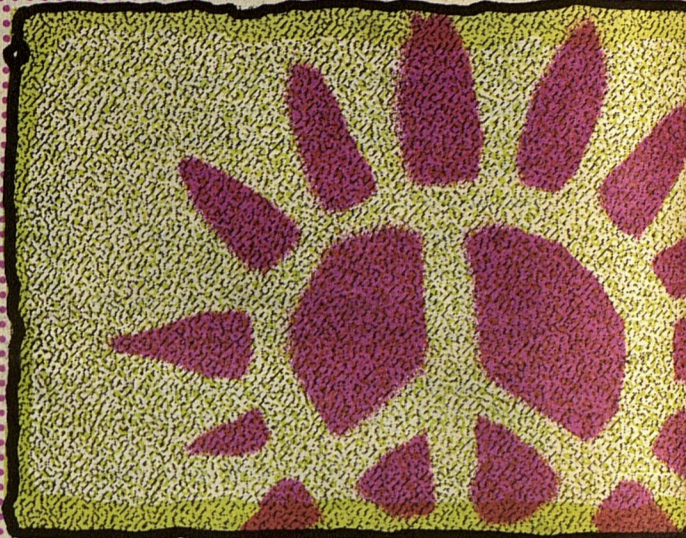
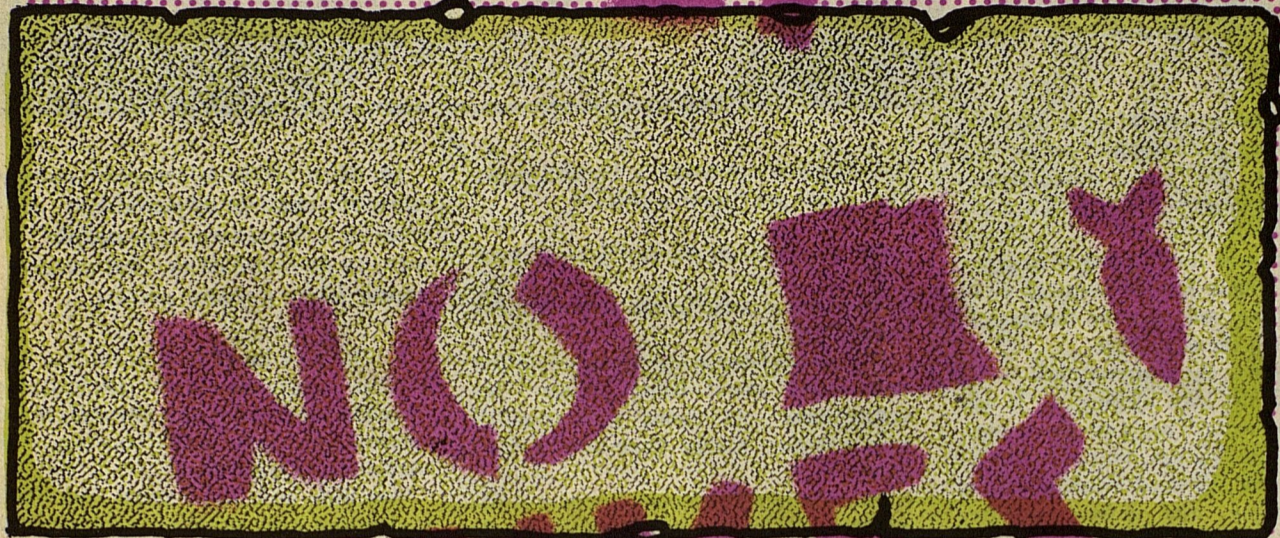
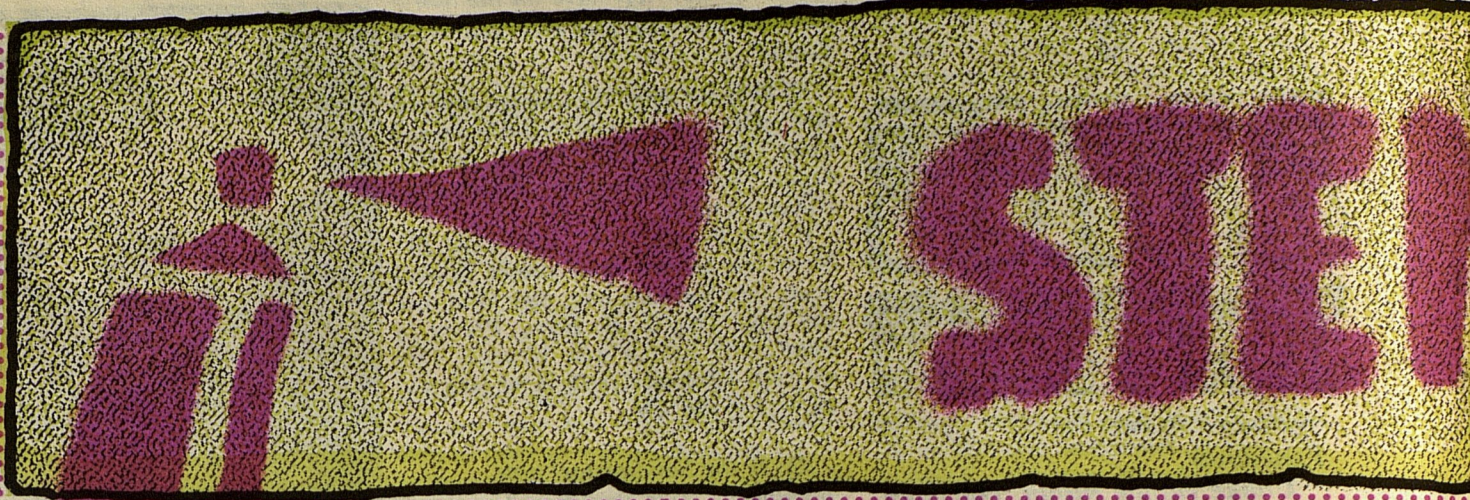
You don't learn how to use what's out there because it's all controlled and stacked against you. So it's a very dangerous idea that can develop, the theoretical position that you have as opposed to somebody on the right. I mean, it's there for them.

Success is seen as a capitalist invention. I've never understood why "serious" progressives are always late to meetings, often make promises they don't keep and don't

continued on pg. 14



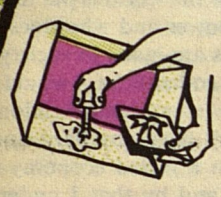
Daniel Ortega Saavedra being escorted by a member of the national guard after his arrest in a 1967 bank robbery for which he spent seven years in prison. The picture was released by the Nicaraguan Government archives.



CIL'S SPRAY

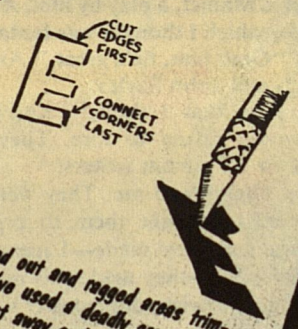
PUSH BUTTON ART

It's fun to be a free artist, especially when hundreds of people see your work every day! Getting your idea out is as easy as pushing a button! Your canvas is a wall, and your studio is the street! Your easel is cardboard and the spray can your brush! You don't have to cut off your ear to be a Van Gogh. But be careful not to cut your fingers off. You can also spray your stencils on cloth, leather, metal, and many corporate structures. Some people draw the image on the cardboard, but for fancier stuff, you may want to:



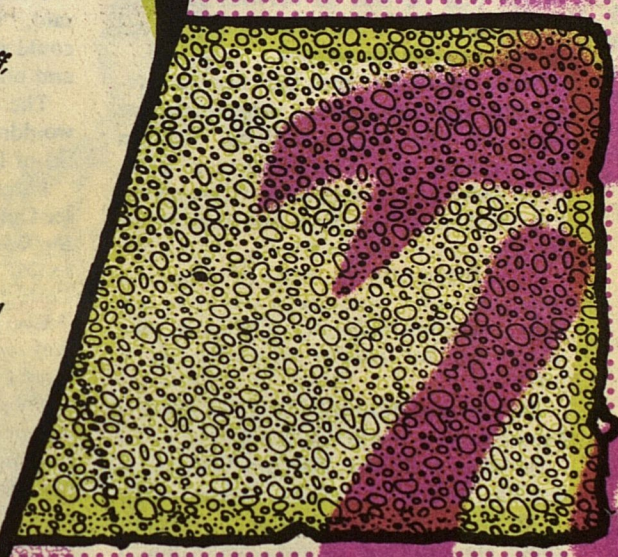
Draw your images out on paper, remembering that you're dealing in shapes rather than lines. Brush rubber cement onto a piece of cardboard, or onto the inside of a cardboard box. Lay the image on it and smooth out the paper. Let it dry.

Using a fine-tip cutting knife (like X-ACTO) carefully cut along the edge of the image to be punched out. Since each edge is a line, start in the middle of the line and cut towards the corner. Cut all the lines first and finish punching the image out by cutting at the corners. Cut from greater areas of cardboard in towards weaker areas. In these ways the cardboard will stay stiff while you cut it. Remember, stencils are basically made up of gaps and bridges. Design your stencil so the gaps are big enough for the paint to go in, and the bridges not so thin that they rip. If they do rip, fix with masking tape.



When all the shapes have been punched out and ragged areas trimmed, you're ready to spray. Assuming you've used a deadly aerosol spray can before, hold the can about 2 feet away and move in closer as you spray, moving gradually around the image as you paint through each hole in the stencil. In a couple of seconds your image is conveyed. Wait a moment and remove the cardboard to view your masterpiece. One long-time spraymaster recommends cutting the image through the inner wall of a cardboard box. In this way, you can carry a carton around, lean against a wall for a second and leave your mark without anyone really seeing you. What's the next step? Interchangeable stencils, 2 color line-ups, photo stencils, who knows? Maybe the best graffiti is one simple statement: **BAN FLOUROCARBONS!**

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continued from pg. 11

have to prove their abilities in a real sense. Anyone that does is viewed with suspicion, a "power freak" or something. You might see this as somewhat self-serving but every good organizer has to be success-oriented and also, like it or not, becomes famous.

Q: Isn't the job of organizers to find out what people are already doing in their lives that's rebellious and articulate that back to them in an organized political way, rather than trying to impose an ideology on them. Just as, culturally, Dylan articulated what people were already feeling and the terms hippy and punk put labels on what people were already doing?

A: You're absolutely right. You don't organize people. People are organized. They know what they want. You have to connect what pisses them off to the issue that you're working on.

A good organizer understands psychology as much as politics. You have to understand what motivates people and so you have to tune in, not just to people's rebellion, but to their anxieties, their sense of alienation and despair.

You have to find out "where they're at," as we used to say.

People are upset about things in their lives so you don't come in and tell them something else they should be upset about.

You connect what they're upset about to what you're upset about and in that linkage you build. That's about all you can do. That's all you can do.

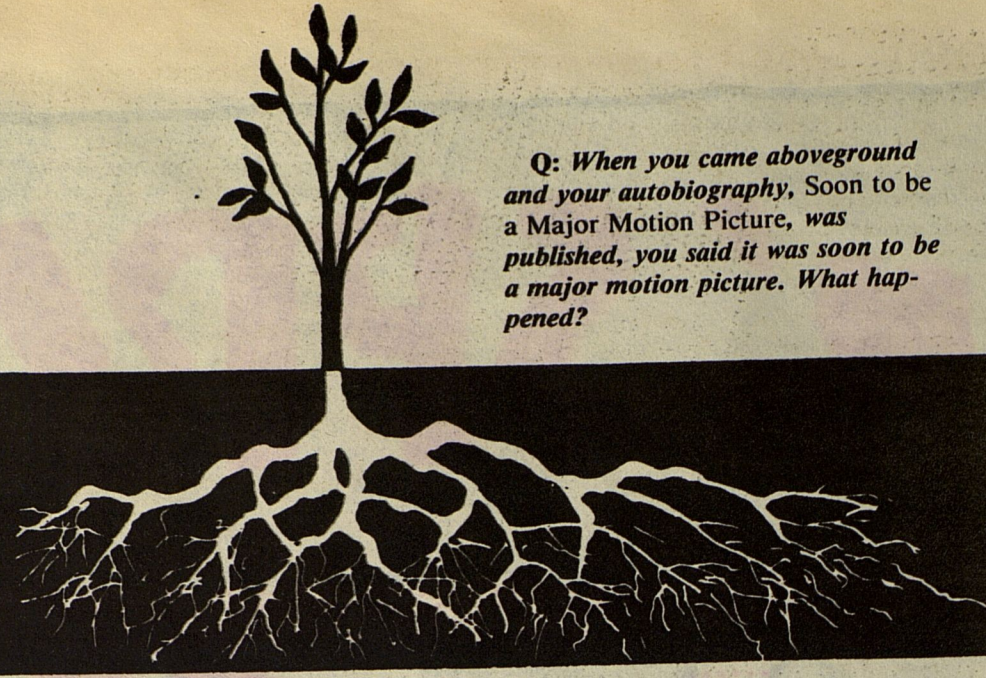
Numbers count. Too often we keep trying, say, to change cousin Bernie's mind on the mid-east. Work on easier cousins.

Q: In Jonah Raskin's novel, Underground, you teamed up with Raskin to try to uncover the identity of "B. Traven," the mysterious author of Treasure of the Sierra Madre. Did you actually follow the trail of Traven when you were a fugitive?

A: Yeah, I was on to B. Traven independently of Jonah. I had heard about B. Traven and I had read one of his books and it was just a mindblower. Then, when I met Jonah underground it turned out he had contacted B. Traven's wife in Mexico City and was going down to look through B. Traven's papers and everything.

And so we went down and we had somebody read one of his books to us that's never been translated from German: *The Canal*. An incredible novel about a woman who sets up a corporation and wants to build a canal across America and all the big conglomerates try to sabotage her efforts.

We read all his books, we read through the papers and, you know, were on the trail of B. Traven. He was probably the most interesting fugitive in history.



Q: When you came aboveground and your autobiography, Soon to be a Major Motion Picture, was published, you said it was soon to be a major motion picture. What happened?

A: Well, they bought the rights, Universal Studios. They sent me to see this movie that had been done about Kerouac. It was a piece of shit so I come back and tell them it was a piece of shit and they said, "That's exactly the kind of thing we wanted to hear," and then they assigned that person to do the movie.

So he came to see me and I was still a fugitive. This real L.A. yuppie type.

Q: You showed the studio the book while you were underground?

A: The manuscript and an outline of my underground life heavily disguised.

So they got real excited and he came to see me and said, "The studio said no politics." I remember his opening line.

I thought that was pretty funny and I said, "Oh fuck, I'm in Hollywood." They could make a movie about Frank Sinatra and not mention he's a singer.

The script was so embarrassing they wouldn't even show it to me. So they got rid of him.

Later, after I emerged they sent me to see David Mamet, a play by him, *American Buffalo*, which I thought was fantastic and I said, "Grab him, he's great." And Steve Toshich and John Sayles.

Everyone that I thought was talented they would refuse to hire. They finally hired two TV sitcom writers.

They interviewed me. They went up to the river. I brought them to organizing meetings and they made—I mean it was just incredible—they made this movie and I was a gay, Jewish, dope dealer who went underground to make a movie about himself.

So I said to them, "Like, how did I get to be gay?" and they said, "Well, you said some guy tried to rape you in prison." I said, "Well, he didn't rape me and so what, even, what does that mean?"

They said, "Well, there's a big gay audience out there, you know. That's a chunk we can cater to."

I said, "You really think I'm a dope dealer? Not even the cops say I'm a dope dealer. I mean, this is just ridiculous." And they said, "Well, coke is in." This was the time, I guess, the DeLorean trial was just starting up and they wanted to cash in on the coke angle.

I said, "Well, what about risking my freedom to save the river and everything,"

and they said, "Well, there's a lot of river movies, you know."

It's not called Hollyweird for nothing. But again the script was so bad it satisfied no one.

Q: When the Weather Underground split up, a position paper of one faction criticized another faction for helping you go underground.

A: Isms lead to schisms. That's another bad reason for isms. Schisms that lead to wasims.

I've come to the conclusion that isms are wasims, that they're not really relevant, that anarchism and communism and capitalism and socialism, in particular, occurred at the beginning of the industrial revolution and for a global village that is our modern civilization, the information age, that these isms are badly outdated.

Q: But whether you give it a label or not, isn't it important to have a non-authoritarian perspective to avoid the old, rigid centralized type of organizing?

A: I think you should have what Germans call a *weltanschauung*—a point of view. I think you should have a well-developed point of view as to human nature, as to how the world is put together, as to who has power and who doesn't, as to how decisions are made in society.

Because I'm a romanticist, I would favor decentralization over centralization any time, but I don't have any hard and fast rule. I believe in a mixed economy as do the Sandinistas and by that I understand that some things have to be decentralized and some things have to be centralized. That's all.

I think it's dependent upon other things: the culture, economics, natural resources in the country, level of education. I can just imagine loads and loads of other variables that enter in to how much decentralization you have and how much centralization.

Q: As for that Weather Underground paper, did they help you out when you became a fugitive?

A: Very minor. Some weatherpeople mailed letters, that I had hand-written to my lawyer, from different places around the country, saying, "I'll be right back, I just overslept." Letters like that. False leads for the feds.

My help to them was far more extensive, especially in their earlier years. I liked several personally, but I never liked their ideology.

Q: What was the problem with it?

A: Guilt about being white-skinned, the concept of "white-skin privilege." The masochism of just taking on superior forces in open battlefield, so to speak. There was a suicidal attitude towards a lot of their machismo. Very self-hatred oriented.

I liked their willingness to use poetry, to use the culture, to recognize the importance of youth culture at that particular moment in American society. And revolution by act. At that point, you know, that's where the yippies and the Weather underground and the Sandinistas met, but it was just a brief moment.

Q: People into weather politics tended, on the personal level, to be a lot more serious than yippies.

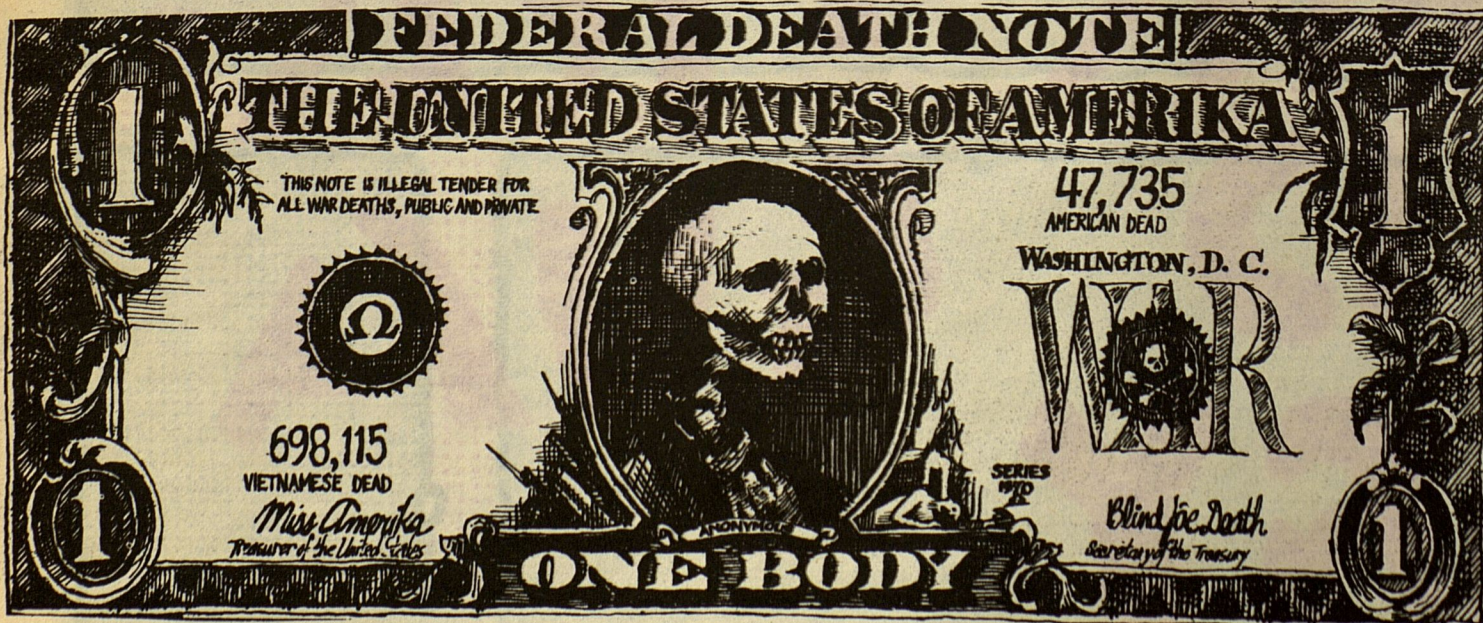
A: I wouldn't dignify the word serious in that respect.

Q: Yippie-style humor became popular in the 1970s. A lot of Saturday Night Live and SCTV was yippie humor.

A: Controlled though. Ultimately, yippie humor verged into chaos.

The guerrilla communication—I don't say theatre because theatre means

continued on pg. 17



Inside the Philippine Resistance

III. MINDANAO

continued from pg. 10

the NPA had seemed a little embarrassed by their guns. In some Muslim areas, villagers say that the NPA's (some of whom are Muslim) who pass through their area are more polite than the Moro guerrillas. The NPA's tactics in winning hearts and minds seems to be working not just against the military but against other guerrillas as well.

How to reconcile the religious outlook of the Islamic revolutionaries with that of the socialist revolutionaries in the Philippines? This is now the key question within both movements in Mindanao. Certainly there are some commonalities—both are opposed to the rule of Marcos, and at least Narra opposes U.S. influence over the country. Significantly, he says he feels closer to the Christian peoples of the Philippines than to the other peoples of the Islamic world. But isn't the religious fundamentalism he espouses irreconcilable with the class analysis of the NPA? Would a revolutionary government grant autonomy or even independence to a Muslim region still under feudal norms of society?

For some answers, I later turn to members of Muslim-Christian Dialogue, a group trying to build unity between Muslims and Christian settlers. This process mostly involves breaking down the 'savage' image that Muslims have been given since the Spanish colonial era. They say the MNLF originally tried to build a concept of "Moro" that included all the peoples of Mindanao. Now the "other" Underground has formed the Moro Revolutionary Organization (MORO), which will try to unite poor Christians with poor Muslims outside of a religious framework. MORO is so far a tiny organization, made up mostly of Muslim cadre pulled out of the NPA for the task; and is planning to start its own armed wing.

It's an uphill battle, to put it mildly. The working classes in Mindanao are far more divided than even blacks and whites in the U.S. Most leftist activists I speak with seem to regard it as a lost cause. They refer to the Moros as the "Achilles Heel" of the Philippine Revolution, and potential future "contras" for the U.S. They speak of Islam as a feudal and sexist ideology but often without applying the same criteria to Roman Catholicism. Others speak of the possibility of a middle road between the class and religious positions, much like the Catholic liberation theologues. The more Marxist of the MNLF factions, led by University of the Philippines graduate Nur Misuari, has vaguely referred to forms of "Islamic Socialism." But the ideas are not developing fast enough to unite the BMA and NPA in Mindanao, and thus the Christian and Muslim communities. Marcos can put up his feet and watch the game of divide-and-conquer that he is such an expert at playing.

During a delicious lunch of chicken curry, we speak with Narra's chief aide, who was trained in none other than Libya. During his six-year Libyan exile, he trained with other Muslim guerrillas from Chad, Eritrea, Western Sahara, and Palestinian factions. He is still officially a member of the Libyan army reserves. As I leave, I tell him of my Jewish background, but he doesn't seem the least perturbed, mumbling something of "peace between all peoples." All peoples, that is, but the Moros and Marcos' soldiers.

We hike out of the guerrilla zone, passing some Moro farmers on their way, soon reach Marawi, and take the road back to Iligan. This road to the Christian region has been a favorite site throughout history of Moro ambushes—against Spanish, American, Japanese and Filipino troops—and military checkpoints or camps have been set up every two miles. They aren't activated today, though, and we aren't stopped. I breathe a sigh of relief; though as a foreigner I'm not in danger, I'm always endangering the Filipinos who I am with.

Iligan is known as the main industrial city of Mindanao. Dozens of factories—many foreign-owned—line the shore of the bay. The capital of Lanao del Norte, Iligan was quiet only a few years ago; only lately has it developed a reputation for labor militancy. The Underground has also developed strength, to the point of operating a "shadow government" that parallels the city government, and is prepared to replace it. The NPA is known



(above) A 1977 graphic from an underground Manila paper. It illustrates a "lightning demonstration," so called because the participants assemble rapidly, complete their action quickly and fade away into the surrounding crowds. At the point is Ferdinand Marcos.

(right) This silkscreen print was made by NPA artists to commemorate a 1973 incident in which 4 Philippine Air Force (PAF) jets were shot down by a squad of the Moro National Liberation Front's Bangsa Moro Army

—graphics reprinted from Southeast Asia Chronicle, P.O. Box 4000D, Berkeley CA 94704. photo by Zoltan Grossman



In contrast to the cement plant, the Pillsbury Milling Corp. plant across the road, partly owned by the Minneapolis-based agribusiness multinational, has been on strike for seven months. The workers and their families are based in "picket-line" tents near the gate. They are living off of rice, bananas, coconuts and greens—a starvation diet. Guards and troops armed with M-16s and an armored personnel carrier have tried unsuccessfully

shoulder. Mindanao—where Rambo meets the Pillsbury Dough Boy.

Later that day, I take a bus past the Mindanao Steel plant, just inside the province of Misamis Oriental. A sign at the border proudly reads: "You Are Entering Misamis Oriental—Where Ideas Move Mountains." No kidding. In recent months, the province has become the major hotbed of insurgency in the country. In the area around Claveria, the military recently instituted a food blockade to starve out the rebels, as thousands of refugees flow out of the mountains.

Misamis Oriental is also, not coincidentally, the stronghold of fanatic "Christian" cults. The sects take a paramilitary form, and some are actually incorporated into the ICHDF. These death squads have no semblance of independence from the military. They believe that oils, Latin chants, and medieval-style shirts will render them impervious to NPA bullets. The fanatic ICHDF's have been accused by church groups of the grisliest atrocities of the war, including eating the livers and hearts of their victims. One group is called the "Tadtads," meaning "chop-chop," after its treatment of victims' bodies. An ICHDF unit in North Cotabato killed an Italian priest in April, laughing as they stepped in his brains. As in this case, sometimes when the fanatics go too far, the military tries to rope them in.

The bus passes through a town which was the site of the largest battle yet between the NPA and the Tadtads. Fittingly, the town's name is "El Salvador." It is strange indeed to open Philippine newspapers to the Mindanao news page, only to read "PLO Terrorists Strike Again," or "Rebels Attack in El Salvador."

The ICHDF's are often hired as security forces for the huge plantations in the area. Over 52% of the arable land in Mindanao is owned by multinational agribusiness firms. The largest are gargantuan pineapple plantations owned by Dole and Del Monte. Other mountainous areas are heavily logged, often for the profit of local generals, resulting in heavy erosion and flooding. For these resource projects, peasants and tribal peoples are relocated to "Strategic Hamlets," (or "protective" villages like those used in Vietnam to isolate villagers from guerrillas) sometimes with the forcible backing of the ICHDF's or fanatics. After a time, the "idle land" is confiscated and handed over to the company. Given the other choices of starving or moving to the crowded cities, the villagers opt for wage labor on the plantations. The worst massacres of civilians tend to occur where they refuse *en masse* to give way to the land confiscations. In Mindanao I hear stories of NPA units operating unmolested for years in a certain area. But when the government or a company take an interest in the area for resource extraction, the NPAs are suddenly "discovered" and the area flooded with troops. Even then, the NPAs are puzzled as to why the military seems more interested in evicting the villagers rather than themselves.

My bus rumbles onward to Butuan, a ramshackle frontier town which serves as the capital of Agusan del Norte province, another hotspot for the insurgency. My interest here is to visit the villages of the Lumads, and look at their relationship to the NPA, much as I did in the Cordillera Mountains of Northern Luzon. But this is an area where the fanatics and ICHDF's have largely taken over the war from the military. A renegade ICHDF unit in the area recently massacred a group of loggers, and later engaged the NPA in a firefight. So everyone I want to talk with is in hiding. The incident was an outgrowth of an intertribal war apparently instigated by a Higaonon tribal "datu," or leader, who is backed by the military.

The tribes in the area tend to be the most culturally traditional in the country—keeping their languages, dress, and communal social organization. Many have kept their animist religions, though some tribes are more Christianized than others. These cultural differences led the mostly Chris-

continued on next page

to control the hills 5 miles outside of town—the soldiers don't dare go into the zone. At 2 AM outside my hotel window, I hear a sharp burst of automatic weapons fire and the breaking of windows. A car screeches away, and a jeep goes in hot pursuit. I never find out the instigators of the shooting, though. My hosts shrug, as if to say, "In Mindanao, who cares?"

Two workers take me to tour their factory, owned by the Iligan Cement Corporation. Their union, affiliated with the militant May First Movement (KMU), is pretty much in control here. Wages are decent for the cement industry, and accidents are virtually nonexistent. The Swiss-Filipino management, intimidated by potential strikes by the workers (and strikes of a different kind by the campers five miles away) gave into their demands. Just down the road in Lugait, the head of the Mindanao Steel Corp. (who also happens to be an active military commander) was kidnapped by the NPA in a daring daylight raid on the compound. He is being held for the release of political prisoners in the area.

to disperse the picket. At night, a searchlight scans the picket tents and the nearby hills. The strikers say that under the searchlight is mounted a machine gun.

The strikers have a list of economic demands to be met by management, including recognition of their KMU-affiliated union. They especially want to send a message to Pillsbury workers in Minnesota to support their cause, as "brother workers" in the same company; one shy worker nervously tapes a message to them. When I bring up the subject of the NPA, they look at the ground and swallow hard in fear, saying nothing. It is a reaction I commonly get here. The morning after spending the night in the tents, I interview Gregorio Emperado, the plant manager, who lambasts the strikers as "subversives," and expresses fear that he will be the next to be kidnapped. A real fan of Americans after his trips to Chicago and Minneapolis, he gives me a T-shirt with the company symbol emblazoned on the front. Exiting through the security gate, I nod to the guard with an M-16 slung over his

FOR THE MOHAMMEDANS, REVENGE MUST COME IN A RATIO OF TEN TO ONE.



THE MOROS WERE SAVAGELY EFFECTIVE FIGHTERS, PURSUING THEIR PREY AT NIGHT, TIGERS SCENTING OUT A PIG OR A GOAT...



...CREEPING TO WITHIN A BREATH'S DISTANCE OF THEIR QUARRY...



THE SWIFT STEEL BITE OF A BARONG...



continued from previous page

tian NPA's to originally make some stupid mistakes. Some were killed when they let down their guard around the mountain peoples, who are justifiably mistrustful of outsiders—many of whom have cheated or robbed them. The Lumads, though, generally don't have the warrior tradition of the Moros, or the Igorots of the North. The Lumads' protection has depended on their evasion and isolation from outsiders, rather than taking them on in battle. The NPA would sometimes "punish" Lumads who had previously agreed to cooperate and went back on their word. The NPA's interpreted this to mean the Lumads had abandoned them and informed to the military, when in fact they just wanted to be agreeable but not get involved.

With the intervention of church workers and tribal peoples in the movement, the brutal practice of "punishment" was stopped in 1983. Now there are NPA units, especially among the Higaonons, Manobos and Subanons, that are completely Native. One even calls itself the "Red Warrior Unit." Nevertheless, the dynamic between guerrillas and indigenous peoples is much less developed than in Northern Luzon. The "mistakes" made by the Sandinistas toward Nicaraguan Indians were repeated here in Mindanao. I regret not being able to visit the villages and document how the NPA is trying to pull out of this situation.

After two days in Butuan, I leave for the infamous city of Davao. The bus goes south through the heart of guerrilla country, to the most hotly-contested city in the Philippines. I cringe when troops armed to the teeth ride on the bus. The NPA has been known to attack buses they are convinced to be military transports because

onists at the turn of the century. Newspaper photos have been neatly cut out and pasted next to the two characters; Uncle Sam is pictured with a missile launching, the fighter is pictured with NPA guerrillas.

Members of the audience, some with their arms around each other, approach an open casket in front of the auditorium. A nun places a small photo on the casket of a young man playing a guitar at a rally, in front of a sign which said "Stop Salvaging." The young man who once sang against "salvaging" has now become a victim of that special form of summary execution.

A week ago, Nanding Torralba was riding in a jeepney near his home on a dusty street near the sea. A motorcyclist pulled in back of the vehicle, and pointed out Nanding to two men with military haircuts. He ran, but was too late. They opened fire, shooting him in the leg and dragging him away. He was later found floating in one of the rivers that flow sluggishly through the slums of Davao.

Besides being a folksinger in the movement, Nanding had been a leader of LIKADA—the Davao Youth League, an organization for out-of-school youth. Hanging above the casket is a youth portrait of Nanding, with the inscription in Cebuano, "He Gave His Life." Banners in English are draped on both sides of the portrait, representing different sectors of society: Religious, Urban Poor, Women, Health Workers, Labor, Media, Lawyers, and others. From conversations with those present, it is clear that all the sectors are paying their respects at this wake.

Members of a cultural group in which Nanding was active sing some of his

SO COURAGEOUS WERE THE MOROS THAT THEY OFTEN BOARDED OUR DESTROYERS FROM THEIR TINY CRAFTS!



KNIVES AND SPEARS, HOWEVER, PRESENTED NO CHALLENGE TO MACHINE GUNS AND AUTOMATIC RIFLES AND PISTOLS...



soldiers are hanging from the doors. But they disembark to patrol a town. As they walk onto a dusty sideroad, I notice to my surprise that one soldier is wearing a long gold earring. If this is a strange war, Davao City is the Twilight Zone.

Seven men guard the auditorium of a Catholic school in Davao, the largest city in Mindanao. The school is located in Agdao, an urban poor district which has achieved a notoriety of sorts as a hotbed of urban organizing and insurgency; officials and residents alike refer to it as "Nicaragdao." Another district called "Maa" competes for status by calling itself "Maa-nagua."

A crowd is gathering in the school auditorium; on the walls are taped schoolkids' drawings marking Philippine-American Friendship Day, which is marked on July 4th each year. One depicts a haggard Uncle Sam squaring off against a Katipunero—a Filipino guerrilla who fought both the Spanish and American col-

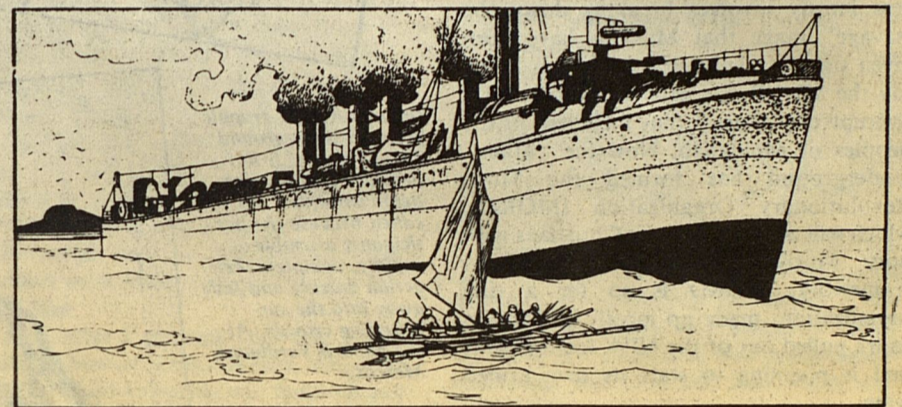
favorite songs. They stage a short skit of their friend's life, portraying him as simple and humorous, showing him even joking about a roughing-up he previously received at the hands of the military. While one of his interrogators sweet-talked him and offered cigarettes, the other repeatedly threw punches. But Nanding didn't talk to either.

The skit seems to be an ample allegory for the military situation in Davao. On one hand is the regional Marine Commander, Colonel Biazon, who has been widely publicized as a "soft cop," because his men have not been implicated in as many civilian deaths as those of the hard-line Metropolitan District Command (Metrodiscom) chief, Colonel Kahulugan, of the Philippine Constabulary (PC). Like many if not most officers, the "hard cop" Kahulugan fought both in Vietnam and against the Muslims in Mindanao. As an organizer of a general strike, Torralba had personally crossed Kahulugan, an event which one speaker at the wake believes led

to his death. At the time of his death, an average of two people a day were being killed in the city. Some are soldiers, who are so afraid the NPA will shoot them for their weapons that they never patrol alone, and rarely in uniform. Others are suspected military informers, but most like Nanding are grassroots civilian organizers.

The traditional Filipino wake stretches until dawn, giving ample opportunity for those gathered to talk, sing, joke, and support each other. "We may seem like we're very used to this," said one churchworker, a close friend of Nanding's, "but there is still pain inside." Another friend, who I will call "Nelson," has recently been put under a Presidential Detention Action (PDA), for his role as a student leader in opposing tuition fee hikes and a planned National Service Law. Nelson never sleeps in the same house two nights in a row; and only three hours ago the PC raided his mother's house searching for him. "They told her that if I was ever arrested to look for me in the morgue," he says, gesturing toward the casket, "just like Nanding." What are his options now? "Soon I'm going to join the revolutionary forces in the hills," he replies almost casually. "I have no other choice." What would life be like in the NPA? "Why ask me?," he grins. "Why don't you ask the seven men at the gate?"

OUR COASTAL PATROL BOATS WERE NO MATCH IN SPEED AGAINST THE MORO VINTAS... SO WE SENT IN DESTROYERS.



Also at the wake is a leader of the United Workers of Southern Mindanao (NAMAHEMIN), whom I will name "Martin." Martin recalls the chain of successful general strikes which began in Davao in the fall of 1984. The strikes have been directed against what the sectors see as military and economic abuses on the part of the regime. Martin sees the escalating series of regional strikes culminating in a nationwide strike by the spring of 1986. "There is a large concentration of multinational industries here in Davao," he says, "and 70% of the national economy depends on Mindanao... Here the military is now being used directly to shoot strikers."

He described various innovative strikes developed by Davao workers, including one he calls the "Eye Strike." "We had a grievance," he explains, "and decided to stop work. When the foreman came by to see what was going on, we didn't say a word. We just stared at him. Same with the manager. It's a form of psychological warfare—very effective. The manager locked himself in his office and wouldn't leave. Eventually he sent out word that he'd negotiate."

Martin is someone who other labor leaders throughout the country directed me toward. He appears to them as one of the primary articulators of a vision of society after the "National Democratic Revolution." In extreme detail, he describes a

gradual implementation of a system of workers' self-management, beginning with nationalized foreign-owned businesses. "We can manage without the capitalists; we can run our industries without the managers," he says. In his own plant, Martin says, workers already make day-to-day decisions over production quotas, a reality recognized after a drawn-out conflict with management.

From conversations with other workers in Davao, Iligan, Mariveles and Manila, a significant number of them approve of the concept of socialism based on workers' councils. Some would be reciting their grievances in a bored fashion, yet smile and sit bolt upright when I'd pop the question, "Do you think you could run the plant without management?" One shop steward in Iligan replied, "Sure. We already do the union paperwork, which is quite a job. And on the night shift, there's only one supervisor anyway, and he's usually asleep!"

Martin says, "We can make agricultural implements or boats, and trade them with the peasants' and fishermen's cooperatives for rice and fish... The Democratic Coalition Government would be run by the sectoral groups, who would elect their representatives from the bottom up and hold them absolutely accountable... Proposals would be introduced at the lowest

level, processed and combined by regional alliances, and then passed on to the higher levels. For awhile at least we'd have regular governmental structures side-by-side with the sectoral structures, which are better equipped to handle problems."

Different workers in their discussion groups have various predictions as to how the middle-class elements in a revolutionary government would react to such a plan. Mario says, "They will probably accept it. The population is 85% poor." Yet a woman organizing in the Bataan Export Processing Zone, a concentration of multinational industries, says, "There may have to be a second struggle." All those interviewed, however, agree that non-U.S. Western investment would be welcomed, particularly to offset the effects of an expected U.S. trade boycott.

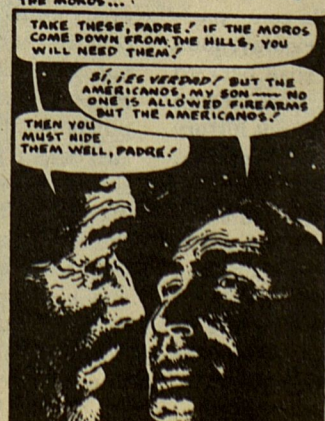
Whatever the case, it becomes clear to me that one impetus for the growth of revolutionary fervor among Filipino workers is not simply hatred of Marcos or even the U.S., but the concept of workers' councils. The underground National Democratic Front has not yet taken a position on this question; it is a concept which has come out of the militant trade unions themselves.

The model that these workers offer bears striking resemblance to that practiced by Chilean workers and peasants in 1972-73 who, given the political breathing

FOLLOWING THE SPANISH, WE MADE IT AGAINST THE LAW FOR MOROS TO POSSESS FIREARMS. THIS MEANT THEIR ONLY WEAPONS WERE BARONGS, SPEARS, AND KRISSES...



WE ALSO EXECUTED QUITE A FEW CATHOLIC PRIESTS PRIOR TO THEIR LEAVING. THE SPANIARDS SECRETLY LEFT THE PRIESTS' WEAPONS FOR FIGHTING THE MOROS...



SO, THE PRIESTS BEGAN SLAUGHTERING THE MOROS EVEN FASTER THAN WE WERE. WHEN WE FOUND OUT, ALL THE PRIESTS INVOLVED WERE SHOT. IF THIS HAD TO HAPPEN AT ALL, I WISH THIS HAD HAPPENED ONLY ONCE... BUT IT DIDN'T!



The Imagination of & The Imagination of

Writers Demand Say at PEN Congress

by Steve Conliff

"Artists and storytellers used to be the most important people in society," the Great Beoddy (who illustrated my poem "Zeitgeist" in the YIP anthology *Blacklisted News*) says with some bitterness. "We were the shamans, the people other people came to for answers. And now we're the least important, man, and nobody listens to us if they can avoid it."

"The Imagination of the Writer and the Imagination of the State"—the first international meeting of PEN (Poets, Playwrights, Essayists, Editors, Novelists) held in the U.S. in 20 years—achieved no consensus save this: We writers (said the best-known and most influential writers in the world) have too little power and influence at the Ronald Reagan court, and we want more, now, or... or else... well, we'll tell rude jokes about the President and his men and people will laugh at them in 20 years, when they get around to reading our books. Assuming people still read in 20 years.

It was like the barons first getting together and musing, Let's make King John sign something... But sign what? A blank check? A baseball also signed by Yogi Berra, Bill James and Philip Roth? Some time subsequent to the passage of those 20 years, all will agree what a good idea it was the writers made the politicians sign. Incidentally, there was nothing much to sign at the PEN Congress except various appeals, notably or notoriously that circulated by Allen Ginsberg *re* U.S. out of Nicaragua.

Was the PEN Congress an important intellectual watermark upon our time?

I think it will come to be seen to have been.

In the desert, a man with an oasis can make a fortune. Especially if his brother-in-law corners the garden hose market.

2

I made Kurt Vonnegut laugh.

Kurt Vonnegut. Throw his head back and laugh. His mouth open and everything.

With Gunter Grass and others, Vonnegut had just read in the grand ballroom of the Essex House—one of the more spectacular sideshows to the 48th International PEN Congress, Jan. 12-18 in New York City.

Vonnegut was wearing one of those fur-flapped hats the Chinese shock troops wore in Korea. He chain-smoked nervously, Marlboros. Same brand as Allen Ginsberg and Comandante Omar Cabezas, head of the Nicaraguan Army. He was just standing there, Kurt Vonnegut was. So I went up to him and shook his hand and said, "I couldn't pass up a chance to meet you. It's like getting to meet Santa Claus."

I had a hard time getting into approaching writers whose work I liked. Most celebrities disappoint you and turn out to be assholes. And it always sounded fakey—Oh, I loved your book! But despite paranoia I might have to picket outside or something just to get press credentials, I have to report that I found PEN's writers approachable and nice.

Theory: However many talk shows they appear on, writers aren't performers; interpretive artists tend to be right-wing (parasites, Reagan-like practitioners of the garrulous and loquacious so-called arts! soaking up public money for their plays and ballets while poets and novelists starve), creative writers leftist (intellectuals... alienated adolescents... lonely, solitary workers). Praised, writers lower their heads and shuffle their feet like pre-

schoolers, so rare is praise in their lives: "You...you mean you...read my book, you actually understood my book...?"

And Lord, how they gossip. Writers feed on it, the way Godzilla lives and grows off nuclear waste.

3

Norman Mailer doesn't understand consequences. Rose Styron told Gail Sheehy this. "You know he came to the opening ceremony with a black eye."

Sheehy corrected her: "He has two." "I only noticed one. Because the make-up went away."

They laughed wickedly.

Sheehy said, "He was boxing."

"That's right."

"And some young guy went whang! And I said, 'How could you have done that,



Günter Grass

the day before the PEN—"

"Well, you know," Styron interrupted, "it's very interesting, because he told me that, too. When he told me the story, he said, 'You know, I've got this sparring partner, every Saturday, I mean, we have a joke, 'What's Saturday without a headache?' This time,' he said, 'I just didn't get out of the way fast enough.'"

Styron felt the same thing happened to Mailer with that opening speech Secretary of State George Shultz gave, or tried to give.

As PEN president (a post once held by H.G. Wells), Mailer cut a deal with the State Department.

Shultz allowed into the U.S. Gunter Grass, Nadine Gordimer and other progressive writers blacklisted by the Reagan administration under the McCarran-Walter Act, a surviving scrap of McCarthyism. Mailer's announced intent: pressure Reagan into repealing McCarran-Walter, which he believes, like recognizing China, only a Republican can do.

Rose Styron says Mailer now boasts he set Shultz up—but adds that Norman changes his story every day.

This is what the Reagan administration got in return: the world's most famous writers booed and heckled Shultz and Mailer on TV.

4

They didn't exactly stand up to tyranny.

These were writers. They sat and heckled Shultz—Vonnegut and E.L. Doctorow hurling barbed witticisms at Reagan's befuddled stooge.

Then everyone went around telling Shultz jokes—pretending to confuse him with the creator of Snoopy.

Still, the first few days the stench of Cold War liberalism hung heavily in the air like the chandeliers in the ornate Essex House and St. Moritz hotels. According to the St. Moritz bellhops, incidentally, few writers actually stayed there. I could obtain no information on their tipping habits, but the hotel bars seemed remarkably underpopulated. Was anti-alcoholism finally

spreading to writers, or will writers, like kangaroos, not pay \$6 a drink?

These may seem trivial concerns. But info was hard to come by, beyond the forests of press releases and thickets of propaganda fliers. (My favorite head: "Another Soviet Poet." Got a big kick out of the network camera crews rushing to catch a Russian emigre, then switching off their machines in disgust when the expected anti-Red diatribe turned out to be criticism of U.S. publishers.) PEN's press office was as helpful and efficient as Nixon's, and if you think politicians can be evasive, try asking writers questions they don't want to answer.

After a ritual Reagan-Shultz joke the U.S. writer invariably chanted: "But thank God we live in the greatest country in the world, where they don't torture and imprison writers like those awful Communist Third World dictatorships." Most of these Americans turned out to be college professors in real life, with the odd *New York Times* contributor; and a surprising number, professionally made up and richly attired, were instantly recognizable from the talk shows. Unlike their corduroy-clad foreign counterparts, the U.S. writers (as a group and as individuals), recently and historically, eschewed politics as beneath artistic consciousness.

5

I asked Marxist E.L. Doctorow how writers could take the government grants he defended and still criticize the govern-



John Updike

ment. Said the author... began his career as Ian Fleming's editor at New American Library when the income from 007 subsidized more Signet Classics than all the professors could assign): a "grant-giving establishment of experts" will frustrate Reaganite efforts to "influence these grants or take them away from ideologically non-performing writers... [T]here's resistance" to this conservative cultural counter-revolution from "that buffer of the arts establishment."

Meantime, well-spoken Jon Holmes leafletted outside, charging his publication had been censored by a member of PEN's "Freedom to Write" committee. Soviet writers boycotted, while some German Greens theorized the congress was a CIA put-up. And I did wonder if it was double entendre when PEN's most ardently pro-U.S. woman, Susan Sontag, said she was there to get to recognize people.

I tried to question Omar Cabezas (author of *Fire from the Mountain: The Making of a Sandinista* and head of the Nicaraguan Army) about PEN's anti-communism. Comandante Cabezas nudged exiled Salvadoran poet Manlio Argueta, and they exchanged jokes in Spanish, apparently about whether I was the CIA.

Perhaps the Sandinista didn't want to seem like an ungrateful guest. Cabezas was obviously brave—sat calmly with his back to a picture window as if the CIA could assassinate him in St. Peter's Church any time it wanted to. He was the kind of man

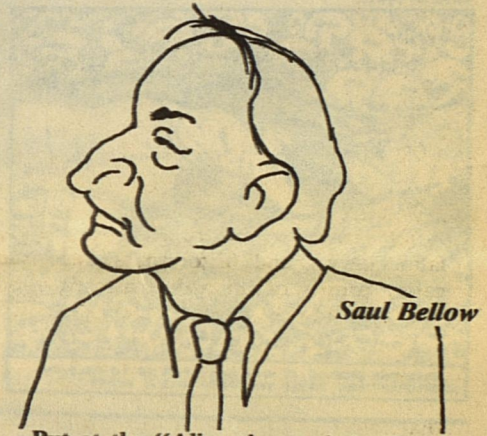
who writes sensitively about dealing with his machismo, then flirts for 20 minutes with a cute coed baiting him into her tape recorder over Sandinista "repression" of priests.

Cabezas and Argueta read at St. Peter's with Isabel Allende, novelist niece of Chile's martyred president. Scores who came to applaud Cabezas then left during Allende's reading missed a masterpiece of Latin gallows humor, by consensus today's freshest writing. From *The House of Spirits* Allende read about the adventures of the severed head of her mother-in-law, decapitated in an auto accident. I liked the part where they find the head in a ditch and have to clean gravel out of its ears.

6

Until Tuesday PEN writers oozed insincerity. The only thing everyone seemed honest about was their hostility toward the press.

For a bunch of writers, they knew little and cared less about charming reporters. A 60 year-old reporter from Bombay complained to me about the antagonism, which underlay PEN's poor press. Reporters hate (a) hassles and (b) fakes. And everyone was acting too nice to be real, except toward reporters, whom they treated the way Seniors treat smart-aleck Sophomores.



Saul Bellow

But at the "Alienation and the State" session John Updike delivered a paean to the sanctity of the U.S. mailbox, that stolid blue symbol of liberty and privacy in an authoritarian world "maintained for my benefit."

Gay Talese goofed: "A mellow monopoly."

Then Saul Bellow blew off American writers' alienation as "fatuous." Edwin McDowell in the *Times*:

Mr. Bellow's talk, which included reminiscences of Robert F. Kennedy and of the author's own childhood... drew heavy applause.

But at the start of the question and answer period, about an hour later, Mr. [Gunter] Grass walked to the microphone... and challenged Mr. Bellow.

Speaking in accented English, Mr. Grass, author of "The Tin Drum" and other novels, said that while listening to Mr. Bellow talk about democracy giving Americans not only freedom, but also food and shelter, he had to wonder where he was.

"Three years ago when I was here I was in the South Bronx," Mr. Grass said. "I would like to hear the echo of your words in the South Bronx, where people don't have shelter, don't have food, and no possibility to live the freedom you have, or some have in this country."

Mr. Grass, who has frequently criticized the United States in the past, added that America... protects dictatorships in Turkey and Pakistan....

Nadine Gordimer, the South African writer, said that hearing Mr. Grass speak reminded her of the role he played in West Germany after the war... "in his imaginative writings to re-establish the honesty of the German language to clear it of the garbage that came up during the Hitler time."

The U.S. press ridiculed the solemn, mustachioed Grass—"Why, he seemed to think the South Bronx was an indictment

NUKE FOOD

continued from pg. 2

to irradiate fruits and vegetables at up to one kiloGray (10,000 rads).

Conflict of Interest

Fruits and vegetables are to be irradiated with gamma rays from cobalt-60 and cesium-137. Cesium-137 is a byproduct of nuclear weapons fuel production and cobalt-60 can be reprocessed from commercial nuclear power plants' waste. Most cobalt-60 is reprocessed by Atomic Energy of Canada, a Canadian government-backed company. A recent Canadian business report contained a statement that gets right to the heart of the food irradiation issue: "Acceptance of gamma processing would mean a great deal to the troubled nuclear industry, which is aggressively marketing the process as a means of selling the byproducts of nuclear research."

Most cesium-137 in the U.S. is produced as waste at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Washington state, which has been manufacturing plutonium for the U.S. nuclear arsenal ever since the Manhattan Project. Hanford's wastes have been leaking for years and have contaminated the Columbia River on more than one occasion. It is now the responsibility of the Department of Energy to find a safe place or (preferably) a profitable use for this waste. It is the Department of Energy which is funding food-irradiation demonstration facilities such as the one to be built in downtown Dublin, a San Francisco Bay Area suburb, and the mobile irradiator which is to travel throughout the Pacific Northwest. It is also the Department of Energy which is offering cut-rate cesium-137 to the burgeoning food-irradiation industry.

Before the Department of Energy developed interest in food irradiation, most of the research was done at the Natick Laboratories in Massachusetts. In 1980 the Natick research was transferred from the Army to the Department of Agriculture, with MIT and local high-tech entrepreneurs maintaining close interest. Just before leaving office in December of 1985, outgoing Health and Human Services Secretary Margaret Heckler announced that the FDA (which is part of Health and Human Services) was ready to allow irradiation of fresh produce. A few years earlier, as a member of Congress, Heckler had represented the district in which Natick labs is located, and companies which are now eyeing the food irradiation industry were among her campaign contributors. Stated Heckler: "Once the public realizes that ionizing energy is just another form of energy—completely safe, leaving no residues—I am confident there will be widespread agreement on the need for this important technology."

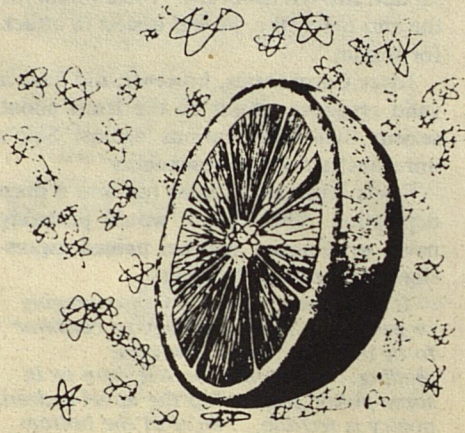
The development of food irradiation technology is rife with such blatant cases of conflict-of-interest. Representative Sid Morrison and Senator Slade Gorton have been incessantly pressing for legislation which would reclassify food-irradiation as a "food-process" rather than a "food additive," thereby eliminating much of the requirement for testing and labeling. Both Morrison and Gorton are Republicans who represent the Washington districts in which the Hanford plant is located.

Much of the Army tests at Natick, on which the current claims of safety are based, were of dubious objectivity, to say the least. Some of them had been conducted by Industrial Bio-Test Laboratories, whose history has since been fraught with scandal. In 1983, three Industrial Bio-Test executives were convicted on charges of falsifying test data in government drug research.

Many of the early studies which found food irradiation to be safe were commissioned by the Army or the Atomic Energy Commission, both of whom were strong proponents of the new technology. The Atomic Energy Commission was disbanded in 1974 because of the inherent conflict-

of-interest in its dual role of both promoting and regulating the nuclear industry. In its place two new bureaucracies were born: the regulation role was assumed by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, while the promotional role was assumed by the Department of Energy. Yet the Atomic Energy Commission food-irradiation research is still taken to be valid by the FDA. Some of the early studies remain "classified in the interests of national security."

When interpretation of the facts is completely one-sided, studies become meaningless. One Army/Department of Agriculture study cited by the FDA found an abnormally poor rate of survival in mice who were fed a diet of irradiated chicken. This result was attributed not to the ir-



radiation, but to the high protein content of the chicken diet. Many more of the Army studies—particularly those commissioned to Industrial Bio-Test—the FDA was forced to dismiss as inadequate or even fraudulent.

The Dangers

Apart from the destruction of nutrients, most of the potential dangers cited—and summarily dismissed—by the FDA in its discussion of the new regulations in the *Federal Register* fall under the category of "Selective Destruction of Micro-organisms":

There is evidence that botulism spores are resistant to irradiation. Irradiation could kill off the micro-organisms that cause smell and other usual signs of spoilage, while leaving botulism spores alive. Thus consumers could inadvertently buy botulism-contaminated food that looks and smells perfectly healthy.

There is a possibility that irradiation may create harmful radiation-resistant bacteria and viral mutants. Radiation accelerates the rate of viral mutation.

There is evidence that irradiation could increase the production of aflatoxins, naturally occurring carcinogens produced by some types of fungus. The Environmental Protection Agency considers aflatoxins to be about a thousand times more carcinogenic than EDB, the chemical that food irradiation is ostensibly being brought in to replace.

Little is known about the URPs, or "unique radiolytic products," the new chemical substances created by irradiation of food.

Food irradiation will, of course, mean that yet more radioactive substances will be travelling over the nation's highways. Worse yet, there will be high concentrations of radioactive materials in the nation's most important agricultural areas. With one estimate calling for 73 food irradiation facilities in California's Fresno County alone, there will be ample opportunity for leaks, spills or sabotage. As a Department of Agriculture official told a recent convention of food irradiators: "Make sure you have a good rapport with local disaster agencies." The FDA has no jurisdiction over the licensing or certification of radiation processing specialists. The FDA is quick to remind us that it is solely the responsibility of the manufacturer to choose qualified individuals to operate food-irradiation plants. The industry is yet young, and already its safety

record is abysmal. In 1977, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission cited Radiation Technology for failing to meet requirements for worker safety after an employee was exposed to high levels of radiation while medical equipment was being sterilized. Radiation Technology has also been cited by both federal and state authorities for such violations as dumping radioactive trash with regular garbage and contaminating local water supplies with toxic chemicals.

And yet—suspicion of the new industry is still viewed with contempt; the charge of Luddite paranoia is still used against critics. "There's a body of people, who if they hear the term radiation, start thinking of Three Mile Island and nuclear bombs," says George Sadek of Radiation Technology. Harry Mussman, vice president of the National Food Processors Association and chair of the Coalition for Food Irradiation reminds us that if we hadn't accepted the cooking of food and it were being proposed today, we'd be worried about that, too.

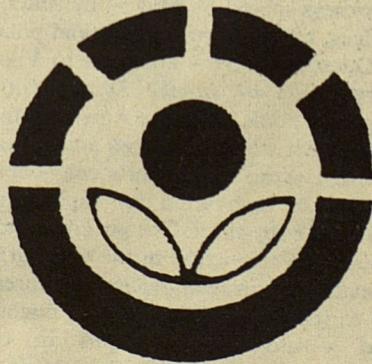
Selling it to the Public

One of the few points of contention between the food-irradiation industry and the FDA was over whether or not irradiated food should be labeled as such. The industry feared that if the food was labeled it would become known as "nuke food" and nobody would buy it. When the FDA allowed irradiation of dried spices in 1984, there was no provision for labeling. (However, McCormick is probably the only spice company using the process.)

Much to the industry's dismay, the 1986 regulations allowing for irradiation of fresh produce state that all irradiated products must be clearly labeled with the statement "treated with radiation" or "treated by irradiation." Such industry euphemisms as "pico-waved" were scrapped by the FDA at the eleventh hour. Irradiated products must also be labeled with the "Radura," the cheerful food-irradiation logo which depicts a flowering plant enclosed in a circle.

However, food which contains an irradiated ingredient but has not itself been irradiated does not have to be labeled. For instance, a frozen pizza with irradiated garlic in the sauce would not have to be labeled.

A recent article in the National Food Processors Association's *Food Technology*, the trade journal of the processed food industry, examines methods of overcoming the public's resistance to food irradiation. The article points out that food irradiation has been used for years in approximately two dozen countries around the world—most notably Japan, the Netherlands and the USSR. Food irradiation is most widely used and accepted in South Africa, which is a major exporter of uranium. The article divides the American



public into two categories: "conventional consumers" and "alternative consumers." The majority "conventional consumers," unlike the minority "alternative consumers," could be swayed by "education" to accept food irradiation. The article suggests that American food irradiators study the South African model: "Consumer acceptance was enhanced through educational efforts consisting of distribution of educational leaflets in retail outlets, in-store information desks with experts to advise the public, and use of mass media (newspaper, radio and television) to stress positive aspects of irradiation."

Our "education" has started already. With starvation suddenly a fashionable issue in the wake of "We Are the World," food irradiation proponents such as Margaret Heckler are hailing their technology as an answer to world hunger

and "the global food shortage." "In the Third World the farmers are caught between guerillas and governments. Everyone agrees that food irradiation is the only viable opportunity they have," said a Department of Energy researcher at a food irradiation conference. This statement displays the profoundly arrogant assumption that the answer to the problems of the Third World lies in the importation of technological fixes from the industrialized countries.

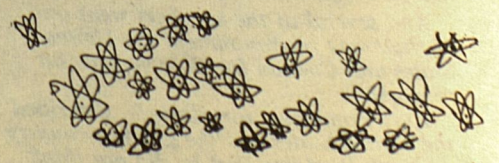
In actuality, the dangers of nuclear facilities are multiplied a thousandfold in Third World countries where there is even less assurance of worker and public safety. Food irradiation is merely a technological fix on the very system of economic centralization and ecological mismanagement which perpetuates world hunger in the first place.

The Chemical Connection

The most ironic argument for food irradiation is that it is the alternative to dangerous chemicals such as EDB. Not only is there a serious possibility that food irradiation will prove even more dangerous than chemical sprays, but it may even result in yet more synthetic additives in our food. In deciding to include the labeling provision with the produce regulations, the FDA noted that "irradiation causes certain changes in foods and that even small changes that pose no safety hazard can affect the flavor or texture of a food in a way that may be unacceptable to some consumers." What this means is that, as food irradiation becomes more common, so will the use of chemical additives to compensate for meat that tastes like "wet dog" or fruits and vegetables that taste like styrofoam. Irradiation may mean less pesticides and preservatives in our food, but it may also mean more artificial flavors, colors and emulsifiers.

The FDA approves synthetic additives on the basis of test data furnished by their proponents. It is estimated that each of us eats more than three pounds of food additives per year with our meals and that the national use of food additives totals nearly one billion pounds per year. The development of bio-technology is moving along much faster than the FDA regulations, which allow the term "natural" to apply to "products derived from living or life-derived sources." With the introduction of recombinant-DNA technology into the food processing industry, it is now possible for a flavor or other additive which was wholly created in a laboratory to be listed in the ingredients as "natural." "Alternative consumers" may not even know what they are getting. Nadim Shaath, vice president and research director of Felton International, a Brooklyn-based flavor house, said in a recent interview in *Food Technology*: "Natural flavors are the wave of the future. Very little work can be done to promote their development without using biotechnology... Within the next ten years, I would conjecture that 23-35% of all flavors will be derived from some biotechnological research, which will enable us to meet the challenge of tomorrow."

Food irradiation is one link in a complex chain of technological fixes. The problem with technological fixes is that they always require *more* technological fixes. The intensely centralized monoculture cropping of California agribusiness rendered the central valley vulnerable to the med-fly invasion. The med-flies led to malathion and EDB, which in turn led to food irradiation. Food irradiation may help usher in the era of genetically-engineered food additives. Techno-fix heaps upon techno-fix to perpetuate an agricultural system in which supermarkets in New York sell produce grown three thousand miles away in California, losing many nutrients in transit. Perhaps it is time to break this chain, support locally-grown produce and organize to stop food irradiation.



THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION SO FAR

Spotting Puddlehead in a dark secluded section of the cafe, Velveeta slowly pushed her way through the maze of tables and chairs filled with rowdy shriners wearing little fez hats and devouring huge vats of warm, chlorinated lard strained through irradiated cigar butts!

"I'm sorry I'm late" she snapped, quite sarcastically, "but I had to drive around a while trying to find a place to incinerate my typewriter!"

"Sit down" Puddlehead whispered, through a hair dryer hose with Josef Stalin's toenails glued to it!

"I must tell you" Puddlehead insisted, in a serious voice, "I'm an informer for the Youth International Party Information Network!" he blurted out, spraying a gooey mass of pine scented saliva into the furry air conditioning vent!

"I have absolutely no idea what you're talking about!" she laughed, and stood up, walked out of the cafe, and set fire to a pair of chocolate scissors!

Friends, OVERTHROW is published, in fact, by the YOUTH INTERNATIONAL PARTY INFORMATION SERVICE! The articles and information in these pages were contributed by people from around the world, and from hundreds of Newsletters, magazines, and alternative papers we receive every week. Much of it is never covered by the mass media, but the news gets out nonetheless, thanks to the efforts of so many active people. People like Velveeta and Puddlehead, who send us news stories, photos, scandalous gossip, and cartoons. And the story gets out as well because of the thousands of people who sell OVERTHROW, those who get their local bookstores to sell it, and those who subscribe by mail. You don't need a membership card to be a YIPPIE! All you need to do is keep active, stay informed, and sautee thumbtacks in a pool of tanning butter and diced sparkplugs!

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--Barry Commoner



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Everything must go somewhere.

Nature knows best.

There is no such thing as a
free lunch.