

### **Congress Postpones Hearings** STOP AID CAMPAIGN DRAWS MASS SUPPORT

#### By Catherine Tactaquin

NEW YORK – According to various reports, the National Campaign to Stop U.S. Military Aid to the Marcos Dictatorship has been successful and each area of planned activity under way. Directed towards the spring Congressional hearings on military aid to repressive governments, the Campaign was organized to focus attention on the Philippine dictatorship to effect a drastic cut in military aid to Marcos for FY 1976. However the Congressional hearings, originally expected to begin in mid-April, have been rescheduled to mid-May. The change was verified by Rene

# Nat'l. Campaign Exposes Political Prisoner Plight

LOS ANGELES – During May, the National Coordinating Committee of the Anti-Martial Law Movement will launch a nationwide comparison designed to expose the plight of political prisoners in the Philippines. The campaign will also gather material support for detainees and their families to help provide for their immediate needs.

This effort is an outcome of a resolution passed at the Anti-Martial Law Conference last December in Chicago. It will raise the situation of political prisoners as a concrete example of repression under the dictatorship. Completely deprived of any rights, prisoners are subject to all kinds of inhumane treatment, torture and murder, while their families are made to provide their imprisoned relatives with adequate food and care to sustain them. Thus, the campaign will educate the Filipinos here in the US and the American public of the dictatorship and at the same time, mobilize people to build further unity with the Philippine resistance movement by providing some immediate material support through financial contributions.

Preliminary work began when West Coast members of the coordinating committee met last January in Los Angeles. Since then, LA was designated the West Coast regional center responsible for the campaign. Coordinators began by researching and collecting information for case study reports of prisoners from different sectors of Philippine society. Based on such information, a booklet on the political prisoners and prison life will soon be available for mass distribution and to such bodies as the United Nations, Amnesty International and other concerned groups and institutions.

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Cruz of the National Coordinating Committee of the Anti-Martial Law Movement who speculated the delay is due to Congressional attention being focused now on the question of further aid to Viet Nam and Cambodia.

The Campaign will be extended and efforts maintained to stop aid to the Philippines while linking up with other groups to escalate pressure on Congress to stop aid to Indochina. Halting the resumption of military aid and reentry of U.S. military personnel in Indochina would represent not only a concrete act of solidarity with the Indochinese peoples, but provide an important Congressional precedent to stopping aid to all dictatorships, including the Philippines.

#### JOINT EFFORT OF MANY

The campaign to end U.S. military aid to Marcos is a nationally coordinated, joint effort of almost all active anti-martial law organizations and individuals. Drawn up in a resolution passed at the National Confrence of the Anti-Martial Law Movement in Chicago (Dec. 28-29), the work entailed research and lobbying in Congress and educating the public around the Philippine situation.

Documentation of Philippine martial law repression for the Congrant now near completion with a high quality of research compiled to expose the role of U.S. military aid in the Marcos regime. Coordinated by Dr. Daniel B. Schirmer of the Philippine Information Bulletin in Cambridge, Mass., information researched by different groups was compiled for forwarding to legislators to use in the hearings. This included: 1) selected news articles from important U.S. periodicals on the political, military and economic aspects of the Philippine martial law; 2) a budget analysis of the FY 1976 allocation of military aid to Marcos; and 3) documentation instances of direct U.S. of military intervention in the Philippines.

Fr. Bruno Hicks and the Rev. and Mrs. Paul Wilson, American missionaries who were arrested and deported under martial law, will testify before the Congressional hearings to the martial law repression they personally experienced and witnessed.

### THOUSANDS CONTACTED IN OUTREACH



Confrontation between clergymen and police during the 5,000 strong "penitential march" last Feb. 21.

### **Repression Defied; Open**, Mass **Protests Launched**

#### By Ma. Flor Sepulveda

Several mass actions protesting the persecution of political prisoners and repression under martial law were staged in the past three months. The most militant one took place on Feb. 26 when over 200 political prionsers from the Ipil Reception Center and the Youth Rehabilitation Center in Fort Bonifacio staged a hunger strike. The detainees at Camp Crame were protesting the deplorable conditions in the prison, including wormy food, dirty drinking water and unnecessary restrictions during visits. This well-organized act of open defiance succeeded in pressuring the prison authorities to agree to most of the dèmands.

#### FUNERAL-PROTEST MARCH

During the first week of February, some 50,000 people led by the Iglesia ni Cristo (Church of Christ) staged an open protest against martial law repression through a funeral march. The march was in protest of the death of an imprisoned Iglesia ni Cristo member, Domingo Pineda. He was arrested for complicity in an alleged assasination attempt on Marcos. Though he suffered a malingering illness, he was deprived of medical attention by the military and died in prison. The protest-funeral march, which caught the military by surprise, did broad outreach among the residents of Quezon City, Makati, Mandaluyong, and Marikina where the procession was held.

PENITENTIAL MARCH

Mass education on the Philippine situation was the other important part of the Stop Military Aid Campaign. Through distributing an educational leaflet and soliciting petition signatures to "stop U.S. military aid to the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines," tens of thousands of people have been contacted in the past two months. The outreach was also very broad as petitioning was done at churches, markets, workplaces, campuses and

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Again utilizing the form of a religious rite, some 5,000 people participated in a 4-hr. "penitential march for justice" last Feb. 21 during the Lenten season before Easter. Chanting revolutionary songs and anti-dictatorship slogans, the marchers made their way through the streets of Intramuros in Manila, stopping only to hear speakers denounce martial law injustices, harassment of labor activists and

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# Celebrate the Workers' May Day!

For 85 years now the first day of May has been set aside to commemorate the difficult and heroic struggles of the working class. As these years have gone by, May Day came to be celebrated in one country after another, firmly establishing its character as International Workers Day.

#### A DAY OF UNITY-A DAY OF STRUGGLE

May Day symbolizes the unity which cuts across national boundaries and links, as one, the struggles of the working people; the toiling masses; the "have nots" in every country throughout the world. This working class unity transcends whatever ignorance may still exist among us about each others languages, cultures and particular struggles. May Day asserts that the most important thing binding us together is our common experiences of exploitation and oppression and our common traditions of struggle against such injustices.

May Day has also been a time to address the concrete and pressing issues which face the working class movement in each country. In fact the very first May Day was a general strike called here in the U.S. in 1886 around the demand for the 8-hour work day. The long and difficult campaign for a decent work day had been going on for years and over 300,000 workers across America stopped work that day to demonstrate their support.

In many other countries, May Day demonstrations have also marked some of the most massive and militant protests in those countries' history. In the Philippines, May Day has been celebrated as early as the first decade of the 1900's. From then till now, every single May Day protest has put forward the same demand for genuine national independence and democracy and an end to U.S. imperialist domination and local feudal oppression. Much blood has been spilt by Filipino workers in their determination to celebrate International Workers Day. As recently as 1972, five unarmed people were shot dead by government troops during the May Day protest involving 7,000 workers and students.

The ruling classes have been untiring in their reactionary efforts to suppress the celebration of May Day. In the Philippines they attempt to surpress May Day through the use of brute armed force; while in the U.S. the ruling class uses more subtle tactics in recent years, such as, the creation of "Labor Day" in September or the renaming of May 1st as "Law and Order Day." Despite these different tactics however, the spirit and celebration of May Day lives on as a tribute to the continuing struggle of the laboring masses.

#### MAY DAY 1975-IN THE PHILIPPINES

In Manila this year no May Day rallies will be held openly. This is certainly not because the life of the workers and peasants have improved under Marcos' "new society," but rather because of the fascist repression of the military dictatorship. Under the martial law regime, Filipino workers have been denied their basic democratic rights to strike, assemble and protest. In the face of skyrocketing inflation up over 50% a year, there has been an official "wage freeze," numerous wage cuts; speed ups; and deteriorating work conditions. During this past year however, Filipino workers have continued to defy this fascism and have staged a number of wild cat strikes and slow downs in order to gain more tolerable working conditions. In addition, an underground trade union movement is developing steadily to counter the outright collaboration of the government-controlled "legal" unions. And increasing numbers of "blacklisted" Filipino workers are leaving the cities to join the armed struggle and the New Peoples Army in the countryside.

In spite of the repression May Day will still be celebrated this year in the Philippines! Maybe not in open city rallies, but certainly in secret gatherings within the working class districts; May Day will most likely be celebrated openly in some barrios and towns in provinces where guerrilla war is raging and government control is weak; May Day will certainly be celebrated in the minds and hearts of the thousands who are determined to rid the Philippines once and for all of U.S. imperialist domination and the fascist Marcos dictatorship! clear-cut U.S. defeat in Indochina and new threats of war in the Middle East coming from the Pentagon and White House.

#### **PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE MOUNTING**

Another side to this "crisis" is the dramatic increase of workers' struggles during the past few years. In 1974 alone, more contract negotiations have been broken off in strikes than at any other period since the 1940's. There is also a renewal and powerful push to unionize sectors of the labor force that have up until now remained unorganized—farmworkers, office and health workers, garment workers, etc.. This deepening conflict between labor and management shows little signs of letting up. This is in part due to the fact that though most giant US firms are recording record profits for '74/'75, the capitalists stockholders are most concerned about their "rate of profit" on investments which has been declining steadily in recent years.

Also the nature of the strike movement is undergoing important changes and more political issues are beginning to appear at the center of many strikes. For example, questions concerning "no-strike" clauses in contracts; safety regulations; union shops; contract violations are often the issues that keep workers out on strike long after the economic question of wages has been settled.

Such mounting struggle is increasing the working class consciousness in the United States. Each day many more workers are coming to understand that they can not protect themselves as individuals but only as a class—a class united in opposition to the interests of management... the stockholders... the capitalists. The growth and development of a working class consciousness and movement will surely begin to dramatically alter the character of American political life.

#### UNITE AGAINST FASCISM

However one of the most serious threats to this growing working class unity is the re-emergence of fascist political trends within U.S. society. Such movements are actively encouraged, financed, and, at times, directly engineered by fascist forces within the ruling class and government. Watergate has done much to expose the extensive illegal and unconstitutional police-state apparatus that exists in America to carry out political surveillance, harassment and repression of a wide spectrum of progressive forces.

In Boston we witness racist mobs stoning Black children and parents in order the defend racially segregated schools. This can only be described as a fascist movement to revive "Jim Crow" and reverse the democratic reforms won during the Civil Rights movement. Both the American Nazi Party and the Klu Klux Klan remain visable and active in organizing the South Boston neighborhood!

Another fear campaign directed against immigrant workers is being mounted directly by the U.S. government. This attack is beginning to be felt within the Filipino communities. On the surface the campaign is against so-called "illegals" (or foreign nationals who do not possess required visas), but underlying it all is a political movement to attempt to stir up hysteria and to scapegoat immigrant workers as being to blame for the rising unemployment and in that way take the figure of guilt away from the big capitalists. Widescale government raids and harrassment are carried out in factories and immigrant communities throughout the country. The Immigration Department has announced it intends to deport 1 million foreign workers within this year, mostly Mexican and Latin American workers. This is another example of a fascist campaign to confuse and divide the working people in the U.S. History has shown time and again that it is only active resistance and protest, and the struggle to unite the broadest sectors of working people that can stem the rise of fascism and advance the people's struggle.

#### **FILIPINO WORKING PEOPLE**

The overwhelming majority of Filipino families in the U.S. are working class families. Filipino men and women can be found working in America's fields, factories, sweatshops, hospitals, offices and department stores. As Filipino people, May Day-International Workers Day-is our day and should be popularized and celebrated more widely within our communities. Along with other working people in American we share the same hardships, attacks and struggles. May Day is a time to join together and strengthen our unity in the working class spirit that "an attack against one is an attack againsg all" and "in our unity is our strength!"

#### MAY DAY 1975-IN THE U.S.

Here in the United States, there is a growing movement to bring back and popularize the wide-scale celebration of May Day among the working people of America. The crucial importance of such a movement as part of the struggle to unify the working class becomes clear in the face of the deepening economic and political crisis of the U.S. monopoly capitalist system. Although it is called a "capitalist crisis", it is not a crisis for the capitalist, but the capitalist system. In fact, the full brunt of the present inflation and recession is being shifted onto the backs of the working class, and we are finding ourselves attacked from all sides. In response to the inflationary prices for food, rents and gasoline, there are "wage freezes" (official and unofficial). In addition, people's cries to stop the severe cutbacks in government spending for needed social services in such areas as education, medicine and social security are being met only by increased military spending for war material. All this in the wake of a

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Our celebration of May Day is also an act of solidarity with the people's struggles throughout the world; in particular our kasama in the Philippines who continue to wage a heroic and difficult fight against the US-Marcos dictatorship!

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#### Bruce Occena KDP National Executive Board

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### Referendum Results: "Fresh Mandate" For More Repression

In an ill-disguised attempt to salvage his tottering regime, Pres. Marcos held a national referendum last Feb. 27 and supposedly received an "overwhelming vote of confidence" to continue his martial law rule.

Many have questioned the validity and legality of the "consultative" referendum. The essential objection is its validity as a free expression of the people's true will in a prevailing atmosphere of fear and intimidation under martial law.

Some of the referendum frauds are beginning to surface. Foreign correspondent Bernard Wideman of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* has already reported several instances of voting irregularities, fraud and terrorism.

- In Maguindanao, a town mostly controlled by Muslim rebels, a government official disclosed that only 2 people voted, the voting supervisors, though the government-released results showed that the whole town had voted.

- In Malabangin, a town in Lanao del Sur Province, one official was amazed that the tally of the local votes revealed the populace favored Presidential appointment of local officials instead of elections. He said almost everyone in town really wanted to retain the right to elect their local officials.

- In Davao, each ballot was examined by the precinct officials as it was cast and each one who voted "no" was made to account to the military.

These incidents clearly prove that this referendum, just like the two that preceded it, was an electoral farce, a mockery of democracy. The much-acclaimed "90% yes-vote" is only another concoction of the dictator's propaganda machine.

But this last referendum had its particular significance to Marcos. It was part of his diabolical scheme to buttress his regime from its rapid decline, arising from its isolation.

#### TREND OF ISOLATION

There has been a growing trend of isolation, both external and internal, which the Marcos regime faces.

Internationally, the dictator is increasingly subjected to criticism and pressure for its violation of human rights, military abuses and corruption. The incarceration of his political enemies and the criminal bombing of the Muslim patriots in the south has aroused the anger of many. In the U.S., for example, anti-martial law sentiments in the Filipino communities are becoming stronger and more vocal.

At home, Marcos is confronted with growing discontent among the Filipino people who are forced to bear the increased hardships of food scarcity, acute unemployment, depressed wages and runaway inflation. The country is in the throes of a severe economic crisis and no amount of new society gimmickry and beauty pageant extravaganza can hide the stinging effects of this crisis.

In addition, the Marcos government is faced with increasing political and military opposition to his martial law rule. A united front of different sectors of patriotic Filipinos-workers, students, peasants, clergy, nationalist businessmen and politicians-has been forged through which organized resistance in many forms is carried out against the dictatorship. The general suppression of civil liberties and the intensifying fascist terrorism like arbitrary arrests have compelled the once noncommital Filipinos to actively oppose the dictatorship.

Threatened by this mounting resistance at home and world-wide indignance at his oppressive rule, what does the Marcos regime do?

#### **RIGGED REFERENDUM; MORE REPRESSION**

In the face of mounting world-wide criticism against his regime, Marcos devised a new propaganda gimmick to put a "stamp of approval" on his isolated regime. Thus, he rigged up a referendum to"consult" the people on questions that he alone framed and under rules and conditions that he alone designed. Through this "fresh mandate" he hopes to prettify his tarnished image.

At home, however, the dictator responds to the increasing discontent with his regime by intensifying the repression. Thus, the question contained in the referendum regarding the appointments of local officials is significant. This is part of Marcos's heinous scheme to consolidate power in his hands in preparation for the increasing fascization of the country. He is tightening his stranglehold over the Filipino people and launching more fascist attacks on them.

As a result of the referendum, Marcos now has under his control over 240,000 local officials, from provincial governor down. Previously-elected, these officials' appointment and tenure now depend on the whim of Marcos.

The Management Commission for Greater Manila area, which was also voted on and "passed" during the recent referendum, is also part of his plan to monopolize power at all levels of the government. The implementation of the Management Commission means the integration of 4 cities and 13 towns under an over-all commission who would decide policies and programs for the entire metropolitan area. There is reason to believe that Mrs. Marcos will even head up this body.

Even before this bold move, Marcos had already integrated all police departments all over the country under one body-the NAPOLCOM (National Police Commission). In areas where there is armed resistance, governors and mayors have already been replaced by military men appointed by Marcos. The referendum, which gave Marcos power of appointment of all local officials, was therefore the climax of this diabolical scheme to monopolize power at all levels for more brutal repression of the people.

#### **INTERNAL CAUSE OF CRISIS**

All this has been done under the cover of meeting the CRISIS! While the dictator now admits that the Philippines is rocked by an economic and political crisis, he attempts to shift the blame to outside causes. Moreover, in a stroke of twisted genius, he is using the daily worsening crisis which his regime has created and aggravated, to justify the continuance of his regime. In his speech to the nation last Jan. 12, Marcos said that the daily crisis which the country faces requires a "crisis government."

In reality, however, it is the Marcos dictatorship that is the *internal cause* for the rapid worsening of the crisis and not the answer to it, as he would have the world believe.

Martial law has opened the door to further foreign control of Philippine industries, businesses and resources. This has served to further perpetuate the already lopsided economy, where the country is a source of cheap labor and raw materials and is the dumping ground of expensive finished products. This foreign penetration and manipulation of the economy has wreaked havoc on the country.

Inflation is over 40% since 1974, mass unemployment has not been abated and food prices have tripled! In the meantime, Marcos has borrowed \$111-M for his "new society" projects while a total external debt of \$2.2-B has been accumulated from massive expenditures for infrastructure projects to meet the investing requirement of the multi-national firms. Millions more have been spent from the people's money on the extravagent squanderings of the dictator's wife.

#### **RENEWED RESISTANCE**

No amount of double talk and fake referendums can hide from the people that *martial law is the cause of the worsening crisis.* While the dictatorship knows no bounds in its trickery, the people are not blind to this travesty of their sovereignty. The verdict of our people on these referendums has always been the same-renewed resistance and intensified armed struggle.

By Samuel P. Bayani

#### Boycott Campaign: ANTI-MARCOS UNITY

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#### By Ma. Flor Sepulveda

The fraud and deception employed by the dictatorship to rig the fake referendum of Feb. 27 did not pass unopposed by the Filipino people. Undaunted by threats of reprisals, a massive campaign was mounted to expose it as another propaganda gimmick and part of Marcos's scheme to take more power. Uniting various anti-martial law sectors in the country, the campaign utilized various forms of protest and principally advocated a policy of boycott. The Preparatory Commission for the National Democratic Front, a provisional body of representative members of all progressive and patriotic classes and sectors united against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, issued this call:

effective expression of the people's will is a BOYCOTT.

"We unite with all democratic groups. which make a similar stand to expose the perverted goals and tactics of the Marcos referendum. However, we also recognize that the dictatorship's vindictive stance and the subtle violence have temporarily struck fear in some of our people. These people will take a much bolder stand later. Understanding the present condition they are in, we urge them likewise to register their protest not by a vote of NO but by making their ballots NULL and VOID. An invalid vote will serve notice to the regime that the questions posed are not those touching on the aspirations of the people as citizens of a free nation; that the people know they are not being consulted but are in truth, being insulted. "But there are also others who can show the real strength and power of organized people by conducting their own authentic peoples referendums. This way they can assert their rights, and express their feelings, raise questions most vital to their lives. People's Referendums can be held in school, workplaces, and communities." To implement the three-fold task, boycott organizers fully utilized the "marginal freedoms" such as the free debate period which the dictatorship allowed in an effort to give

HEIGHTENS

the referendum a semblance of democracy.

The massive boycott effort drew participation from student orgainzations, religious groups, and community organizations. The 12,000-member Association of Major Religious Superiors (AMRS) supported the boycott and circulated a petition. Sr. Christine Tan, head of the Womens Division of AMRSP, said that the Association planned to collect I million signatures to the petition before presenting it to Marcos on Feb. 23. Other religious associations that made a similar stand were the Iglesia ni Cristo and the Mindanao-Sulu Secretariat for Social Action. The Catholic Bishops Conference, the highest body in the church hierarchy, persisted in its efforts to maximize the "freedoms" allowable by the regime. Civic groups that participated were the Civil Liberties Union and the Integrated Bar of the Philippines. The Feb. 17 statement of the CLU exposed the illegality of the referendum in the context of the present constitution: "There is no need to hold the coming referendum and waste 13.5 million of the people's money in the process. Whatever wishes the people may express in the consultative referendum will not bind the present by the tenor of his (Marcos) own proclamations and decrees. The people's views will serve only as

1. Boycott the referendum to expose its farcical nature;

2. For those who have to go to the polls because of the repressive circumstances, register your protest by making your ballots NULL and VOID;

3. Conduct PEOPLE'S REFERENDUMS to assert the people's democratic rights and express the questions most vital to their lives. **REGISTER PROTEST** 

The NDF statement went on to explain: "Since participation in the Marcos-dictated masquerade means endowing the referendum with a validity it does not have, the most

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### Priests' Fast Draws Support THOUSANDS

#### By Ma. Flor Sepulveda

QUEZON CITY – Stemming from the hunger strike of two political detainees, Fr. Edicio de la Torre and Fr. Manuel Lahoz, a massive political prisoners support movement has been generated in the past few months. Thousands of people have been mobilized by the clergy in a series of mass actions that have successfully brought national and international attention to the plight of the political prisoners detained under martial law.

Fr. Ed and Fr. Lahoz who were arrested along with 34 others last Dec. 14, launched their hunger strike on Dec. 25 to protest the tortures perpetrated on their co-detainees at Camp Olivas (Z-2) Pampanga. News of their hunger strike was wide spread and drew broad support and concern for the plight of political prisoners. Documentation of the tortures experienced by the detainees at Z-2 and other information smuggled out of jail by Fr. Ed and Fr. Lahoz to clerical and civil libertarian groups, refuted the military's insistent claims that torture was not practiced.

This new evidence allowed for clerical groups and other opposition forces to mount a stronger offensive in their struggle to expose the brutal excesses of the Marcos regime and to demand rights for political prisoners.

Because of the attention focused on Z-2 resulting from the hunger strike, visitation rights were granted to the 2 priests. Among their daily traffic of visitors were church officials such as Pacifico Ortiz, S.J., Chairman of the Bishops Justice and Peace Commission, Bishop Emilio Cinense of Pampanga, and the Papal Nuncio Msgr. Bruno Torpigliani (personal representative of the Pope). Also the military was forced to cover-up-"suspend" all tortures and clean up the camp-because of the presence of the many visitors.

Strong national support for the hunger strike was led by the clergy. The Task Force Detainees (TFD) of the Association of Major Religious Superiors in the Philippines launched a letter writing campaign and soon tele-

# MOBILIZED

grams and letters barraged the Malacanang. All were demanding the release of the 2 priests and the halting of all further tortures in all detention camps. The TFD also organized a sympathy hunger strike which was joined by superiors and members of 35 religious orders. Later, 21 Catholic families from the Sampaloc Viciarate of Manila also participated.

In Kamuning, Quezon City, 7 priests celebrated a mass at the Sacred Heart Parish Church to protest the tortures and hardships heaped on the political prisoners. The mass drew more than 2,000 parishoners.

#### SUPPORT MOBILIZED

Internationally, the hunger strike generated mass support and an outpour of denunciations of the Marcos dictatorship came from the anti-martial law movement in the U.S. and Canada. Around 20 students from Hong Kong staged a 24-hour solidarity fast on Dec. 30. Telegrams and letters from different religious orders, congregations and groups, particularly from the Society of the Divine Word (USA and Canada), bombarded Malacanang.

The military, who continued to disclaim that tortures were inflicted, closely surveilled every visit to Z-2. But they were caught by surprise recently when Archbishop Sin submitted to higher authorities the medical report of a doctor-nun who visited the Camp on Dec. 27 and examined the tortured detainees. The nun, Sr. Lourdes Palma, FMM M.D., said that the description of the tortures, initially made known through the smuggled letter, were accurate and corresponded with her medical findings.

The medical report exposed the deceit of the military and government authorities, especially since Pres. Marcos had earlier said that "All are treated with full regard of their dignity as citizens of the Republic and as human beings. No one, but no one has been tortured." Confronted with this evidence military officials later acknowledged that "tactical interrogations methods" were used.

Because the hunger strike heightened the concern of thousands, and the vigilance of the church, Marcos had no recourse but to convict the men who perpetrated the torture, sparing the generals who ordered it. Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile dismissed a lieutenant colonel, 7 enlisted men, 4 sergeants and reprimanded 6 others. The officers will undergo a pre-trial military investigation and if warranted will be tried by a general court-martial. Yet it is a well-known fact that every time an officer undergoes trial for offenses against civilians, the military authorities always find convenient excuses to stall the guilty party's prosecution.

The political prisoners support movement, however, will not stop here. More mass actions will be organized and a stronger offensive will be launched to bring an end to the beatings, tortures and unjust detainment of the political prisoners.

### De la Torre, Lahoz, Others Arraigned

#### By Ma. Flor Sepulveda

CAMP AGUINALDO, QUEZON CITY – The mass movement generated by the Dec. 26 hunger strike of Fr. Edicio de la Torre and Fr. Manuel Lahoz has forced the military to conduct an early arraignment of the 2 priests and 32 other persons arrested with them in a mass raid last Dec. 14. Preliminary hearings are being conducted now by an all-military investigation panel here at the Torres Hall of

# Another Detainee Murdered

The newspapers of Jan. 3, 1975 listed a certain "Alias" 'Rey,' "Franks,' Dave' (CF. Times Journal Jan. 3, 1975, p. 10) as among the group arrested in connection with Fr. Edicio de la Torre. In the subsequent list published in the papers on Sunday, Jan. 26, 1975, his name does not reappear. What has happened to this young man? Why has his name suddenly been dropped without explanation? The following verified story provides the answers. -A ssociation of Major Religious Superiors

From well-informed sources we received the following report in a blatant case of murder perpetrated by the military in Baguio City in the morning of Monday, Dec. 9, 1974. The report is based on an eyewitness account brought to the agents' residence. The three were then taken to a nearby "safehouse" of the military agents.

-9 Dec.: All three were tortured while being interrogated. In addition to being beaten up mercilessly, Ceneza and Yanes were made to endure electrodes (electric shock) applied to different parts of the body. Ceneza was continuously clubbed on the head until blood oozed out of his nose and ears. Ofelia Castillo was stripped of her clothes, subjected to indignities, slapped, kicked and beaten with a .38 caliber revolver. The torture session took all of Dec. 9 and went into the following day. -10 Dec.: There was no let-up in the brutal treatment of Eddie Ceneza. Unable to break his spirit, the military concentrated on hitting him with a .45 caliber pistol. Later, his body was found on the pavement outside the house apparently flung from a second floor window. Ofelia Castillo escaped while the agents were distracted. Alberto Yanes, Ofelia Castillo and Eddie Ceneza were mentioned by the Times Journal of January 3, 1975, as numbering among the 30 plus persons arrested in the same series of raids during which Fr. Edicio de la Torre SVD and Fr. Manuel Lahoz were arrested. They were supposed to be under military custody and were to be charged on Jan. 25, 1975 with conspiracy to commit rebellion. But Alberto Yanes has for reasons known only to the military "escaped." Ofelia Castillo escaped from the military safe houses (houses out-side the prison camps where the military can 'safely' torture or dispose of political prisoners) in Baguio and is now in hiding. And Eddie Ceneza-no one knows where his remains lie, except perhaps his killers.

Justice. The group is being charged with conspiracy to commit rebellion and the illegal printing, possession, distribution and circulation of subversive materials.

Prior to the arrest, the 2 priests were active in the underground resistance movement against the dictatorship. Fr. Ed was instrumental in forging unity between different anti-martial law groups and individuals by acting as liaison. Fr. Lahoz was active in organizing peasants into collectives and farmers cooperatives along with Santiago Arce in Penarrubia, Abra. (Arce was secretly murdered by the PC in July, 1974. See Vol II, No. 2.)

Representing the accused will be ex-Senators Lorenzo Tanada and Jose Diokno. Diokno and Tanada, who have consistently challenged the legality of martial law and the validity of Marcos's continued stay in power will again challenge the jurisdiction of the military tribunal to decide on the case. Hence, it is expected that a legal battle will first ensue. Irregardless of the length of time and legal technicalities involved in deciding the case, however, many know that the verdict is a foregone conclusion.

While the hunger strike's greatest gain was the heightened consciousness and concern for the politically imprisoned, as witnessed locally and internationally, the clergy's demands for the release of the 2 priests will be a mute cry in the Marcos-controlled courts. Like all political prisoners being "tried" before military tribunals, Fr. Ed and Fr. Lahoz know that their trial is just a farce, a mere formality to make their eventual conviction look justified. Fr. Ed and Fr. Lahoz however, do not fear the fate that would be passed on them by their persecutors. In a letter to his superior Fr. Lumanlan, Fr. Ed said that freedom to him means "not just the release of detainees but the liberation of thousands of sugar workers who work and slave for HK \$2.50 a day and die of natural deaths at the age of 45." Freedom means "deliverance from the scourge of deaths which claims 78% of the children of sugar workers before they reach the age of 3." For Fr. Ed democracy means an equitable distribution of the wealth and land of the Philippines. Fr. Ed has already told his interrogators that "it is a genuinely free and democratic Philippines that I have lived for and that I hope I am ready to die for."

by a certain Ofelia Castillo, a former public school teacher.

The murder victim was Eddie Ceneza, 21 years of age and a native of Bo. Salinognon, San Mateo, Isabela. He was also known by the names of "Rey", "Dave" and "Panks" and to neighbors in Baguio City as "Eleazar Batolome." Like many in the struggle for liberation from all forms of oppression, Eddie Ceneza was unassuming. But behind his humility was a courageous young man who preferred death rather than betray his comrades in the struggle. He endured the savage torment dealt by the military without compromising his principles. The killers included such military men as Arnold Sineres and Jose Rivera.

For a clearer picture of what happened, a narration of events in chronological order follows:

- 8 Dec. 1974: Eddie Ceneza and his companion Alberto Yanes were taken to the agents' residence at Leonila Hill. Ofelia Castillo was arrested that same day and

# LOPEZ ACCUSES MARCOS OF POLITICAL BLACKMAIL

#### By Samuel P. Bayani

The long-standing Marcos-Lopez feud reached a new stage of antagonism last month when Philippine millionaire, Eugenio Lopez Sr., publicly exposed that President Marcos had been blackmailing him for the past 2 years.

In an article published in the March 22nd issue of the *Washington Post*'s Parade Magazine, the head of the wealthy Lopez dynasty explained that Marcos had been holding his son, Eugenio Lopez Jr., in jail without charges as "hostage" to blackmail the Lopez family into selling Marcos their vast properties in the Philippines.

In his statement to the press, Lopez Sr. revealed that his shares in the Manila Electric Co. (Meralco), worth \$20 million, was bought by Marcos frontmen for the ridiculous downpayment of \$1500. "The sale was a 'giveaway,' plain and simple, to save the life of my son," Lopez Sr. said. He also divulged that television network ABS-CBN, another Lopez property, had been taken over and "sold" without compensation to Roberto Benedicto, a close personal friend of Mr. Marcos.

#### FEUD PRE-DATES MARTIAL LAW

The Marcos-Lopez feud had its beginnings before martial law. The Lopez family, until recently, was one of the most powerful families in the Philippines with major holdings in strategic industries and agricultural lands. The Lopez-owned Meralco Security Corporation is the major stockholder in Meralco, the utility company which monopolizes the supply of electricity to Manila and the suburban areas. They also owned ABS-CBN, the largest TV-radio chain in the Philippines with 6 TV stations and 21 radio stations. Their newspaper, The Manila Chronicle, was a major news daily in the country before its shutdown under martial law. Lopez is also one of the biggest landlords and owns much of the country's main export, sugar. A survey of the ten richest families in the Philippines before martial law would undoubtedly include the Lopez family.

The Lopez family was also active in Philippine politics to protect and further their economic wealth and power. Some members of the Lopez family held public offices.



Exiled Filipino tycoon, Eugenio Lopez Sr. (credit: Washington Post Parade).

Fernando Lopez, brother of Eugenio Lopez Sr., was Vice-President of the Philippines for three terms. But the Lopezes also made "good use" of their financial and political power to back candidates who would give them "political favors" in return. It was well known in Philippine politics that Lopez backing was crucial, especially in Presidential campaigns. Ironically, however, it was the Lopez family that supported Mr, Marcos in his successful bid for the Presidency in 1965.

Prior to martial law, rumors were rife in the Philippines that all was not well with the Marcos-Lopez alliance. It was rumored that Marcos, in his lust for wealth and power, wanted to take over the Lopez' financial empire. Soon afterwards, the Manila Chronicle newspaper joined the ranks of other nationalist-minded media and became one of the most outspoken critics of the Marcos government, constantly attacking Marcos for his greed and political corruption.

#### LOPEZ JR. ARRESTED AND DETAINED

When martial law was declared in September 1972 *The Manila Chronicle*, as well as the ABS-CBN broadcasting network, was one of the first to be closed down. Lopez Sr., who was out of the country at the time, feared to return and has since lived in exile here in San Francisco. On November 27, 1972, several months after the imposition of martial law, the Marcos-Lopez feud heightened with the arrest of Eugenio Lopez Jr., publisher of the defunct *Manila Chronicle*. Together with Sergio Osmena III, son of another Marcos political opponent, they were charged with plotting to assassinate Pres. Marcos. They have been in jail for the last two years without trial. Lopez Jr.'s detention was easily used as blackmail and the Lopez family quietly "sold" their vast properties to Marcos.

Last Nov. 11, 1974, however, Lopez Jr. and Osmena III staged a hunger strike at their detention camp to bring international attention to their plight and the thousands like them languishing in Marcos's jails. The Lopez family moved swiftly to publicize the "justice or fast til death" strike and soon, antimartial law forces in the Philippines and the U.S. united behind the campaign.

Faced with world-wide protest and a critical international press, Marcos was forced publicly to acknowledge that thousands of prisoners were being detained as a result of his martial law rule. The dictatorship officially confirmed 5,234 prisoners, 1,165 of which are classified as political prisoners. (This is a very conservative number in contrast to the total estimate of 20,000 political prisoners which the U.S.-based anti-martial law movement contends have been arrested under martial law.)

To appease the mounting condemnation of his repressive regime, Marcos released 1,076 prisoners. Thinking they had achieved their objective, Eugenio Lopez Jr. and Sergio Osmena III ended their fast after 11 days, but were not among those released. Marcos vindictively refused to release them and instead, brought formal charges against them for "plotting to assassinate the President," a criminal offense, not a political one. To the grief and despair of their families, the two will be tried by a civil court. But since Marcos controls the Philippine judiciary, in effect making him complainant, prosecutor and judge, the outcome of the trial is already a forgone conclusion. It was at this time that Lopez Sr. broke his two years of silence.

The Lopezes' charge of blackmail and extortion has since received wide publicity here in the U.S. and internationally. It has served to expose Mr. Marcos' personal greed and political corruption and dampen his propaganda offensive to sell his "benevolent" dictatorship to the world.

Recently, Marcos has tried to pacify to Lopezes by promising Lopez Jr.'s release if they would sign a letter asking him to do so. *continued on pg. 8* 

### ... BUOD NG BALITA...

United Front against Philippine and S. Korean Dictators: S. Korea's Catholic priests have urged their Filipino colleagues to join them in a united front against their respective dictators. The National Society of Priests for the Realization of Justice's proposal to the Filipino Catholic priests came at the eve of the Philippine referendum. South Korea, ruled by the military regime of Park Chung Hee, had a similar sham referendum last Feb. 21. The South Korean priests commented that "the national referendum is a wicked political show that the dictatorial regimes like to resort to.' Their call for unity also explained that there is no border in a fight against injustice.

the U.S. military officials. Fearful of a counter-military coup, the dictator is revamping his military forces. Thru this safeguard, the dictator hopes to prevent any faction within his military from mustering too much power to threaten his regime with a counter was organized, the machinery can also be used to produce other products like generators.

The arms factory is going to cost \$8M and was made possible last summer through a loan from the U.S. government. In the guise of assisting the Philippines to achieve a "self-reliant" posture of defense, the U.S. Defense Department supported the project. This reasoning is wealth will have to be explained," he said. Mareos said that such an auditing has to take place because of the "tendency toward complacency" among government and military officials with regard to corruption, a vice he promised will be eliminated when he declared martial law.

While Marcos has proclaimed his anti-corruption drive, Manila is rife with stories of military officials and their get rich quick schemes. Many times in the past, the dictatorship has issued similar decrees but to date only low-level officials have been persecuted for petty graft cases.

\* \* \* \*

Reshuffling in the AFP: Lt. Gen. Rafael Ileto, Vice-Chief of Staff of the AFP has been forcibly retired from the military service. Ileto has been transferred to the foreign services where his rank is Chief of mission, ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. So far, however, Ileto has not been given a foreign assignment. It is rumored that President Marcos was suspicious of Ileto's close ties with coup.

#### . . . . .

Here to Study the M-16: Members of the Philippine military headed by a Lt. Col Edgardo Caminas are presently assigned to the Colt Arms factory in Hartford, Conn. to study the manufacture of the M-16 rifles.

The Colt Co. is under contract with the Philippine government to train military personnel on the production of the armalite rifles. This training is part of the government's plan to organize an armalite production factory in the Philippines. While the contract is between the Philippine government and Colt Co.; business arrangements are being handled by Elitool, a company associated with Manda Elizalde, a Marcos henchman.

A Filipino official in Washington has denied that the arms factory is a purely military-oriented project. He justified that once the factory merely a cover-up for the direct involvement of the U.S. Government in militarily abetting the Marcos dictatorship.

The U.S. Government's assistance to the dictatorship in brutalizing the Filipino people is not limited to this armalite-factory project. The Filipino official has admitted that American bases are engaged in gathering information on the military situation in the country. He also revealed that CIA agents operate in the country.

\*\*\*\*

Auditing of Assets Ordered: To prove his sincerity now that he has the "vote of confidence" of the people, Marcos issued a directive on March 2 ordering all senior civilian officials and military officers above the rank of first lieutenant to submit statements of their assets, showing what they were worth before and after they served under his administration. "Increases in Many believe Marcos will not seriously pursue his anti-corruption drive since the military forms the core of his support.

\* \* \* \*

**Exams on Martial Law:** As part of its plan to brainwash the youth on the principles of martial law, special exams will be given to Grade 6 and 4th year high school students in private schools. Private Schools' Director Julian B. Yballe said it was necessary to administer such a test because students do not know the essentials of the 'new society.' The director said that schools whose students fail the test will be dealt with accordingly.

# Mijares Defection Exposes Splits In Marcos Camp

#### By Samuel P. Bayani

The Marcos dictatorship suffered another blow on Feb. 19 with the defection of Primitivo Mijares, formerly the dictator's top propagandist. Primitivo Mijares, chief press censor of Pres. Marcos, denounced the Marcos government and is seeking political asylum in the United States. The defecting newspaperman said that the martial law regime of Marcos is "nothing but an ill-disguised plot to perpetuate himself, his wife and/or son in power by consolidating the political and economic resources of the country under his control."

Mijares was president of the National Press Club and chairman of the Media Advisory Council (MAC), the government's media watchdog, prior to its dissolution last December with the so-called "restoration of press freedom." (see vol.2, no.1)

#### **POWER STRUGGLE**

His defection came as a result of a longbrewing power struggle between himself and the Romualdez-Tatad clique, and his subsequent falling out of the good graces of the dictator. Mijares was bitter toward Romualdez, brother of Mrs. Imelda Marcos, and had accused him of leading the corruption in the Marcos government. Though his claims were not substantiated, it is widely known that the probability of such charges was very great for Benjamin "Kokoy" Romualdez, since he occupied many important positions in the Marcos cabinet and handled the investment deals of the Marcos family. Tatad, on the other hand is referred to by Mijares as being the "docile, self-serving, and egotistical Information Secretary."

Manila abounds with stories about the bickerings and intrigues of these two factions in their power struggle to control the media. It was rumored that Tatad was not too pleased with Mijares because the latter was over-stepping his functions into areas that were Tatad's as the Information Secretary.

The rivalry between Mijares and Romualdez surfaced recently during the Lechoco embassy takeover incident in Washington last November. Mijares had volunteered to convince Lechoco to surrender and spare the life of his hostage, the Philippine Ambassador. When he arrived at the Philippine Embassy in Washington, Romualdez refused to cooperate and Mijares was forced to monitor negotiations with Lechoco from a nearby hotel.

The most antagonistic conflict between the two, however, transpired during the visit of Mrs. Marcos to the U.S. that same month. Mijares was assigned to initiate contacts with several martial law critics in the U.S. and plan a dialogue between them and Mrs. Marcos. Part of the dictatorship's attempts to persuade them to accept the "amnesty offer" of the regime, the dialogue, however, failed to materialize. Mijares blamed the arrogance and haughtiness of Romualdez which he says jeopardized the plan.

Mijares was also at odds with his master, Pres. Marcos, and isolated within the Marcos cabinet. It is rumored that prior to his defection, Mijares had incurred the ire of the dictator for "bungling" several assignments. Last October when Marcos decentralized media censorship and created the Bureau of Print and Bureau of Broadcasting, he dissolved the Media Advisory Council, and, showing his displeasure with Mijares, eased him out of the chairmanship and gave these powers instead to his other minions.

Bitter and frustrated, Mijares refused to return to the Philippines, despite the bidding of Pres. Marcos, and defected from the Marcos regime on Feb. 19, 1975.

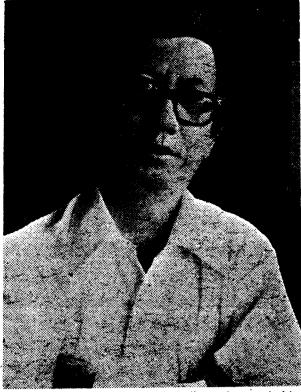
A review of Mijares career as a newspaperman reveals that this is not the first time he has switched loyalties. In his early newswriting days he wrote for the now defunct *Manila Chronicle* where he was a close confidant of Eugenio Lopez, Sr., now in exile from the Marcos government. When Marcos took power, he moved to the Marcos paper, the *Daily Express* where his column "PM Views" came to be known as "President Marcos' views". Before his defection Mijares consulted with Lopez Sr. and made his defection statement in the San Francisco-based *Philippine News*, an anti-Marcos paper reportedly financed by Lopez.

#### **KEY ROLE IN REGIME**

Mijares played a key role in the Marcos martial law regime. He was the brains of the regime's propaganda machinery and wielded much power. As chairman of the MAC, he approved operating permits for newspapers and broadcast firms. His brainchild was the National Media Trust, the government news agency that chose which international news articles would be printed in the local papers. He was among the few who had 24-hour access to Pres. Marcos, constantly consulting him in the "New Society's" sophisticated propaganda deception schemes. He himself admitted being one of the architects of the rigged referendums in January and July, 1973.

As hatchet man for the dictator, he initiated the witchhunt of NCRCLP, successfully intimidating and silencing ex-consul Ruperto Baliao, who defected from the Marcos govern-

read in part: "Let us ask the Father to pour down the Just One on us suffering Filipino people, striving to liberate ourselves from all sorts of unfreedom both internal and external."



Primitivo Mijares, key propagandist and trusted aide of the Marcos regime, denounces former master.

ment two years ago. Last year he also had a hand in the harassment of Arnold Zietlin, manager of Associated Press in Manila, for his unfavorable coverage of the Jolo battle. Because of this key position in the Marcos government and his subsequent exposes of the fraudulence of the Marcos regime, Mijares defection has done much damage to the dictatorship.

#### **INTERNAL SPLITS WEAKEN REGIME**

While his disclosures of corruption in the Marcos government does not really come as a surprise to many, it is interesting to note that Mijares' disenchantment is typical of the malaise that afflicts the Marcos regime. His defection adds to the growing list of former Marcos officials who have left the fold. It is also symptomatic of the internal splits wracking the Marcos camp. There are constant power struggles within the ranks as generals, aides and cabinet members all compete with one another to curry the favor of the dictator. The most effective and servile henchmen are rewarded generously with wealth and power. Those who somehow fail to carry out the dictator's wishes are eased out and purged.

Through these material incentives, the dictator has a narrow following of "loyal" supporters which constitute the base of his dictatorship. This power base, however, can only be maintained as long as Marcos satisfies the material interests and ambitions of his minions. It is basically a parasitic relationship and therefore an unstable one. With the growing crisis his regime faces, it will be increasingly difficult for Marcos to buy the "loyalty" of his followers. Disintegrating internally and being dealt heavy blows by the Filipino people's resistance, the Marcos regime is doomed.

#### NATION-WIDE

### Open Protests ...

#### continued from front page

continued detention of political prisoners. Unlike previous mass actions focused on a particular issue, the protest march exposed the many aspects of martial law repression. It was also one of the few times that an open mass action, infused with revolutionary spirit, was able to take place in Manila—the center of fascist control.

On Jan. 8 another "protest from the pulpit" was heard at the Cosmopolitan Church in Manila. The National Council of Churches Ecumenical Ministry to Political Detainees and their Families sponsored an Ecumenical Worship on Human Rights. During the offertory, a moving prayer was said on behalf of all Filipinos who have suffered under the yoke of martial law repression. Tribute was given to all those who suffered tortured and martyrdom in the hands of the military and mass ended with the "Prayer of the People" which

"Though we groan in pain, let us face this new year with more hope and courage and continue the work of liberation He has started among our people, so that God's Image being perfected in us, we may regain and enjoy our freedom and dignity."

#### **RESISTANCE CONTINUES**

These mass actions were supported by a broadening united front of various patriotic and anti-fascist sectors of Philippine society commonly opposed to the Marcos regime. Through united efforts as these, limited concessions were forced from the regime. But the most significant gain was the mass politicization of the people despite martial law repression. Undoubtedly Marcos will respond with more repression to turn the tide of popular dissent, but as these protests show, the people will continue to creatively wage resistance and utilize all means available.

### POLITICAL PRISONERS CAMPAIGN ....

#### continued from front page

Other areas of the country will then participate by launching the political prisoners educational and fund-raising projects. To assist the efforts of all involved, the Los Angeles-based core group will develop a speakers' bureau of former political prisoners now in the country, relatives of political prisoners and other persons versed on the topic. A letter writing campaign aimed at the Philippine government, the United Nations, U.S. Congress, church organizations, etc., on behalf of the political prisoners will also be introduced.

Communication channels are still being developed for the transfer of funds to the Philippines, the last aspect of the campaign.

Any information pertinent to the project, or suggestions for sources, etc., should be sent to this mailing address: Jaime Gaega, 762 N. Virgil Ave., Los Angeles, Ca. 90029.

# Marcos – Sophisticated Dictator

By D. B. Schirmer

This is the conclusion to an article by Daniel B. Schirmer, a member of the Friends of the Filipino People (FFP) and a staff member of the Philippine Information Bulletin. The first part discussed Marcos' sophisticated propaganda schemes, such as the excursion of Mrs. Marcos to Peking, and the release of Diokno, an ailing political foe who languished in jail for 2 years before his release. These series of events were well-orchestrated and were meant to sell the "smiling martial law" image to critics abroad.

Next was the surrender of the 27 man Politburo of the PKP, remnants of the Communist Party once active in the Huk rebellion of the '50's (as distinct from the Communist Party that now leads the New People's Army. Making a trip to the Presidential palace to have their pictures taken by the press, these men pledged allegiance to the New Society and praised its "reforms." Whereupon Marcos declared them to be in possession of full legality, freeing many of them from the jails where martial law had held them up to now.

After this event Marcos announced an offer of amnesty to all those currently opposed to his regime, Muslim, Catholic or New People's Army. Again apologists dutifully came forward. William Pomeroy, for example, a U.S. citizen once active in the Huk revolt, immediately spoke up to praise PKP legalization, thereby lending credence to the image of "liberalization" that Marcos seeks to promote.

First came Marcos' release, in September, of Jose Diokno, one of his foremost nationalist critics. Diokno, who had been in jail since the imposition of martial law, is very ill and plans to come to the United States for medical treatment, but his release grabbed the spotlight, putting the thousands who remain imprisoned in the shadow.

In October, Mrs. Marcos made her sensational excursion to Peking, visiting with Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung, and returning with a Sino-Philippine trade pact. Mrs. Marcos' China trip followed a similar visit to the Soviet Union, and Marcos' apologists like Foreign Secretary Carlos Romulo have hailed the development of relations with the socialist powers as presaging a new independence from the United States. On the contrary, do not these developments suggest that Marcos, as throughout his previous career, hews close to every major turn in U.S. foreign policy? Once following the U.S. to war in Viet Nam, now he trails after Kissinger in Peking and Moscow, hoping like his mentor to use the Sino-Soviet split to advantage and inundating the Philippine people, many of whom respect the People's Republic of China, with news of Mrs. Marcos warm reception by the Chinese leaders.

PART II

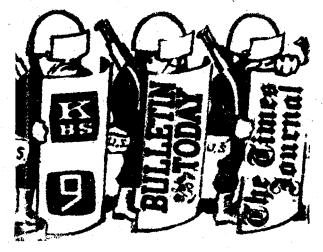
Finally, in November Mrs. Marcos made a trip to the United States to inaugurate an expensive Philippine Center in New York City, visiting at the hospital bedside of the ailing Nixon en route, and bringing with her the offer of amnesty to all opponents of the dictatorship in U.S. exile.

One of these outspoken exiles, Heherson Alvarez, whose opposition to Marcos pre-dates martial law, denounced Mrs. Marcos amnesty offer as a "farce." Mr. Alverez has tragic grounds from which to speak, since it is reported that his younger brother in the Philippines, though completely apolitical, was kidnapped, tortured and killed this past summer by the Marcos secret police, presumably to teach those in exile the need to conform.

#### SELLING THE NEW SOCIETY ABROAD

As Mrs. Marcos' U.S. trip and amnesty offer indicate, all these public relations activities, whatever their effect at home, seem designed to influence opinion in the United States-a critical concern for Marcos because of the military and economic aid he receives from the U.S. Congress. As he is doubtless aware, there are in this country a number of groups and organizations actively unfavorable to his government. Members of the Catholic and Protestant clergy have come together in a committee called Christians Concerned About the Philippines. Filipinos and those of Philippine descent are represented by several organizations (Movement for a Free Philippines led by ex-Senator Raul Manglapus, the anti-imperialist Union of Democratic Filipinos, the National Association of Filipinos in the United States, etc.). Oriented especially towards U.S. voters, whether or not of Filipino descent, is the Friends of the Filipino People. What is common to all these groups is their demand for an end to U.S. aid to the Marcos dictatorship (as voiced by Benedict Kerkvliet at the Congressional hearings last June). With Senators Cranston (California) and Abourezk (South Dakota) expressing opposition to Marcos, with Congress showing considerable balkiness over aid to Marcos' fellow-dictator Thieu-Marcos and the State Department obviously have cause for concern.

Marcos is worried about the political survival of his regime; while U.S. empire builders regard U.S. bases and economic influence in the Philippines as key to the U.S. position in Asia and have done so since the U.S. conquest and colonization of that country by McKinley at the turn of the century.



Perhaps that is why the Marcos dictatorship seems like a replay, in neo-colonialist terms, of early U.S. policies. William Howard Taft, the first U.S. colonial administrator of the Philippines, told a Senate Committee in 1902 it was necessary to maintain the Philippines as a U.S. colony because independence would "drive out capital, prevent capital from coming here." Keenly aware of the need to appease public opinion in the United States, Taft told a Filipino nationalist, Apolinario Mabini, about U.S. policies in the Philippines, saying that "the United States wanted to exercise the same sovereignty that Russia or Turkey would" (both notoriously autocratic at the time) "the only difference being that Americans would try to exercise sovereignty more liberally." Then, as if to prove his words, Taft very early announced "amnesty" for all those Filipino nationalists who would cease opposition to U.S. rule and swear allegiance to it.

#### **U.S. SHOWCASE OF DICTATORSHIP**

Today, as U.S. neo-colonial influence experiences world-wide crisis, it is Marcos, the Filipino politician, who exercises dictatorship to protect U.S. capital and prevent it from leaving, who tries to give this dictatorship a "liberal" face, offering amnesty to all those who will desist in their opposition and abolishing press censorship (in effect dismantling some of the external trappings of martial law in order to preserve the dictatorship).

Taft's policies fooled many U.S. voters and blunted their opposition to budding U.S. empire. Whether his "liberalization" hoax will have the same effect today or not, Marcos' grandstand publicity plays, his "hard-sells" and "soft-sells," put other U.S. sponsored dictators like Thieu, Park and Pinochet in the shade, evidently inspiring some envy. For Thieu presently announces he wants to open relations with the Soviet Union, and the People's Rebublic of China and Park buys advertising space in the New York Times. Could it be that the Philippines, once known as the United States showcase democracy in Asia, is now, under Marcos, turning into the United States showcase dictatorship?

# Aquino Stages Hunger Strike

Reports from the Philippines reveal that the military has also resorted to "physically abusing" Aquino for his non-cooperation.

Sen. Benigno Aquino, staunch critic of the Marcos regime, has gone on a hunger strike since April 4 to protest the coercive methods employed by the regime to force him to attend investigation proceedings of charges against him. It is reported that in the first 3 days of his fast, Aquino lost 18 pounds. The Military Commission is compelling Aquino to. appear before the prosecution panel by physically dragging him from his cell to the hearing room at Camp Crame.

#### MOCK TRIAL

During the 3 years of his detention, the military has tried to prosecute Aquino on charges of illegal possession of firearms, ammunition, violation of the anti-subversion act and murder. Aquino has consistently refused to participate in the proceedings and has branded the trial an "unconscionable mockery." During the first attempt to prosecute him in July, 1973, Aquino filed a petition before the Supreme Court, asking that the hearings be stopped. Aquino's petition challenged the jurisdiction of the military combinistion to try him, contending that a military court would deprive him of his constitutional rights. The Supreme Court to date, has not handed down a decision regarding the petition. But this had not deterred the military commission from holding the hearings which began last March 31.

At that time, Aquino faced the military court and attacked it for its "indecent haste" to try him. He also stated that the military commission was trying the wrong man. Aquino said it was not he but Marcos who is guilty of illegal possession of firearms, subversion and murder. "I charge Mr. Marcos with the illegal possession of the entire armed forces of the Philippines. . I charge Mr. Marcos with subversion...of the republican form of government...replacing it with a totalitarian regime...I charge Mr. Marcos with the murder of democracy..."

He then reiterated his stand not to participate in the military commission's proceedings, which he said was an assertion of his right. The military commission ignored Aqunio's motion, claiming that Aquino's absence would "weaken the prosecution's evidence." They insisted on Aquino's presence during the hearings.

The military carried out this forced appearance by dragging Aquino from his cell to the hearing room.

#### STAGES HUNGER STRIKE

Faced with this terroristic tactic employed by the Marcos government, Aquino declared he had "no other alternative but to go on a hunger strike, as a form of silent protest against a procedure that is intended to humiliate and dehumanize me."

Latest reports also indicate that the Supreme Court has ordered the military commission to halt its hearings against Aquino until the Supreme Court's decision on Aquino's petition.

It comes as no surprise that the Supreme Court has finally-broken its silence about Aquino's petition, almost 2 years after it was filed. With the dictatorship threatened by unfavorable publicity triggered by Aquino's hunger strike, the court's action is meant to stall the imminent confrontation between the Marcos government and Aquino, one of Marcos's most-hated political foes.

Whatever decision the Marcos-controlled Supreme Court hands down on Aquino's petition, one thing is clear—the martial law regime is trying its utmost, utilizing all its tricks and ploys, to brand Aquino a common criminal to make his inevitable conviction and execution more plausible and to conceal its criminal act against one of its staunchest critics.

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8 - Ang Katipunan



#### S.P. LOPEZ OUSTED FROM U.P.--MARCOS MAN REPLACES HIM

Salvador P. Lopez has been replaced by O.D. Corpuz as president of the University of the Philippines. The liberal Lopez earned the displeasure of the dictator Marcos for his criticisms of martial law. During a lecture tour of the United States last year Lopez said the atmosphere of fear in the Philippines under martial law was not conducive to the growth of academic freedom in the university. When his 6 year term as UP president expired last Jan. 31, the UP Board of Regents, under pressure from Malacanang, chose not to renew Lopez's term. O.D. Corpuz, a technocrat and staunch defender of martial law, was elected instead. More recently, Lopez has also been deprived of a faculty po sition in the university.

This move reflects the dictator's concern at the resurgence of activism at UP, one of the centers of protest in pre-martial law days. When martial law was imposed, UP was one of the first targets and was closed for several weeks and re-opened with heavy restrictions. Classrooms were infiltrated with government agents and the university was unusually calm and quiet during the first months. While it seemed the dictator had successfully crushed the student rebellion, recent signs indicate stirrings within the university. During the recent referendum, for example, the university community voted almost solidly against martial law.

With the appointment of O.D. Corpuz, it is expected that more stringent measures will be adopted to suppress any activism.

#### MARCOS CONSULTS U.S. MASTERS

MANILA – Pres. Marcos discussed the Moslem rebellion in the south in a meeting last March 11 with U.S. Amb. Wm. H. Sullivan and Dep. Defense Sec. Wm. P. Clements. Marcos announced he was confident the insurgency would be settled without the intervention of U.S. troops. He instead asked for more arms and other military equipment.

The request for arms is an implicit admission that the war is far from being under control, as his regime used to claim. He also complained that the Moslem patriots were better equipped than his own military.

This meeting with U.S. officials to discuss Philippine internal problems is another example of the complicity between the two governments. Two years ago, just days before the imposiiton of martial law in 1972, Marcos met with then U.S. ambassador, Henry Byroade. The impending martial law declaration was certainly the subject of that "consultation." The U.S. has since supplied all the arms for the Philippine military. U.S. military foreign aid alone was \$29-M in 1974 and \$51.76-M in 1975.

#### CLERGY JOINS SUGAR WORKERS TO DEFEND RIGHTS

Attempts of sugar workers to organize themselves into unions in various parts of the country are being suppressed by the sugar landlords. In Barrio Inchican, Silang, Cavite, 83 sugar workers were suspended and harassed for their union activities. The leaders were forcibly evicted from their houses on the plantation and their livestock poisoned. In Tacloban City, Leyte, sugar workers who were organizing received verbal threats from the landlords. In both instances, the fight of the sugar workers was supported by local church officials. In Cavite, the Bishop of Imus, together with Diocesan Coordinating Council, wrote the owners of the 175-hectare sugar plantation in Silang, Cavite to reinstate the suspended workers and recognize the legitimacy of their labor union. The Bishop of Palo, Leyte, requested the assistance of the Provincial Commander in the town to help defend the rights of the sugar workers. Farm workers in large sugar, coconut, citrus, pineapple and banana plantations are the most exploited workers in the Philippines. They work the longest hours, receive the lowest wages and suffer the worst conditions. Several years ago, clergy and other socially conscious groups began to organize among the sugar workers to fight this exploitation. Meanwhile, sugar is one of the country's main exports and brings tremendous profits to the sugar landlord. Marcos has never tried to better the conditions of sugar workers, because it would antagonize the powerful sugar barons, whose political and financial support Marcos needs.

#### Imelda's Secret Mission To U.S.

# LOBBY FOR MORE SUPPORT

Mrs. Imelda Marcos, hailed by the Marcos regime as the "Kissinger of the East," returned to the Philippines on March 30 after a "diplomatic mission" abroad. Mrs. Marcos visited the Middle East to confer with Arab and African leaders and made unannounced stopovers in New York and London. Her trip to the Middle East was designed to ease the strained relations between the Philippines and several Arab states that support the Muslim resistance in the south. Although the regime has played up the success of her talks with Arab leaders, little mention is made with regard to her stopover in New York.

Manila newspapers state that the purpose of her secret visit to the U.S. was to meet with Filipino diplomats. But unlike these official statements, there is strong reason to believe that Mrs. Marcos tried to secure an audience with Pres. Ford through her brother, Gov. Benjamin Romauldez. Not surprisingly, her visit coincided with the proposed special

### BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN ....

(continued from pg. 3)

"guides or basis" for his decisions and they will be adopted and implemented only "whenever practicable."

The Peoples Referendums on the other hand, took the form of public gatherings, forums, and discussion groups in the guise of engaging in "free speech and debate." Public opinion surveys of varying scales were also carried out to solicit the peoples genuine opinions and disprove the referendum's pre-ordained results.

#### OUTCOME OF BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN

Statistically, the total number of people who boycotted the referendum numbered 1.5 million or 5.25% of the total registered voters. Considering, the fraud, deception and terrorism employed to rig for itself a "vote of confidence," this estimate is by and large conservative. Areas of the counties where major abstentions were recorded were: the strife torn provinces of Mindanao, Antique and Iloilo in the Visayas, the entire Rizal region in Southern Luzon, Batangas Bulacan, Pampanga and Quezon in Central and Mideastern Luzon, the entire Cagayan Valley provinces and Nueva Ecija in Northern Luzon. These areas are guerilla zones where the NPA and Muslim resistance forces operate.

The cities which registered heavy abstentions were Cebu, Cagayan de Oro, General Santos, Davao and San Juan Rizal. University campuses in the greater Manila area, particularly UP Diliman were bastions of the boycott campaign.

Above and beyond the results, the principal

### Marcos Blackmail ....

Congressional hearings on repressive governments that were to be held in April, but have recently been delayed until May. The Philippines will be one of the countries reviewed and anti-martial law groups in the U.S. have been preparing careful documentation on Philippine repression for these hearings.

News of these hearings have caused the dictatorship some alarm. According to Joseph Lelyveld of the New York Times Marcos was asked during a news conference about these moves in the U.S. Congress to hold hearings on American assistance to authoritarian regimes, including his own. Betraying his anxiety over the issue, he replied: "Perhaps we should also conduct a study as to whether the American system suits the American people." Since multi-million U.S. foreign aid dollars are the lifeline of the Marcos dictatorship, Imelda's presence here in the U.S. was undoubtedly to get assurance of continued support from the U.S. government.



gain of the boycott campaign was the heightened unity forged among different anti-martial law groups and sectors in the country. The creative forms used also was inspiring and helped break the climate of fear pervading since the declaration of martial law. Marcos, in fact, is having a difficult time convincing the world that he received an "overwhelming mandate" due to coverage of the boycott campaign in the international press. Marcos has even acknowledged the strength of the opposition in a give-away statement addressed to the people of Bulacan on Feb. 3: "Please don't destroy the Republic before the eyes of the world. It's embarrasing."

Because of the heightened unity achieved through the opposition campaign, it is expected that more concerted and intensified mass actions of a broader scope will be launched against the dictatorship.

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The letter, as drafted by Marcos, appeals for the pardon and release of Lopez Jr. and praises Marcos for his "compassion". Since the request for pardon is an implicit admission of guilt, the Lopezes have rejected the "peace" offering.

The U.S. government, without whose military aid the Marcos regime would soon collapse, has kept silent about the whole affair.

#### **INTIMIDATION TACTICS FAIL**

The Lopez charge of political blackmail is not an isolated case. There have been many instances where families of martial law critics and suspected activists have been harassed and physically harmed. Such extreme repression, however, can only succeed in breeding resistance against the Marcos dictatorship. Intimidation and terroristic tactics by the Marcos government can and already have been defied. The disclosure of the Lopez blackmail and extortion is another example of fighting back (continued from pg. 5)

and this accomplishment is the very opposite of what Marcos had set out to do.

While the Lopez case exposed the fascist nature of the Philippine dictatorship, thousands of political prisoners remain in Marcos's jails, suffering worse fates. These cases of illegal detention and torture have not been publicized because the prisoners' families do not have the wealth and political leverage that the Lopez family does to bargain for their lives. Many have arrived at the conclusion that since Marcos rules through brute force, it is only through armed force that his despicable regime will be unseated.

What started out as a family vendetta between the Lopezes and the Marcoses has backfired and exploded in Marcos's face. The Lopez family has joined the swelling ranks of anti-martial law forces, and they are actively participating in some of the anti-martial law activities in the U.S.

Marcos, in his greed and corruption, has succeeded in isolating himself and exposed the bankruptcy of his regime to the world.



Pickets denouncing sham referendum took place in various parts of the country, as in Seattle, left photo, and San Francisco, on right.

### HUNDREDS MOBILIZE IN U.S. Pickets Denounce Marcos' Referendum

In support of the boycott campaign against the sham referendum in the Philippines, antimartial law forces in 6 major cities throughout the U.S. picketed Philippine Consulate offices and demonstrated in front of the White House on Feb. 27, 1975. (See referendum analysis, page 1.)

In the Bay Area, East Bay and San Francisco, residents organized their protest through the Ad Hoc Committee Against the Marcos Referendum, which included members from the Filipino Forum, KDP, the Movement for a Free Philippines, and various individuals.

Over 75 people joined in the picket in front of the Consulate in downtown San Francisco, many of them using their lunch hours. The demonstration brought together the active anti-martial law groups in the area and included the participation of the Lopez family in their first open support of anti-martial law activity. Primitivo Mijares, who had just announced his defection from the Marcos dicta-, torship a few days prior, spoke for a few minutes over a loudspeaker and explained how he had fabricated the results of the last fake referendums in January and July, 1973.

The Mijares defection was also announced during the referendum picket in Chicago, where it was cheered as another sign of the weakening dictatorship. Over 40 persons joined the picket, which not only urged support of the boycott, but also denounced martial law injustices, harassment of labor activities, and the detention of political prisoners.

The Chicago chapters of the KDP, MFP and Friends of the Filipine People (FFP) were the primary organizers of the event, and were joined by representatives from other groups in the anti-martial law alliance there.

The Philippine Center was the site of a two-hour picket in New York, where picketers carried placards and leafletted passers-by. Consulate officials tried to harass the demonstrators by taking close-up photos. However, this was met by even more militant When leaders of the protests tried to meet with the Philippine Consul General, Julia Palarca, to read a statement denouncing the referendum, the Consul locked the doors and refused to make any comment, even to the press. Evidently, the Consulate's answer to the general protest was to "Lock the doors!" as the offices in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago and New York all closed "in honor" of the pickets.

In unity with the boycott campaign staged by the united forces in the Philippine resistance movement, the pickets held here in the U.S. represented the growing militancy of anti-martial law forces in striking back at all of Marcos' attempts to perpetuate the lies that his "new society" has any semblance of democratic participation of the people. In most cities in the U.S. the trend was also for groups to merge their strength in a united defiance, to broaden efforts to reach more people and expose the referendum as another propaganda gimmick to maintain an "image acceptable" for such benefactors as the U.S. government.

### Attack On Anti-Martial Groups Subversive Charge Disputed

Congressman Larry McDonald of Georgia has attempted to discredit the anti-martial law forces in the U.S. by labelling them subversives.

In a speech delivered before the House of Representatives last March 11, 1975 the Congressman from the South dismissed the growing movement to cut-off U.S. aid to the Marcos dictatorship as a subversive movement.

This tactic is obviously meant to stem the rising tide of anti-martial law sentiments among Filipinos and Americans, a sentiment shared by several prominent members of the Senate and House of Representatives. Senator Cranston of California, Rep. Fraser of Minnesota and Congresswoman Abzug of New York are among those who have criticized the Marcos dictatorship for its violation of human rights and suppression of civil liberties.

#### POLITICAL SURVEILLANCE

Furthermore, Congressman McDonald tried to sow intrigue and division among the anti-martial law forces in the U.S. by tagging one "Maoist," another "Soviet-Communist" and another "Catholic socialist." Four Four anti-martial law groups in the U.S. were singled out by the Congressman in his red-baiting. These were: Movement for a Free Philippines (MFP), Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP), National Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties (NCRCLP), and Friends of the Filipino People (FFP). He admitted that these 4 organizations shared the following common · aims: "the end of martial law in the Philippines, the restoration of civil rights to Filipinos, the release of all political prisoners, the end of all U.S. military, economic and technical aid to the government of Pres. Marcos." While most of the Congressman's facts were gross distortions of the truth or just outright lies, there is reason to believe that the Congressman's report was based on FBI surveillance of the anti-martial law groups and activities in the U.S. This illegal spying is not only a violation of the legal rights of these anti-martial law groups but an attack on the democratic rights of Filipinos and Americans

to freely express their political beliefs.

#### **"SUBVERSIVE" RHETORIC**

Congressman McDonald's talk of "subversive" is much like Mr. Marcos's rhetoric. Mr. Marcos has tagged every critic of his military government as "communists and subversives." It was on the pretext of "communist take-over" that Marcos declared martial law in 1972. There are thousands of political prisoners in Marcos jails, including among them youth, peasants, workers, church officials. Are these people subversives? Their only "crime" was to demand for a truly democratic Philippines. Former senator Aquino, an arch-critic of Marcos facing imminent conviction and execution for subversion, stated the matter more accurately when he said it was Mr. Marcos who had subverted the Philippine government and replaced it with a military regime, to the detriment of the majority of the Filipino people.

Congressman McDonald has conveniently chosen to forget these facts when he talks of subversion.

This collusion betwen the reactionary ele-

slogans by the undaunted anti-martial law forces.

The only group absent from the New York protest was the MFP, whose members had travelled to Washington, D.C., to hold their own picket in front of the Capitol. As in the other demonstrations, U.S. military aid to the Marcos dictatorship was denounced.

Protestors in Los Angeles were joined by other groups of Vietnamese and Koreans, who are also concerned with U.S. support of the repressive regimes of their respective countries. Members of the KDP in L.A. and the National Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties in the Philippines joined MFP members and other individuals in front of the Consulate. The demonstration received wide media coverage, as did the protest in Seattle, Washington which was sponsored by the KDP chapter there. Some forty Filipinos and friends marched and sang revolutionary songs in protest of the sham referendum and in support of the Filipino people's struggle for genuine independence and democracy.

ments of the U.S. government and the Marcos dictatorship is nothing new. The Marcos regime, which exists only because it is propped up by U.S. aid, serves not the Filipino people but U.S. Big Business.

#### UNITY AGAINST MARCOS REGIME

Through his red-baiting and talk of subversion, Congressman McDonald thinks he can hide the genuine opposition to the Marcos government and divide the freedom-loving Filipinos and Americans in their growing unity against the Marcos regime.

Congressman McDonald exposes his total ignorance of the Philippine struggle when he prates that the ultimate beneficiaries of a U.S. withdrawal from the Philippines will be the Communist Chinese and the Soviet Union.

It is the Filipino people suffering under martial law and the American people whose billions of tax money is being used to support dictators like Marcos-these are the beneficiaries of the movement to cut off U. S. aid to the Marcos Dictatorship. By S. P. Bayani

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### FILIPINA TEACHER FIGHTS FOR REINSTATEMENT

After less than 2 years in the U.S., Mrs. Bellaflor Pacheco of Los Angeles, a 23 year veteran school teacher in the Philippines, came face to face with racist and discriminatory practices prevalent in this society.

Qualifying easily for a teacher's aide position, she found it very difficult to perform her job because of the harsh, racist and intimidating attitude of her boss. This ultimately led to her dismissal, but she is now fighting for her reinstatement and proper handling of her grievances of discriminatory treatment.

The following artice was written with the active assistance of Mrs. Pacheco after several discussions about her experiences. – Editor

#### By Jaime Gaega

LOS ANGELES – Mrs. Bellaflor Pacheco was a teacher in the Phillippines with  $23\frac{1}{2}$  years of experience. In August 1973, she and her son came to the U.S. to join her husband who had immigrated earlier. Two months later, she applied as an Education Aide II position at her neighborhood elementary school in the East L.A. area. She successfully passed the interview by Mrs. X (chairman of the Selection Committee) and started her job on Nov. 26, 1973. She was responsible for the library and assisting in math instruction to Kindergarten and Grades 1 and 3 students. Her other tasks included making dittos and reproducing teacher's reference materials.

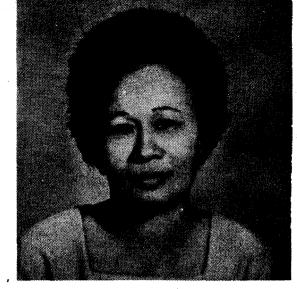
#### BEGINNINGS OF HARSH AND RACIST ATTITUDES

Mrs. Pacheco worked earnestly in her job. She often reported early and went home later than her official time. She would be praised for her charity and good work performances, however, it was during this time that she would be embarrassed and insulted by her superior, Mrs. X. On several occasions, Mrs. X would discourteously interrupt a conversation she was in and scold and insult Mrs. Pacheco in front of her colleagues. At one time, Mrs. Pacheco was treated like a child and compelled by Mrs. X to repeat her order. Again, during a staff meeting of all Education Aides, Mrs. X harshly ordered Mrs. Pacheco to go home before the meeting was over since it was past her time. This extremely embarrassed Mrs. Pacheco in front of all her fellow aides. Mrs. X even maliciously said, "I have no money for your overtime," as Mrs. Pacheco was leaving the room. Though she had worked overtime in the past, Mrs. Pacheco never marked this on her time card nor collected



Mrs. Pacheco (second from left) and supporters meet to plan a strategy for her case.

overtime pay. Undaunted in the face of this insult, however, she went instead to her desk and resumed her work until the meeting was over.



Mrs. Bellaflor Pacheco

Another incident occurred towards the end of school in 1974. Mrs. Pacheco was assisting her co-worker, an Aide III, in teaching fractions and decimals to her students who were preparing for their final test. Mrs. X haughtily entered the room and in front of the whole class, interrupted and told Mrs. Pacheco to stop teaching any further. Several days afterwards, some students she had been teaching until she was stopped that day thanked her for the help. They had been able to pass their math test.

#### ADVANCEMENT DENIED

At another time, while attempting to prove her competence to Mrs. X, Mrs. Pacheco showed her good and favorable recommendations from her former principal in the Philippines. Mrs. Pacheco was insulted, however, with this racist remark: "Maybe you are a good teacher in your country in teaching Filipinos because of your language, but I couldn't even recommend you for an Aide III." After Mrs. Pacheco explained that the medium of instruction in the Philippines is

#### continued on pg. 13

# Filipinos Initiate Union Drive

#### **By Miguel Santiago**

SEATTLE – Workers at Providence Hospital here are fighting to organize a union. Elections will be in a couple weeks on April 18. Providence Hospital, a private institution, is the second largest hospital in Seattle, and one of the most centrally located. A union victory at Providence would greatly boost organizing efforts at other major hospitals in the area.

Working conditions at Providence are characterized by low pay at least 50¢ an hour below hospitals which are organized. There is blatant discrimination against minority workers, especially Filipinos; heavy work loads created by understaffing and unfair distribution of work; inadequate benefits; lack of seniority rights; and lack of grievance procedures. Providence workers are coming to see that by not being organized, they are deprived of their collective power to resist attacks by management. Attacks like these are increasing daily for all workers in the US, as the growing crisis of monopoly capitalism has brought higher prices, real wage cuts, and mass unemployment. As in the past, Big Business is shifting the burden onto the workers. Unorganized workers, in which a high percentage are minorities, are particularly vulnerable and therefore coerced to accept near-slave working conditions.

recent workers, since the hospital can make more profits by hiring them as cheap labor.

Like myself, most Filipino immigrants came to America expecting to find a good life, but instead there is discrimination and hardship. Hostile management including some Filipino supervisors, said Filipinos should be "grateful" to Providence for giving them a job. Also, they indocrinated us with false concepts that Filipinos are easily scared, never complain, are easily bribed and do not know how to get along with each other.

The management took advantage of our indocrinated attitude of "talagang ganyan ang buhay" (or willingness to accept suffering as your fate). This attitude actually comes from a long history of oppression in the Philippines and conscious indoctrination by Filipino landlords, Spanish friars and American educators. However, the Filipino workers at Providence have followed instead our revolutionary tradition and have become a militant fighting force, leading the struggle for the union and linking up with other workers. The grievances were actively discussed among the workers and within two weeks, 75% of the workers in these two departments signed union cards.

The organizers asked for an election but the NLRB ruled that these two departments did not constitute a collective bargaining unit. The workers went ahead to organize the other departments, but had to contend with the efforts of the National Economic Council (NEC) who were also organizing the professional workers.

After six months of stalling, the NLRB in late February decided that Local 6 would have jurisdiction over service and non-professional workers. The PHWOC had to struggle hard during this stalling period to keep up the morale and fighting spirit of the workers. Management tried to harass, deceive and bribe the workers, but PHWOC countered their propaganda and talked frequently to the workers.

#### WORKERS DEFY CO-OPTATION

In the course of the struggle, the Filipino workers overcame their "talagang ganyan" attitude. They began to speak up and to stand up to management. They exposed the head supervisor in the housekeeping department, who had always promoted the "Filipinos should be grateful to Providence" line, when she opposed the workers petition for cheaper uniforms.

#### **FILÍPINO WORKERS**

In Providence Hospital, Filipinos make up about one third of the service employees and are concentrated in departments with the lowest pay and the most menial work. For instance, there are 73 Filipinos out of 92 workers in the house keeping department. About half are recent immigrants, and this is the first job they've had since coming to the States. Exploitation is common among the

#### UNIONIZATION DRIVE

There have been many attempts in the past years to organize a union at Providence, but all failed to unite the workers and overcome the intimidation from the management. The current organizing campaign began in June, 1974 when the Providence Hospital Workers Organizing Committee (PHWOC) was formed and contact was made with Local 6, Service Employees International Union (SEIU). PHWOC started a newsletter and called a mass meeting that drew 30 people. At the meeting workers spoke out against the conditions and the need for a union. The first targets were the housekeeping and linen departments, both composed heavily of Filipinos.

The second spectral residues

Active struggle in the union drive has heightened the class consciousness and released much initiative and creativity.

The election is scheduled for April 18, and a majority of the workers have signed cards. In desperation, the management is futilely spreading lies and intrigues about the union. Chief among them is that the hospital will go bankrupt (and therefore, everyone will lose their jobs) if the union wins. PHWOC has exposed this lie by revealing the high profits the hospital made last year. The workers will keep these real facts in mind when the vote for the union is taken April 18.

Flash: The elections were held and the union was voted in!

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#### "A REAL WORKING CONVENTION"

## **1975 FWC Changes to Meet Growing Needs**

By Teresita Bautista

OAKLAND – Extensive preparations for the 1975 Filipino People's Far West Convention (FPFWC) are now underway as a result of the successful planning group meeting held here last March 15, 1975. About 70 people gathered at the ILWU Hall (Int'l. Longshoremen's and Warehouseman's Union) in Oakland to hear progress reports, discuss the goals and objectives, as well as to form 5 work committees and select a steering committee.

In attendance were Filipinos from various high school and college student organizations, teachers and community people involved in different projects serving youth, immigrants and elderly. Participants came from Stockton, San Jose, Sacramento, Pittsburgh, Berkeley, Oakland and San Francisco.

The meeting began with a general progress report since the initial FWC planning meetings started last September, 1974. The work had been very slow, with the only major accomplishment the selection of UC Berkeley as the site. The reports reflected the need for more manpower in the committees and better planning and coordination overall. The next part of the meeting centered on discussion of the draft "goals and objectives" prepared by a planning group Task Force.

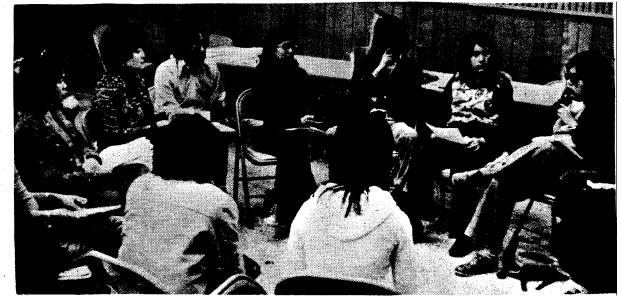
#### UNITY AND ORGANIZATIONAL NEEDS

The FWC's have provided an important meeting ground and center for discussion of Filipino community problems over the last several years. Yet as the draft explained, "they have not been real working Conventions with the aim of developing concrete resolutions of joint projects and activities that saw real action behind them. Consequently, delegates have gone back to their areas and either proceeded to implement the resolutions passed within their own group or forgotten about them entirely."

This problem of no collective implementation of resolutions, however, stems from: "lack of minimum points of unity among delegates as the starting point of Convention work; and lack of a functioning organizational form to follow-up the resolutions passed within the FWC."

Everyone agreed that these problems and frustrations were true and that the next Convention should be changed so that Filipinos could really unite, come together on solid proposals of joint action and move forward together.

In reviewing the resolutions passed in past Conventions, what became clear was that all Filipinos in the U.S. experience racial and national discrimination—at the workplace, in schools and in our communities. Ever since



During one of the initial planning meetings on March 15, participants broke into working committees. In the picture above, the program committee discusses its future work.

the brutal exploitation and oppression of the first Filipino immigrants who came to the U.S. in the 20's and 30's, racist discrimination and national insults stlll confront Filipino-Americans and recently-arrived Filipino immigrants.

Many persons from the audience spoke from their own experiences to attest this. After a fruitful exchange, everyone agreed that there was common unity in the struggle of Filipinos against racism and discrimination.

Another area which "the Filipino community in the U.S. cannot separate itself from is the problems of our brothers and sisters in our home country." As the draft continued, "the very existence of a substantial number of Filipinos in the U.S. is based on the desperate conditions of poverty and injustice which have prevailed in the Philippines for so long, and which have forced millions of people to leave their country seeking better opportunities." Since the martial law declaration 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> years ago, the Philippines have become a controversial and touchy subject among Filipinos. But after much discussion, everyone felt that as Filipinos, we could not eliminate any mention of the Philippines and that the homeland is an issue of common concern and should be taken up in the FWC.

#### **RESOLUTIONS, IMPLEMENTATION**

In addition, the draft concluded that those attending the FWC with this common orientation should be active in facilitating a fruitful exchange of opinions on these questions. Resolutions can then be drawn up that will hopefully establish areas of joint projects and activities that could unite the Filipino community in common efforts. Also, these resolutions should carefully consider the formation of "a down-to-earth organization proposal of a body to follow-up the implementation of these resolutions, which is acceptable to the .whole body."

The 1½ hour discussion ended with a hand vote in which an overwhelming majority accepted the draft "goals and objectives" with a minor revision in the original text.

The general body then discussed the questions of forming a steering committee. There proposals were considered and again, with much exchange of views, it was decided to adopt the plan which created a 5-person Steering Committee composed of elected chairpersons from the 5 working committees. The chairperson would be responsible for the work of their committee and could be replaced if committee members were not satisfied with their leadership. Therefore, the Steering Committee would be composed of those actively working on the Convention and would be representative of the whole.

The 70 persons attending then broke down into the following committees: Program, Site/Logistics, Publicity/Outreach, Finance and Food. Since the 15th, all the committees have already met a couple of times and the work is moving steadily ahead.

The FWC Steering Committee has also initiated its first major call for the holding of Conferences throughout Northern California in order to conduct extensive preparations for the Convention itself. This proposal would encourage these Conferences to be held in common fields of organizing within the Filipino community such as housing, senior citizens, education, youth, labor and employment, and health. This setting would provide community workers and interested individuals the opportunity to exchange experiences, discuss common problems and needs, and precontinued on page 13

### SAN DIEGO COMMUNITY CONFERENCE DRAWS STRONG SUPPORT

the Operation Samahan Dance Company and a skit on "Martial Law and U.S. Interests in the Philippines" by the KDP Los Angeles Chapter. The finale was a spirited mass singing

#### By San Diego Chapter, KDP

SAN DIEGO – "Magsikap Tayo" (Let's Strive Harder), was the theme of the 1975 San Diego Filipino Peoples' Conference, held on the S.D. State University campus last Mar. 1, 1975.

The theme was selected to encourage the participation of various sectors of the Filipino community to unite and struggle against racism and other social injustices. In the past it was seen as a "youth conference," thereby restricting attendance to youth. However, the broader focus brought together youth, young adults, parents and senior citizens and made it the largest in community attendance (about 400 delegates) of all previous conferences.

The conference was co-sponsored by the Andres Bonifacio chapter (a Filipino student organization at S.D. State U.); Operation Samahan (a community project dealing with various services in the community); and the KDP San Diego Chapter.

Highlighting the conference were four

speakers who spoke on the topics of Filipino awareness and the need for student organizing; the links between the struggle in the Philippines and in the U.S.; self determination; and education. The first general assembly also included a slide show on Philippine history and a skit on Filipino identity and stereotypes by the KDP chapter. Popular Filipino songs of struggle, such as "Profits Enslave the World" and "Ang Bayan Ko," were also presented.

All aspects of the first assembly were designed to assist participation in the workshops which followed. These workshops, which brought many "old" and "young" together for the first time, included discussions on education and student organizing, youth and family, awareness and racism, the Philippines today, sexism, affirmative action and the Filipino community.

After a lunch of Filipino fare, the final assembly featured cultural presentations from different groups. There was singing from a local high school group, a presentation from of "Profits Enslave the World" and "The Masses are the Makers of History," led by members of the SD and LA chapters of KDP.

#### STRONG LOCAL SUPPORT

Because of a lengthy first assembly, the conference did not include as much discussion as was hoped during the workshops. However, the conference organizers were enthused by the strong turnout by the local Filipino community and the consistent participation of 'more younger people, especially those from junior high schools. In addition, the conference received a letter of support from the Council of Filipino-American Organizations, an umbrella organization of the regional, social and political Filipino groups in San Diego County.

It was hoped that this conference, in striving to bring together the many sectors of the community around common issues, will stimulate broader participation from San Diego Filipinos in the upcoming 1975 Far West Convention, to be held in the Bay Area this summer. 12 - Ang Katipunan



#### FILIPINO SEAMEN WIN SALARY PROTESTS

On Feb. 28, 1975, the *New York Post* carried an article about a Filipino seaman, Nestor Defante, who had been shipped back to Manila after protesting a \$90.00 per month salary.

His employer, the Greek-owned World Tide Shipping Company, claimed his salary was \$232.00 per month. Upon his request, they said, they had paid his expenses to go home to the Philippines.

However, in recent months many Filipino seamen like Defante have been voicing their dissatisfaction with such low salaries. On four separate vessels docking in Canada, Filipino crewmen have been awarded sizeable back wages and salary increases. For instance, the *Philippine Times* (3/15/75) reported that 13 Filipino crewmen on the Universal-King, a Chinese freighter registered under Somaliland, walked off their ship in protest of low wages. Later, under actions of the Int'l. Transport Workers Federation, they were awarded \$18,000 in back wages, plus a salary adjustment.

23 Filipino crew members of the Itel-Hercules, a Liberian cargo ship, were awarded \$10,000 in back wages shortly afterwards. The same amount was also awarded ten members of a Greek cargo ship, the Unity, while 12 Filipino seamen on board the Zinnia, a Cyprian ship, received \$8,000 in a similar settlement. In both cases, crewmen won more than doubled their old wages!

While some of these workers are contracted by independent agents, many receive these low-paying jobs through the Philippine Department of Labor. •

#### FILIPINO WOMEN'S FORUM HELD

SAN FRANCISCO-In the spirit of Int'l. Women's Day, the Filipino woman, her history, present conditions and role in society today was examined in a campus forum last March 21 at Cal State Univ.-SF. Entitled "Is the Filipino woman oppressed?" the forum was sponsored by the Pilipino-American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE) and organized mainly by a committee of women within PACE.

The first speaker addressed herself to women's oppression in the Philippines and the U.S. She gave examples from her experience in both countries where she faced discrimination because of her sex and race.

The fight against racism and sexism in the workplace was then related by a Filipina who had waged a successful class action suit against her former employer for racial discrimination. Her 2-year militant fight characterized the growing consciousness of Filipinos to rise up against such oppression.

The last speaker used her own experience as a mother of three children to give examples of the exploitative and oppressive roles of women-subservient and dutiful wives, housekeepers, cooks and mommies in a male-dominated society. She emphasized, however, that the main problems faced by women, especially TW women, are not because of "men," but rather because of the systematic exploitation of working people by the few ruling class capitalists. "Therefore," she said, "it is important for Filipino women to take part of the people's struggle against this class oppression, working with their brothers and not against them."

#### AGBAYANI VILLAGE ANNOUNCES OPENINGS

DELANO – Agbayani Village, the long-awaited

# International Hotel Fights Against Demolition

By Jeanette Lazam

SAN FRANCISCO-International Hotel supporters and Permit Appeals Board members exchanged angry remarks in a meeting to appeal the city-granted demolition permit to the Four Seas Investment Corporation, hotel owners.

Before an abrupt adjournment of the April 7 meeting, the Board however agreed to inspect the Hotel on April 11, thus delaying any final decision on the appeal. Peter Boudoures, a Board member who stated that the landlords have a right to demolish the building in order to "put on a new building that will mean a lot of jobs and business," agreed to inspect the Hotel only if he had a police escort. The meeting was halted by chairman John O'Meara, who had demeaningly addressed the group as "you poor little people." The tenants angrily denounced these racist and elitist comments throughout the proceedings.

#### **CITY OKAYS DEMOLITION**

On March 10, 1975, a demolition permit on the Hotel was officially issued to the Four Seas by the City and County of San Francisco. Earlier, the Four Seas had served an eviction notice to the tenants, who stood up against it and filed a counter-suit, charging negligence and other bad practice against Four Seas.

Such pressures are not new to the International Hotel, a landmark housing struggle since 1969. The first actions occurred then when Milton Meyer & Co. (a big SF real estate group and owners of the I.H.) tried to evict the tenants to demolish the building to construct a parking lot for the nearby financial district. Because the tenants militantly refused to leave and mass support was given the Hotel, the owners had to grant the I.H. a lease. However, the lease was unfair and very restricted and the tenants paid all the costs for renovation and repair themselves. The lease expired in July 1972 and the owner never renewed it, despite the efforts of the tenants.

Thus, the present situation is essentially the same as the old, part of the same struggle, only with different owners involved.

#### **STOP THE DEMOLITION!**

Last month, over 150 supporters rallied before City Hall to demand an appeal after the permit was issued. Outside in the Civic Center Plaza across from City Hall were tables, beds and nightstands to depict how people might live if evicted, and had no alternative housing.

Representatives from various tenants groups, as well as from the International Hotel Tenants' Association (IHTA), spoke on the historic struggle of the Hotel and called for a halt to the wanton destruction of occupied housing.



I.H. tenants and supporters rallied at City Hall to demand an appeal to the City-issued demolition permit.

supply the information pertinent to these regulations, and empowers the District Attorney's Office to enforce them.

The legislation had been previously introduced to the Board of Supervisors on March 7, but the Planning, Housing and Development Committee ignored the request to place it on their agenda. Only on the day of the rally did the Committee concede to an April 15 hearing date for the legislation.

#### **SLICK CITY POLITICS**

The IHTA and their supporters realize, however, that they cannot rely solely on city passage of such an ordinance for maintenance of the hotel, or any other low income housing. The city could always find ways around the ordinance, and the tenants would have to continually fight for enforcement of the provisions. And if the legislation is not passed, the I.H. will have to fight the demolition.

During the April 7 appeals meeting, both "legal aspects" of the Hotel struggle were unfolded, as well as what the Hotel represents to the tenants and the communities. Hotel lawyer Gil Graham stated that there was a large amount of rent monies in escrow which are intended for repairs once a settlement is reached between the Hotel and the Four Seas. A technical advisor also noted that \$10,000 would be needed to bring the Hotel up to all codes, and that a contractor had been lined up, again, pending a settlement. (The Hotel has already passed basic city inspections.)

Speakers also denounced "alternatives" proposed by the city, such as housing in the Tenderloin, an already decayed section of the city. Such proposals, they said, ignore any needs of the tenants, mainly elderly Chinese and Filipinos, to be near their communities, their friends, and the kinds of food stores and services used by them. The city's answer to alternative housing is just to relocate tenants in any housing that has low rent, quite possibly dispersing the tenants into different areas of the city.

housing built for retired farmworkers, has opened its doors for occupancy. The Village is already the home for the 12 Filipino farmworkers at Schenly Camp, Delano. They were some of the original strikers of the Delano Grape Strike in 1965 who retired and were anxiously awaiting the completion of the Village for their new home.

With funds from the United Farmworkers Union, as well as donations of materials and volunteer labor, construction on the 59-unit village began last April, 1973. Under the guidance of an anchor crew of volunteers who lived temporarily at Schenly Camp, people from all over the U.S. contributed to the project. They dug ditches, tiled roofs or landscaped the area and at the same time, learned of the farmworkers' struggle through work and discussions with the crew, manongs and others at the village.

The collected efforts of all concerned with the building of the village pulled it through many crises, as it withstood at different times, difficulties in manpower, materials, union priorities, and time.

Applications are available by writing to Lorraine Mascarinas, Agbayani Village, Rte. 1, Box 1275, Delano, Ca: 93215. The Hotel appeal came in the form of the proposed legislation, which would benefit all tenants. It would demand that the City and County of San Francisco preserve and maintain safe and sanitary housing. The legislation, Ordinance 182-75, would require that neither the Central Permit Bureau nor any other city agency may issue any permit for demolition of any building used for housing without the approval of the Building Inspector.

Then approval of any permit would be based on: 1) the vacancy rate for replacement housing is 3% or more, functionally comparable in rent for those displaced, and meeting city and state standards; or 2) the vacancy rate is less than 3% and the owner of the property shows proof that there is acceptable replacement housing for each individual displaced. These arrangements are then verified with the tenants, who may voice any objections.

The legislation also provides for the establishment of an Annual Information Survey to

#### FIGHT TO THE END

The city is well aware of the conditions there, so the inspection is just another stalling tactic. While the tenants know they have a strong case to appeal the demolition permit, they also know that the city and big landlords collude and the appeal could be turned down. This would not mean, however, that demolition could begin on the Hotel. The I.H. has filed lawsuits and they would have to be settled first. If all these fail, the tenants will have to be forcibly evicted from the Hotel before the bulldozers could tear it down.

The long struggle has only deepened the committment of the tenants and they will fight to the very end. As the hotel newsletter, PINOTOH, said, "There's no need to panic, we've been prepared for this."

After viewing the Hotel on April 8, the commissioners denied the Hotel's appeal as the Hotel "wasn't worth saving."

## TEACHER STRUGGLES FOR RIGHTS

English, Mrs. X went even further and stated that Mrs. Pacheco should attend a high school continuation class in English. "You don't know English," Mrs. X told her.

Greatly disturbed by the sharp remarks and difficulties she had in working with Mrs. X, Mrs. Pacheco confided her grievances to the principal in June, 1974. Even after this, however, nothing seemed to change.

They were receiving new applicants for Aide III and the Aide II's in the school were informed and being prepared for the test/interview, except Mrs. Pacheco. She was never properly informed of the new openings and only found out from the office clerk who suggested she file an application. Desiring to qualify as an Aide III, she took the exam/interview before school let out in June 1974. Mrs. X was in charge of the ranking list in the interview and was surprised to see Mrs. Pacheco, expecting her to have lost her courage by that time. Mrs. Pacheco, though, was never informed of the results until 9 months afterwards, last March 1975, when she accidentally found out she had passed.

#### **RED TAPE PREVENTS ACTION**

In the meantime, the LA Unified School District sent Mrs. Pacheco an official notice reassigning her to another elementary school in August 1974. She was being reassigned because Education Aide II's were being phased out of her school. But her new assignment was at a school 30 miles from her home and the LA RTD bus strike going on at the time made it extremely difficult for her to travel that far. Employing all efforts to be reassigned to her school or any school closer, Mrs. Pacheco was assured assistance by Mr. Shannon, Dir. of the Education Aide Program and Mr. Rivas, of the Personnel Division, LA Unified School District. Despite the assurance, she was not given another assigment and last October, she received notice that she was absent from her position without an approved leave of absence. Mrs. Pacheco sent a letter of explanation, and clarified that Mr. Shannon had assured her a better assignment would be found.

Mrs. Pacheco also sent grievance letters to various persons in the school district to inform them of her experiences of discrimination. And initial investigation of the case was conducted by Herbert Leong of the Asian-American Education Commission (an advisory group to the Board of Education) with no positive results.

Last February 25, 1975, she was officially terminated from the program because she continued from pg. 10

was "absent without leave since Sept. 11, 1974." Up to this date, she has not received a satisfactory response to her grievance letters from the Program or the School District.

#### NO EQUALITY, EVERYTHING GOES WRONG

Although Mrs. Pacheco was hired as an Aide II, she was actually given the responsibilities of an Aide III. Was her title changed? NO! Did she receive the rate of such a title? NO! Instead:

1. She was never properly informed by her superiors of the Aide III openings nor prepared for the test/interview as were her co-Aide II's.

2. She was notified to leave her school, or be transferred to another one, 30 miles away during the bus strike in 1974.

3. She was denied knowledge of the results of her Aide III test/interview and knew only by accident that she passed it...9, months later!

4. She was terminated from her job, on grounds never clarified and settled.

Due to the emotional stress she has experienced from these series of racist incidents, Mrs. Pacheco's health has slowly deteriorated. She has been unable to sleep well at night and has lost over 30 lbs. Her health continues to suffer while the extreme medical costs have prevented her from receiving proper treatment and medication. Mrs. Pacheco grieved, "Where will your humble self get the 'dough' if still at present you are a job seeker?"

However, this Filipino teacher is determined to fight back and demand her democratic rights to fair and equal employment. Mrs. Pacheco said later, "I am after justice and fair treatment. Fight! Unite! Let's eradicate racial discrimination."

#### COMMUNITY SUPPORT

The KDP, an organization concerned for the democratic rights of all people, along with Mrs. Helen Brown of the Filipino Teachers Association undertook the campaign to form a support group for Mrs. Pacheco. On April 2, 1975, the organizing efforts of this core proved to be fruitful. Over 30 Filipinos came together to express their concern and support for her. The Samoan community also showed interest when Oman Faatasi, a Samoan organization, joined in solidarity and support against such discrimination.

Regular meetings are being held for the support committee to reinstate Mrs. Pacheco and fight this injustice. For more information, call Mrs. Helen Brown (374-8340) or KDP (663-5439).

### False Arrest; **Filipino Priest** Harrassed In N.Y.

NEW YORK - Fr. Marcelino Baltazar, a 40-vear-old Filipino visiting priest, was arrested Feb. 21 while trying to help a "derelict," actually an undercover policeman from the NY City Police Department.

Fr. Baltazar, who had been staying temporarily with some friends at the St. Agnes Parish Church, was passing that evening by the Times Square area when he saw a man who seemed to be a derelict. As he could barely walk, Fr. Baltazar offered his assistance to him. Getting no coherent response from the man, he reached for the man's pocket to search for some form of identification. Suddenly, the "derelict" pulled out a gun, declared he was an undercover policeman and charged Fr. Baltazar with petty larceny. Since the policeman had difficulty handcuffing the priest because of the latter's heavy coat, Fr. Baltazar was slapped with another charge of resisting arrest.

#### RACIST HARASSMENT

Because a judge was not available at so late an hour, Fr. Baltazar spent the night in jail to wait for a hearing the next day. After a five hour trial at the Manhattan Criminal Court, the judge dropped all the charges against him for lack of evidence and apologized to Fr. Baltazar for the inconvenience.

Fr. Baltazar's initial reaction to this incident was to take action by suing for damages. However, being a foreigner in this country, he felt helpless to even try such a process. This experience made Fr. Baltazar more determined to return to the Philippines where he plans to work with factory workers in Bulacan.

Most of Fr. Baltazar's friends commented that the racist views of the police towards Third World people was the reason why he underwent such rigorous questioning. If the incident had happened to a white priest, the case would have been dropped immediately. Because of the racial bias the police carried, Fr. Baltazar had to undergo a lengthy and harrowing interrogation.

## FWC '75...

(continued from pg. 11)

pare possible working proposals for the Convention. By establishing these working relationships among different groups within the Bay Area, these Conferences will lay the groundwork for a more substantive and successful FWC.

The Steering Committee also called for local artists to work together in performing a joint cultural presentation for the Convention. They hope that the play, "Isuda Ti Imuna" ("They Who Were First") will be performed. This is an original play which closely portrays the historic hardships and struggles against racism and exploitation of the first Filipinos who came to America. It was first performed here in the Bay Area in 1973.

# **Movement Rallies Against Aid**

continued from front page

at rallies in cities across the country. Like the regimes of Lon Nol and the imminent fall of previous petition campaign in which 12,000 signatures were gathered in 3 weeks, this one has been very successful. Coordinators anticipate, with the deadline now extended to May 10 because of the hearings' delay, that the goal of 40,000 signatures will be well surpassed.

The link up of the anti-martial law movement to the broader efforts to cut off U.S. military aid to Indochina and all dictatorships will be nationally concretized in the finalization of plans for a Washington D.C. mass demonstration/lobby-in on May 31. This event will bring together many groups and individuals opposing aid to dictatorships and supporting the people's struggles in countries like Vietnam, Cambodia, Chile, S. Korea and the Philippines. Even if the hearings are further postponed, the event will remain as scheduled (originally, the demonstration was to coincide with the hearings).

During this period when the U.S. is losing its foothold in Indochina with the fallen

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Thieu, Congress is vacillating and may be swayed to allow more military aid or reentry of U.S. military to these countries. The mass pressure of public sentiment must be maintained on Congress to prevent this.

The anti-martial law movement is closely watching the U.S. government's moves in face of these developments. Military intervention would represent the government's decision to maintain U.S. domination of SE Asia, at any cost. This type of brazen aggression has serious implications for the Philippines since Ford has continually referred to the Philippines and Thailand in recent statements as perhaps "falling to the same fate" as Viet Nam and Cambodia. In effect, he has pinpointed the Philippines as one of those countries in the "second line of defense" of U.S. control in Asia should Viet Nam and Cambodia be liberated. Thus, the true motives of U.S. aid to Marcos emerge clearly-that of maintaining the Philippines as a U.S. stronghold in that part of the world.

Building the 1975 FWC will be a tremendous task and will require the active participation of many people working closely together. The underlying goal of the convention is "unity" and the present organizers of the FWC represent a variety of political and social backgrounds and affiliations. They are strongly united, however, on building a successful, working convention-one that will move the Filipino minority in this country a progressive step forward.

IN UNITY-STRENGTH TO MAKE CHANGE

It is only through concerted efforts on the part of many that changes affecting our community will take place. This is the hope of the 1975 FWC. In unity there is strength-in strength there is power-power to change the conditions that oppress us.

14 – Ang Katipunan

## America In Turmoil

#### **MENOMINEES WIN ABBEY**

GRESHAM, WISC. – Members of the Menominee Warrior Society ended a 34-day occupation of an unused Catholic abbey, when the owners, the Alexian Brothers, turned over the deed to the Menominees for \$1 and some other conditions for payment.

The occupation began on Jan. 1, when the Warrior Society occupied the abbey and demanded it be given them for use as a school or hospital. According to a 19th century treaty signed between the tribe and the government, unused land must legally be returned to the Menominees.

After the occupation, 5 leaders of the Warrior Society were arrested and face political and legal repercussions that will keep them tied up in court battles for months, and maybe years. They are being charged with "armed robbery" and other felonies stemming from the occupation.

During a Feb. 14 hearing, armed guards in the courtroom forcibly prevented the female members of the defendants' families from sitting in the front rows of the courtroom designated for relatives. The five defendants tried to aid the women, but were beaten, shackled, gagged and brought back into into the courtroom. Other Warrior supporters were driven from the courtroom with teargas, nightsticks and maced by 40 riot equipped policemen. Though dozens of Menominees were injured, presiding Judge Fowler ordered the hearing resumed, as if nothing had happened.

With the occupation over, however, the abbey will probably be turned into a hospital. This will allow the Menominees the opportunity to provide themselves better medical care and treatment. For the Menominees today, life expectancy is 43 years, there is a high infant mortailty rate and diseases such as tuberculosis are common.

#### SHORT HOE FINALLY BANNED

After 4 years of court battles, hearings, and protests by farmworkers, the California Agriculture and Services Agency and the Dept. of Industrial Relations finally banned the short-handled hoe last April 7 and ruled it an unsafe tool. The ruling was a victory for California's farmworkers who have fought against the grower's forced use of the short hoe.

Despite substantial medical evidence that the short hoe causes severe back and pelvic injuries after prolonged use, the grower associations are opposing the ban because "it would reduce production" (profits). The Western Grower's Association and the Council of California Growers have petitioned the Orange County Superior Court for a stay on the ban.

United Farm Worker president, Ceasar Chevez said that, "the changeover to the long hoe, will increase productivity because the workers will not suffer as much." Estimated to affect over 50% of California's formworkers, this is one of the few decisions made in favor of the farmworkers instead of the growers.

#### BLACK WOMAN DEFENDS HERSELF IN ATTEMPTED RAPE CHARGED WITH MURDER

RALEIGH, N. CAROLINA - On August 24, 1974, Joann Little, a young Black woman, was in jail here awaiting an appeal on her breaking and entering conviction. That evening, Clarence Alligood, a white jailer, entered her cell and brandishing an ice pick attempted to rape her. In self-defense, Joann stabbed Alligood with the ice pick and fled the jail. She later turned herself in to fight the murder charge being brought against her. While the autopsy performed on Alligood showed clear evidence of his attempted rape, the grand jury refused to accept the coroner's testimony. Instead, they accepted only testimonies that gave the impression that Alligood was "a good man who gave his life in the line of duty." The grand jury indicted her for murder and only recently was she released on bail after supporters were able to gather the exorbitant \$115,000 fee. Black, civil rights and women's groups have begun to rally to her defense in several southern states. Her trial is set for April 28. In a recent rally organized by the Black Panther Party in Winston-Salem, N.C., 200 people came out to support Joanne Little. The rally was attended by Miss Little who thanked her supporters and announced an intensive drive to build organized support for her defense.

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### Vietnamese People's Victory Imminent

# U.S. ADMINISTRATION CLINGS TO FALLING SAIGON REGIME

AS WE GO TO PRESS: After 10 years of dictatorial rule, Nguyen Van Thieu, president of S. Vietnam, resigned on Monday, April 21 and acknowledged the collapse of his regime. 71 year old V-Pres. Tran Van ng took over as his successor. Thieu's resignation had been demanded by the Vietnamese liberation forces as a major prerequisite to peace talks. The other is that all "American military men and advisers disguised as civilians" leave Vietnam.

The U.S. government is quickly losing its foothold in Viet Nam with the recent victories of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) which have liberated more than two-thirds of South Viet Nam. The U.S. government, with already over \$150 billion spent in supporting the Saigon regime since 1950, has launched a massive campaign to increase military aid to Thieu, with overtones of escalating direct U.S. involvement in Viet Nam.

Here in the United States, the debate over emergency military aid to Thieu has been taking place in two arenas. The first between the pro-aid Ford administration and the Democratic majority in Congress, whose opposition however, has only been in terms of viewing the domestic economic situation of greater priority. The second, and most important has been between the U.S. government and the American people, whose opposition to the Indochina war over the last ten years finally forced the U.S. to withdraw troops and reduce aid.

Ford's current propaganda barrage has been directed to the American people, attempting to confuse the issues with high-sounding phrases of "moral concern and patriotic duty." This article has been written therefore, to give an overall perspective and explain the relationship between the Vietnamese struggle for independence and national liberation and the need for our continued efforts to stop U.S. involvement in Viet Nam.-Editor.

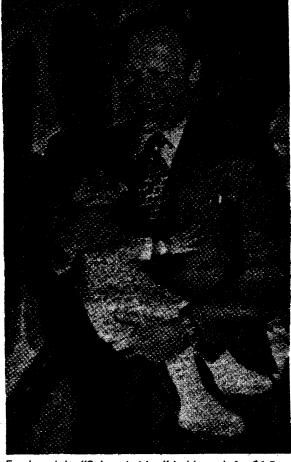
#### By Sherry Valparaiso

In the past two months, the Ford Administration has increased it's pro-war lobbying efforts to unprecedented proportions in a desperate attempt to sway Congress to vote for emergency aid to South Viet Nam. The measures proposed in Ford's State of the World address, April 10, included \$722-M in military aid and \$250-M in "humanitarian" aid to "save Saigon." It also stipulated the landing of U.S. ground troops to "protect the evacuation of U.S. officials." Though Democrats insisted it had no chance for passage, a compromise has already been made.

Ford also launched a massive anti-communist propaganda campaign to change public opinion in favor of giving aid. In Feb., 82% of the American people were opposed to more military aid to S. Viet Nam according to a poll taken by NBC. The newspapers were thereafter flooded with stories of possible "bloodbaths" and refugees fleeing from the "Viet Cong" (a term for the Vietnamese liberation army created by the Diem regime, 1955-1963). In truth, Thieu ordered the burning of villages and forced people to evacuate to create panic and the illusion of a massive flight from communism. As newspaper reports' later substantiated, thousands of Vietnamese were killed in the forced mass exodus. In Da Nang, for example, the Saigon 2nd division beat and killed nearly 500 people while forcing the population to board the ships.

#### **"SAIGON BABIES"**

The most underhanded propaganda tactic however, has been the use of Vietnamese children to camoflage Ford's push for aid. In the last few weeks almost 2,000 Vietnamese children have been brought to the United States and put up for adoption. U.S. officials claimed that their lives, especially those of "mixed blood" would be jeapordized under the PRG. According to opposition forces in Saigon who protested the evacuation of the children, the "orphan airlifts" were really publicity stunts to inspire Americans to come to the aid of the Saigon regime. U.S. Ambassador Graham Martin had told Saigon officials that the children's arrival in the U.S. would "help create a shift in American public opinion in favor" of Thieu. Saigon immediately cooperated and exit visas for the children were quickly cleared. Rules prohibiting the adoption of children living in foster homes were also disregarded. Many of the children were not orphans. The latter was soon verified by the children themselves who explained, upon arrival in the U.S., that they had parents, but were temporarily placed in orphanages because of the hunger and other hardships due to the civil war in Viet Nam.



Ford exploits "Saigon babies," in his push for \$1-B to bolster Thieu.

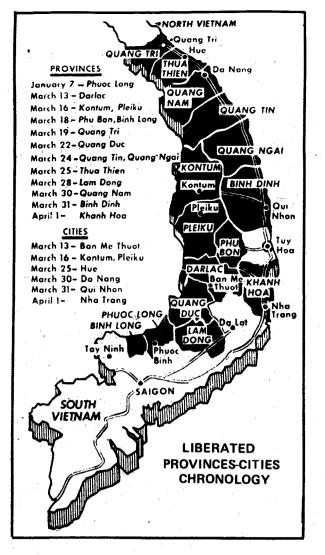
denounced the airlifts stating, "The American people should channel their humanitarian efforts towards ending the war. The children should stay with their own people. The PRG takes very good of children. The myth that the children of "mixed blood" will not be cared for is based on the racist mentality of the U.S." They added, "The Vietnamese did not give Ford the authority to kidnap our children."

Ford sensationalized the "Saigon babies" play on the moral consciousness of the American people as a front for his push to further U.S. involvement in S. Viet Nam. In the meantime, World Airways, the children's "benevolent transporter," was illegally transferring weapons to Saigon according to an Embassy spokesperson. In fact, evidence indicates that the recent plane crash which killed about 150 Vietnamese children and 50 adults occured because safety precautions were disregarded in the interest of meeting some publicity timetable imposed by the administration. The C5-A, which had come to Saigon loaded with heavy artillery, was outfitted for a limited number of passengers and inadequately supplied with oxygen masks and seat belts. When the plane made a crash landing, most of the American Embassy personnel were able to escape, being in the forward and upper passenger compartment. But the plane hit tail first and the children, herded into the rear cargo, never had a chance. The U.S. Embassy has still not released the exact death

For information or to send contributions write-Joanne Little Defense Fund, Inc., P.O. Box 10003, Durham, N.C. 27702.

In the U.S. the Union of Vietnamese





toll, though it was the 2nd worst air disaster in aviation history.

#### **U.S. AID PROLONGS WAR**

Though Ford's propaganda scheme has caused some confusion, the American people have not forgotten what U.S. foreign aid to Viet Nam has been used for in the past. Since 1950, the United States provided the Saigon regime with enough military and economic aid to maintain a 20-year war in which thousands of American soldiers and millions of Vietnamese people were killed or maimed. In 1973 the Paris Peace Agreement was signed, and guidelines for a peaceful settlement were layed out. This included an end to U.S. military and political intervention in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam.

Though American troops were finally withdrawn, the U.S. had already equipped Saigon with the third largest air force in the world and twice the artillery and ammunition of the PRG. In the last two years, over \$2-B in U.S. aid has been used to pay Thieu's 980,000 troops and to keep them supplied with superior weapons. It was U.S. aid that made it possible for Thieu to continue the war and prevent any political solution.

#### **PEACE VIOLATIONS**

Immediately after the signing of the Paris Agreement, Thieu began a series of military operations to retake land from the PRG, to cut supply lines, and to seize or destroy food supplies in the liberated zones. The PRG initially responded with communiques and appeals. In April 1973 they warned Saigon that their armed forces would counterattack. After a year had elapsed without Saigon changing its aggressive policies, the PRG added their voice to a growing urban opposition movement in Saigon demanding Thieu's removal. The recent counter-offensives of the PRG have been to demonstrate that it has the military initiative (which could be used at any time), and to dramatize the need for Saigon to adopt a new policy.

and terrorizing of members of the Third Force. Despite this repression, the Third Force called for the termination of all U.S. military assistance to the Thieu regime and an end to U.S. intervention in S. Viet Nam's internal affairs. Thich Thien Chau, leader of the Third Force said he did not believe the current fighting in S. Viet Nam was a general offensive by the PRG, but was initiated "to urge the U.S. and Thieu regime to implement the Paris Agreement."

### INDEPENDENCE AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

The war in Viet Nam has developed to this point because it is a struggle for national liberation. The people are determined to free themselves from all forms of oppression and exploitation, local and foreign and they will maintain this fight with unremitting vigilance until it is resolved.

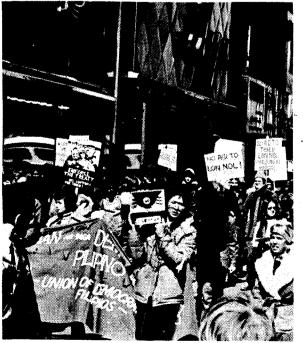
Already in the newly liberated areas, the PRG has established local governments on the principle of reuniting and stabilizing the lives of the people. Banners with the slogan, "NOTHING IS MORE PRECIOUS THAN INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM" are seen on every street corner in the areas. While Saigon soldiers have the option to leave, many have rallied to the revolution because as one soldier put it, "the policies of the PRG are clear and fair." Only government offices are confiscated and lives and property are protected by the administration. Within a few days, civil order was peacefully restored and schools and hospitals were operating as usual. This success has been primarily due to the program of the PRG which is designed to cope with the real problems of S. Viet Nam-the exploitation, profiteering, and other corrupt practices that were rampant under the Thieu regime.

#### **RENEWED THREATS**

In recent weeks, however, the Pentagon has been quietly concentrating over 25 Navy ships and 4 aircraft carriers off the coast of Viet Nam. 4,000 marines are on 24-hr. alert at Subic Bay. Although Congress has forbidden resumption of U.S. combat operations anywhere in Indochina, Ford has stationed them there under the guise of "protecting American lives if Saigon falls." Yet, North Vietnamese officials have stated their promise to safely evacuate all Americans from Saigon.

Those U.S. military moves only increase the threat of renewed U.S. military intervention in Viet Nam. It is clear from Ford's actions that he has no intention of giving up U.S. involvement in Viet Nam and will attempt a military solution rather than the political one outlined in the Peace Agreements. If the \$700-M in military aid that Ford is seeking is granted, the Viet Nam war will only be senselessly prolonged.

The Vietnamese will continue fighting and victory is ultimately theirs, but it is an important task for the American people to continue their efforts to stop the aid and end all U.S. involvement in Viet Nam.



# World in Focus

#### KOREAN DICTATOR HOLDS ANOTHER SHAM REFERENDUM

SEOUL, S. KOREA – Like Philippine dictator Marcos, S. Korea's Park Chung Hee has claimed an "overwhelming victory" validating his dictatorial rule and constitution in a national referendum held Feb. 21. In the government's 3rd votation since Park seized power in 1962, 73% of the votes were supposedly cast in "support of the major policies of the president." The previous referendum held Nov. 1972 supposedly approved his new constitution, by 91% vote, which 1) allows him to serve an unlimited number of terms as president; 2) severely limits the power of the National Assembly; and 3) strictly curtails all civil liberties.

In preparation for this recent vote, Park outlawed all advocacy of boycott plans and prohibited all campaigning on the issue except pro-Park propaganda. Despite the threat of arrest and 5 years imprisonment, large numbers of workers, students, clergy and political opponents staged a nationwide boycott.

Charges of fraud and manipulation have since been lodged against Park. Incidents were reported of widespread election irregularities, including proxy votes and illegal balloting before the polls opened.

Aimed largely at foreign opinion, particularly the US Congress, Park hoped to stem anti-Park sentiments there since his allocation of US foreign aid was cut last fall.

#### African Leader Murdered in Rhodesia

Renewed fighting in Rhodesia between African nationalists and Ian Smith's white minority regime seems inevitable following the recent assassination of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) chairperson, Herbert Chitepo, Chitepo, 52, was killed with his son and bodyguard when his car drove over a landmine planted in the driveway of his home last March 18. The assassination also followed the sudden arrest and detention of ZANU president, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole who was rearrested on March 4 after being freed to participate in negotiations with the Smith regime. Chitepo's murder and Sithole's arrest have been widely interpreted as part of a campaign to destroy the militant leadership of the African nationalist movement in Rhodesia.

ZANU, the main target right now, had led the guerrilla war against the white minority regime until last December when cease-fire agreements were reached with all the African liberation movements in Rhodesia. All were demanding African majority rule where 5.7 million Blacks outnumber the white settler population by more than 20 to 1. The hostilities were suspeneded when Smith proposed a constitutional conference with representatives of the African nationalist movement and indicated that a transfer of power to the African majority was negotiable. After a series of stalling and divisive tactics had already placed the negotiations in serious question, Chitepo's murder was declared final proof that Rhodesia's Prime Minister Smith was not interested in a peaceful settlement.

#### CONFERENCES DEMAND NEW ECONOMIC ORDER IN THE WORLD

Two recent international conferences held among developing nations called for a new economic order in the world. Developing nations stated that their

The PRG has restated its committments to the Paris Agreement and said they are ready to settle the question of South Viet Nam, with a new administration that is committed to peace, in a coalition effort.

In Saigon, the neutralist group called the Third Force has also demanded Thieu's resignation and the selection of a new government. The Third Force is comprised of many sectors, from Buddhists to labor groups, and Thieu has done everything in his power to undermine their creation, which is guaranteed under the Peace Agreements. He has drafted Buddhist monks into his army, banned discussions on peace, and ordered the mass arrests

On March 22, hundreds in U.S. marched in solidarity with the South Vietnamese people, and called for a halt to U.S. military aid to Thieu, like this one in Chicago, demos were held in NY, Los Angeles, and the Bay Area.

THE FRANCE PROVIDENCE OF THE PROVIDENCE

natural resources like oil, minerals and lumber were being exploited without proper economic compensation. In order to correct this inequality, the developing nations resolved that they must regain the full control of their economy.

On Feb. 4-8, a Third World Conference on Raw Materials and Development was held in Dakar, Senegal, where over 100 representatives from developing nations attended. The conference urged an examination of the present world economic order and that the coming oil conference discussion expand to include other products. This position was supported unanimously by the attending nations.

The following month, the first summit conference of the Organizations of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was held. During the March 4-8 conference, delegate countries asserted that stronger unity must be forged between the oil producing nations and other developing nations. In addition a stern warning was made to industrialized nations for their attempts to coerce oil producing nations with threats of war.

In both conferences, producing nations were encouraged to form associations for protection from individual blackmail and intimidation.

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# Cambodian People Triumph!

#### By Joe Tolero

The war in Cambodia, which began five years ago with the coup d'etat of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, ended April 17, 1975 in glorious victory for the Khmer Rouge and Cambodian people. Phnom Penh, the capital of the Lon Nol regime and last stronghold, surrendered after a four month siege. As the Khmer Rouge entered the city, thousands of its residents greeted them with waving flags and banners flying from atop every building. Truck caravans of smiling soldiers and civilians paraded through the main streets.

Phnom Penh Falls:

The fear of a "bloodbath" as predicted by US officials, never materialized. Instead, an appeal for peace and cooperation was made by the victorious troops and participation in creating the new order was asked of Phnom Penh residents.

Hearing of the Khmer Rouge victory, Sihanouk of the Royal Government of Khmer National Union said: "My passion is Cambodia . . . Thus the glorious way it has emerged is my finest regard. . . . What kept my flame burning is this goal which I have had for my - country." Commenting on their swift restoration of peace and order, he said, "We have proved that we have the necessary political maturity, that we have behaved as a state worthy of that name. We have allowed our adversaries to survive after they laid down their arms. Well, that means that we will also conduct ourselves with the desired maturity."

#### **OFFENSIVE WAS DECISIVE IN VICTORY**

The military offensive which began on Jan. 1, 1975, proved to be the decisive action in defeating the Lon Nol regime. Since the offensive, Cambodian liberation forces controlled 90% of the territory with only Phnom Penh to be liberated.

In the last four months of fighting, over 500 of Lon Nol's military positions were either captured or destroyed. Millions of dollars in weapons, tanks and bulldozers were confiscated. Desertion, which had been a severe problem even before the Janauary offensive, increased to a massive flight on a daily basis.

Since March, Phnom Penh was surrounded within 3-7 miles on all sides by the People's National Liberation Forces (PNLAF). All water and important highway routes had been cut off and the only way to supply Phnom Penh was by airlift. (These airlifts were only possible through the cooperation of the US Air Force, which had provided C-130's as cargo planes.) These airlifts, however, were halted substantially by increased rocket and artillery fire from the PNLAF.

#### LON NOL GOV'T. COLLAPSES

By April, the fall of Phnom Penh was imminent



Victorious Cambodian liberation forces as they enter Phnom Penh.

and Lon Nol and his cabinet ministers evacuated the capital on April 1,. Using an excuse of needing medical treatment, he flew to Indonesia for eventual exile in the U.S. Only a skeleton government was left to attempt a political settlement with Sihanouk's Royal Government.

All the foreign embassies had evacuated and severed diplomatic ties with the Lon Nol government, except the U.S. Embassy. They remained in the city until a week before the surrender to give orders to the remnants of the Lon Nol regime.

#### **U.S. PROLONGED CAMBODIAN WAR**

Since 1970, the Lon Nol government received \$7-B in economic and military aid from the US. In 1973, the US government gave Lon Nol \$700-M in military aid (planes, guns, ammunitions, etc.) In 1975 alone, the dictator had received \$377-M in military aid

Part of this military aid had been the sending of US "advisers" for the Lon Nol army, in clear violation of the US Congressional restrictions on US military intervention in Cambodia. Also, a private company, Bird Air, was contracted by the US Air Force to use C-130's to carry military supplies to the

puppet army.

As the crisis grew deeper, Pres. Ford attempted to send \$222-M in additional aid to Phnom Penh. But strong public sentiment opposed the continued support of the dictatorship, forcing the US Congress to cut the packet to \$155-M and assign a cut-off date for the aid to June 30.

Lon Nol's defeat, however, has proven the US aid was worthless.

#### VICTORY BELONGS TO THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE

In an interview following the Phnom Penh surrender, Chau Seng, a special representative of the Cambodian National Liberation Front, summed up the Cambodian people's war against the Lon Nol and U.S. governments. "It was the most barbaric imperialist aggression," he said, and in Cambodia's 2,000 year history, its people has "never known so much bereavement, so much suffering, so much destruction."

And Sihanouk, from his government-in-exile residence in Peking said, "We are all the prouder since we have opened a wide breach in the rampart of American imperialism. And other victories for the Third World will come out of that breach."

### CAMBODIA AFTER LON NOL: The National United Front

Since the Cambodian war began in 1970, the liberation forces have fought under a unified movement called the National United Front of Cambodia. The following article is a reprint from the INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN and clarifies how the Cambodian people have carried a liberation war to victory against the fascist dictator Lon Nol and U.S. imperialism.

Throughout the five-year war in Cam

He charged the new Lon Nol regime with high treason, decreed its dissolution, and called for the creation of a National Liberation Army.

Within 24 hours, three key figures of the Khmer Rouge declared their support for Sihanouk and the NUF. The Khmer Rouge was composed of leftist intellectuals, peasants and workers who since 1967 had carried out a small-scale guerrilla war against the army and its abuses of the peasantry. The three Khmer Rouge leaders-Khieu Samphan, Hou Youn, and Hu Nim-were all well known in Cambodia. They had been leftist deputies in the National Assembly but fled to the countryside in 1966. On May 5, six weeks after the coup, the formation of the Royal Government of National Union was announced in Peking-Sihanouk had been on a foreign tour when the coup occurred.

original Khmer Rouge resistance.

Within a few weeks, the new army held five provinces. "With his bombs," Sihanouk says, "(Nixon) performed the miracle of turning our people into revolutionaries within weeks." Less than two years later, an AP dispatch in Dec. 1971 reported that "highly placed official sources in Saigon estimated that enemy forces now control as much as 80 percent of Cambodia. In 1973, Sihanouk said that the Liberation Army had 200,000 men and women.

#### "THE CHOICE IS EASY"

bodia, Washington has described the resistance as a disorganized grouping of dissidents with no clear leadership....The image of a fragmented, squabbling resistance helped the administration explain why it was so hard to end the war-"We can't find anyone to negotiate with" was a frequent refrain. But Washington had been less than candid.

Since the war began in 1970, rebel soldiers have fought under a unified command of a single coalition movement, the National United Front of Cambodia. The NUF has its own government, the Royal Government of National Union, which administers 90 percent of Cambodia. All 12 government leaders were ministers or state secretaries in previous Cambodian governments.

This coalition was forged immediately following the coup that overthrew Prince Norodom Sihanouk on March 18, 1970 Within five days, Sihanouk announced the formation of the National United Front.

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#### THE RESISTANCE GROWS

Sihanouk's call for resistance produced an immediate response among the Cambodian peasantry where he had his deepest support. Spontaneous demonstrations occurred throughout Cambodia, though many of them were crushed by Lon Nol's troops.

Sihanouk urged armed resistance, rather than spontaneous demonstrations, and thousands of people reportedly went to the forest to join the struggle, built on the

The Royal Government of National Union is now recognized by 62 nations. According to its own reports, it administers 90 percent of Cambodia, providing education and medical care, and carrying out moderate land reform.

In an interview with Oriana Fallaci published in August 1973, Sihanouk explained why, although he is not a communist, he believes that the revolutionaries should govern Cambodia:

- The communists, he said, are "serious people. They know how to build up a country and they have done things that I never succeeded in doing....In the liberated areas they no longer lack anything: neither meat nor vegetables; fruit and rice production has doubled.

"... And when one sees such results, one has to admit that those who have obtained them have the right to govern the country. Mademoiselle, between Lon Nol's corrupt regime and the Khmer Rouge's serious one, the choice is easy."

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