

2 YEARS OF MARTIAL LAW REPRESSION IN THE PHILIPPINES:

Two years ago, on September 22, 1972, Ferdinand Marcos carried through a military coup d'etat and declared martial law in the Philippines. All civil liberties and democratic rights were immediately eliminated. Thousands of people were arrested, ranging from revolutionary activists to journalist and clergy to opposition senators. Today, there are still 20,000 political prisoners held in Marcos' prison camps and fascist repression continues to hold sway. The United States government has been the major supporter of the Marcos dictatorship — politically, economically, and militarily.

For two years the Filipino people have experienced increased hardships; and have unfolded many ways to resist and fight against the dictatorship. There is widespread guerrilla fighting in the provinces and an underground resistance in the cities. In this struggle, the Filipino people have received the support and encouragement of progressive people throughout the world, including the American people.

In this special issue of *Ang Katipunan* we will present some of the major events and developments since the declaration of martial law in the Philippines...commemorating two years of repression...and two years of resistance!

CREEPING MILITARIZATION

Martial law came as no surprise to the Filipino people. Events leading up to the declaration of martial law strongly indicated Marcos' scheme to prolong his unpopular rule; increased militarization had been going on for some time. A year before, Marcos had already begun appointing high ranking military officials to important government posts, such as Brig. Gen. F. Tanabe as Postmaster General, and Col. N. Jimenez as head of the Philippine National Railways.

Even before martial law, the Marcos administration was responsible for the merciless clubbing and the outright murder of unarmed people. The growing anti-imperialist and nationalist movement was the principal target of the governments fascist attacks on the people's democratic rights. This was clearly seen over and over again in the suppression of protests, demonstrations, and workers strikes. Still fresh in the memories of many Filipinos are the massacres of students during demonstrations and of workers during the strikes at LK Guarin, La Suerte Cigar and Cigarette Co., and Litton Mills.

During the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in August, 1971, systematic raids were carried out on the headquarters of activist organizations. Activist leaders like Nilo Tayag, Luzvimindo David, and Leoncio Co, as well as progressive educators and mediemen like Dr. Nemesio Prudente, Teodosio Lansang, and Roger Arienda were rounded up and arrested without charges.

Marcos tried to whip up an anti-communist hysteria as a way of isolating the growing revolutionary movement and to justify his stepped up militarization. Included in his plans were the terror bombings of Plaza Miranda, the Congress, the Constitutional Convention hall, homes of different congressmen and senators, and even department stores! Each time, he blamed it on the New People's Army - NPA guerrilla, but no one seriously believed Marcos' ravings. In fact, in the end, an expert from the Philippine Constabulary Demolitions Team, Sgt. Gabuten, divulged to Senator Benigno Aquino all the details of the Marcos planned bomb scare. And on Sept. 15, 1972, Aquino exposed to the public all the details of the Marcos plan "Operation Sagittarius" which outlined the military blueprint for declaring martial law.

THE MILITARY COUP D'ETAT

A week later, Marcos unleashed his mercenary hordes across the land, arresting hundreds of



FILIPINO PEOPLE MOUNT ARMED RESISTANCE TO MARCOS DICTATORSHIP

individuals and searching houses for "subversive" materials. This signalled the beginning of

Marcos made public his declaration of martial law, and with this, the Filipino people's lives changed overnight into a nightmare.

Marcos took quick steps to make sure that his military seizure of power would not be reversed:

-Through Presidential Decree No. 1 and General Order No. 1, Congress was adjourned and the legislative functions of the government were rendered completely subservient to Marcos. Through this first move, he circumvented Art. VI, Sect. 26 of the constitution that provided that the President must consult Congress first before he can use his absolute powers.

-Through Gen. Order No. 2, he silenced and imprisoned his legal opposition by ordering the mass arrests.

-Through Gen. Order No. 3, civilian courts including the Supreme Court were rendered impotent from questioning the validity of martial law and its decrees.

-Through Gen. Order No. 5, all basic freedoms to strike, assemble, and protest were eliminated.

Meanwhile, travel (inter-island and overseas) was banned and communication lines to the outside world were cut. Media facilities were seized and their operations halted thus establishing a news blackout. Manila was cordoned off from the rest of the country and military checkpoints were set up throughout the city. Schools and government offices were closed down.

The fascist measures undertaken to engineer this military coup, was just a taste of what life under martial law would be. To this day, this state of siege continues. For the Filipino people, martial law means being awakened in the dead of the night by soldiers conducting house raids. It means being totally unprotected from military abuses and arbitrary arrests.

A LEGAL COVER

The declaration of martial law triggered unfavorable international response. Editorials in the New York Times and Washington Post, urged that the American people should oppose US government support to a dictatorial regime in the Philippines. Recognizing he could not afford a "bad image" Marcos moved quickly to

create a legal cover for his dictatorship.

The Constitutional Convention to draw up a

when martial law was declared. After having arrested all the delegates opposed to martial law, this left only reactionary diehards to draft up the final charter. The final draft legalized martial law and accorded Marcos with the powers of a president and prime minister at the same time, and gave him total authority to convene the National Assembly when he finds it necessary.

Marcos moved to have this charter approved by a "plebiscite." He declared a 46 day moratorium to allow "free and untrammled debate" and lifted certain martial law restrictions. This soft line policy was an attempt to get voluntary backing from the people. However the anti-fascist underground movement seized upon this opportunity to launch a massive "NO" vote campaign throughout the country. "NO" vote posters, leaflets, and manifestos, were widely circulated. A Princeton Poll survey indicated that 80% of the electorate intended to vote "NO" on the new constitution. At this point, Marcos rescinded the "free debate" policy and suppressed the "NO" vote campaign.

During the last few weeks prior to the "plebiscite", Marcos made no pretense about manipulating the elections. He created the "Citizens Assemblies" to replace the voting through secret ballot with voting through a "show of hands!" Sample questionnaires, containing not only the questions but the expected answers, were distributed to the people before hand. In addition, the military conducted the voting. Because of such practices, it was not surprising when Marcos declared that 97% of the

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POLITICAL REPRESSION...

(continued from front page)

election returns voted in favor of his new constitution!

When the scandals about this "plebiscite" became more widely known, the results were widely discredited not only in the Philippine, but also internationally. Marcos, as if admitting the wide scale fraud, announced that there would be a July referendum. Again in July, as was expected, Marcos announced that he received the "overwhelming mandate of the people." Despite this farce, however, his attempts to create a legal cover for his regime failed. It has become increasingly clear that the Marcos regime rests not on the popular support of the people, but on fraud, terrorism, and deception.

MARCOS MEDIA - CORNERSTONE OF FASCIST CULTURE

Immediately after the declaration of martial law, Marcos created the Dept. of Public Information (DPI) to exercise tight control over all media facilities such as newspapers, TV, and radio. However, during the initial clampdown, many news reports and letters, exposing the terror of the martial law coup,

leaked out of the country. Because of this, Marcos moved to even tighten his control over foreign news releases. He created the Media Advisory Committee (MAC) to make more "official" his right to censor foreign news releases, not only outgoing, but also incoming news dispatches. This has been met with staunch opposition by foreign news agencies. The International Press Institute in particular, has repeatedly condemned the loss of press freedom and the manipulation of the media in the Philippines. For example, issues of Time and Newsweek that contain articles critical of Marcos are banned from entering the country.

The media under martial law, ceases to disseminate reliable information to the people and fails to reflect the actual conditions of the masses. Instead, it serves as an instrument of deception. For example, while sharp fighting goes on in different parts of the country, beauty contests and basketball tournaments are the highlighted items of the news. Slogans and martial law jingles are incessantly broadcast over radio and TV to drum into people's heads that they are "new Filipinos" and must therefore contribute to the progress of the "new society." For example, one such slogan is that "Progress for the country requires National Discipline." Such a slogan is manipulative in nature and tries

to cultivate passive and subservient attitudes among the people so that they will accept military authority as a way of life under martial law.

THE BIG LIE

Any example of the so-called "gains" of the Marcos "new society" must begin with an examination of the utterly distorted and dishonest character of martial law media and culture. For example, the Marcos regime continually boasts of having eliminated crime and corruption. "Crime" has disappeared true, not from Philippine society, but rather from the news! A Wall Street Journal last March reported that the crime rate in the Philippines is edging towards levels prior to martial law. Corruption on the other hand, may have been eliminated somewhat from the civilian government, only to become now the official occupation of the governing army!

Also, much fanfare has been given the Land Reform Program of Marcos, which he publicizes as the "emancipation of the peasantry." But what is never mentioned, is the fact that these land certificates are not deeds, but merely slips of paper giving the peasants the "option to buy land" ... emancipation is when the peasantry are given a piece of LAND, not a piece of paper! ●

"NEW SOCIETY'S" ECONOMIC MIRACLE ... FOR WHOM?

The Philippines, next "economic miracle" in Asia! This is the sales pitch of Marcos in trying to attract foreign investments and loans, which are the cornerstone of his economic development plans for the "new society."

A BOOM FOR FOREIGNERS

Since martial law, foreign investments in particular, US and Japanese, have skyrocketed. Direct US investments for the year 1973 totalled over \$100 - M. The Philippines also took out \$111 - M in additional loans to launch the "new society" projects, bringing the total external debt of the country to over \$2.2 billion!

Prior to martial law, foreign investors were beginning to shy away from the Philippines because of the mounting anti-imperialist and nationalist sentiments growing among the masses of Filipino people and the effect it was having on the policies of Filipino lawmakers. However, today, under the guise of "open door policy" Marcos has dismantled most former legal safeguards against the foreign control of Philippine businesses and resources.

In addition, numerous concessions have been granted to foreign investors through arbitrary presidential decrees of Marcos. Some of the major ones have been:

-To grant to all new investors after March of 1973, the freedom to repatriate to their mother country all profits and capital exploited from the Philippines without restrictions and to grant similar rights to "old" investors.

-To exempt from all Philippine taxes, duties, and license fees, those foreign companies willing to locate their Asian regional offices to the Philippines.

-Decree No. 71 reverses the General Banking Act of 1948 and opens all Philippine banks to 40% foreign capital holdings (more than enough to assure total US control).

-To provide "Service Contracts" to foreign oil monopolies allowing them controlling interests in oil exploration for a period extending up to 50 years.

On July 3, 1974, the Laurel-Langley Agreement and the Parity Rights Amendment between the US and the Philippines was allowed to formally expire. This was due to the fact that Marcos' policies during the first two years of martial law were enough to ensure US investors that their interests and privileges in the Philippines would continue to be protected without the need for a formal treaty. But proof of this can be seen in the new Marcos constitution which, among other things, reverses former Supreme Court rulings that maintains

LIBERATION,
Philippines



that American interests have legal rights to retain lands they owned under the Parity Rights Agreement.

SHAM ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The justification of Marcos for so shamelessly selling the country to foreign investors is that, foreign investments help develop the country economically. To back up this claim, Marcos uses statistics such as in 1971 the Philippines: 1) recorded a favorable balance of payments (i.e., brought in more revenue than paid out; and 2) has a 10% economic growth rate. However, his boastfulness is deceptive on two counts. First of all martial law has not altered the quality of Philippine exports; they are still basically raw materials and the higher prices they brought in 1973 is due mainly to temporary world shortages, and will probably be forced down in the near future. Besides, most of the actual surplus revenue in '73 came from increased dollars brought into the country by tourists, Balikbayans (visiting Filipinos abroad) and the tax money overseas Filipinos are forced to send home to Marcos. As for the 10% growth since martial law, it reflects mainly the large increase in new imperialist investments which exploit the cheap labor and raw materials of the Philippines.

Consequently, although these investments show up in the statistics, they do not really contribute to building a strong national economy in the Philippines but rather perpetuate the lopsided semi-feudal, semi-colonial economy.

PEOPLE'S HARDSHIPS

Whatever benefits have come from the "economic miracle" of the "new society" they certainly have not trickled down to the Filipino people. In fact, the last two years under martial law has brought increased economic hardships.

The Philippines has experienced an inflation rate of 57% over the past year making it one of the highest in the world. In '74, the purchasing power of the peso has fallen to 37.8 centavos as compared to its 1965 level. Overall, prices have risen on the average of 12.9% from the year before: fuel and electricity is 44.7% higher, health and educational services, 10.9% higher,

and food, 8.5% higher. For an average worker, one kilo of pork costs more than a day's wages! Needless to say, most Filipino families seldom eat meat under the "new society."

Wages on the other hand, have been "frozen" by Presidential Decree since martial law. The minimum wage remains at 8 pesos/day (7 pesos to 1 US dollar). Even Marcos' Labor Secretary Blas Ople, admitted that last year alone, 700,000 people lost their jobs under martial law. This does not include the millions of people who are under-employed, finding work only a few hours a week.

The country has also been experiencing serious shortages of rice and other basic staples. This is in large part due to the fact that the Marcos regime encourages the exportation of the country's best quality rice in order to bring in more foreign revenue, only to have to turn around and import lower quality rice from other countries to meet the rice shortage at home!

CONTINUATION OF THE "OLD SOCIETY"

If the "new society" has been an "economic miracle" it is only for the imperialist corporations and their Filipino partners, particularly Marcos and his cronies. In a recent survey of top US firms in the Philippines conducted by the National Council of Churches, all agreed that to them "peace and order" was the best "advantage" of martial law. In plain language, they mean that the Marcos dictatorship has created the necessary "political stability" to allow them to continue unhindered in the exploitation and plunder of the Philippines and her people. (US total investments are somewhere between 2 to 3 billion dollars with a huge profit margin of 5 dollars for every dollar invested).

However, for the Filipino people, the "new society" has proven to be nothing but a continuation of the old society, but now only worse!

Under the fascist rule, the Filipino people have been denied the legal right to organize, strike, and protest against the "new society's" wage freeze, taxes and the all around intensification of exploitation and oppression. ●

MILLIONS IN U.S. MILITARY AID BACK UP MARCOS' PUPPET ARMY

A dictatorial regime that does not rest on the popular support of the people, necessarily has to rely upon a strong military to perpetuate itself in power. Because of this, it is imperative that Marcos increases its strength in numbers; bolster its armory with new weaponry and technical know-how; and develop a sophisticated intelligence and counter-insurgency network. All of which is now being done with active U.S. government backing.

During the past two years of martial law, Philippine society has been thoroughly militarized. The authority and powers once belonging to the legislative and judicial branches of the government are now centralized into the hands of the military. Generals and other top ranking officials have been appointed to high government positions. Many of them head up "new society" projects such as Land Reform and others. Civilian public officials elected during the post martial-law period, merely occupy their posts as figureheads. In reality, it is the military that has unquestionable authority to execute Marcos' decrees and public orders. Through General Order No. 8, military tribunals were created to replace civilian courts. In addition, the military has taken over direct control and operation of all public utilities such as MERALCO (electricity), PLDT (communication), and PAL (airlines). At present there are more than 100,000 enlisted men in the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Marcos plans to double its size to 256,000 by the middle of next year. To do this he is relying principally on the forced drafting of all 16-18 years old males. In addition, all able bodied men are being drafted into the reserves under the regime's "Kamagong Concept" or "citizens' army." Military training is now mandatory for both men and women in the secondary and collegiate levels of education.

An atmosphere of distrust has been built up as Marcos has militarized every aspect of civilian life. CIS (Central Intelligence Service) agents are planted everywhere. In addition, every inhabitant of the country is required to register under the National Reference Card System and carry an identification card at all times. Through this new system, every civilian would have a dossier that would enable the military to keep track of his or her activities.

Marcos has also beefed up the military armory. In 1974, the U.S. and the Philippines signed an accord that would extend U.S. loans to the Marcos regime for the construction of an arms manufacturing plant that would principally produce M-16 rifles. Much of the people's taxes go into the military and the government funds "saved" through terminating thousands of government workers (P4,777,792) has also been rechanneled into military expenditures.

FASCIST CHARACTER

Both the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the Philippine Constabulary (PC) were notorious even before martial law, for their disrespect and brutality in dealing with the people. However, martial law has highlighted the anti-popular character of the government armed forces. Today under the "new society" the military has been given a "free hand" and there are no longer any legal ways for the people to keep them in check. Consequently, the military atrocities have multiplied. For example, in North Harbor, Tondo, a man reportedly witnessed the slaying of two men in cold blood by a policeman. The two were merely walking by when they were accosted by the policeman. After, what seemed like a brief conversation, the policeman ordered the two to back up against the wall after which he aimed his armalite and riddled their bodies with bullets.

Revolutionary activists are the principal target of the military's atrocities. For example, the army has made it a common practice to kill captured revolutionary fighters. Their atrocities are reminiscent of Japanese torture during World War II. For example, a former KM activist who integrated among the Igorots of the Mountain province, was beheaded by PC soldiers after an



U.S. "advisers" under the JUSMAG treaty, helps Philippine officers inspect arms captured from Muslim insurgents. The U.S. has "advisers" at every level of the Philippine Armed Forces (AFP).

Photo: Philippine Times (Chicago)

armed confrontation. The blood-thirsty soldiers later paraded his head around the village to serve as a warning to villagers. The Igorots instead, demanded that the head be turned over to them, and armed only with bolos, they engaged the soldiers in a fight until the PC was forced to retreat.

The PC's atrocities have not remained on the level of individual cases alone. In cases where they have suffered defeats at the hands of the New People's Army or Muslim guerrilla groups, they have not hesitated to seek revenge through launching indiscriminate attacks: they loot personal belongings, burn houses and crops, kill livestock, molest women, and round-up the menfolk to pick out possible NPA suspects. In Mindanao the brutality is compounded by the prejudices that the "christian" soldiers harbor toward the Muslim population.

MAIN TRENDS WITHIN THE MILITARY

The main trends within the Philippine military were identified in an underground report of a study undertaken after martial law by anti-dictatorship forces within the military itself. The three main trends identified are: (1) large scale graft and corruption; (2) sharp internal splits due to rivalries and power plays among the top generals; (3) widespread demoralization among the newly recruited ranks.

Under military rule the generals and colonels now enjoy a virtual monopoly over crime rackets. Large scale graft and corruption has become "militarized" and "legitimized" now with the total curtailment of free speech and press, and the elimination of Congressional "watchdog" committees. By merely transferring into the National Security Fund, lucrative sources of graft and corruption can now completely disappear from the public view and scrutiny.

The competition over these spoils of the "new society" and over high positions and appointments, is the main cause of serious splits within the military. The three major factions are headed up by Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile; Presidential Guard Chief Fabian Ver; and AFP Chief-of-Staff Fidel Ramon. Marcos has effectively kept the military under his control by pitting one faction against the other so they do not merge and conspire against him.

The corruption and rivalry for power at the top, has managed to seep down and affect the behavior of the rank-and-file. A most graphic example of this was an armed confrontation between AFP troops and the Philippine Navy in Jolo City in February of this year. After destroying the city and dispersing the Muslim population, the two groups assigned to clean up and rebuild the area, fought over who had the right to the "spoils" of the war and who had a right to loot which department stores, and pawn shops!

Defeats at the hands of the NPA and the Muslim fighters in Mindanao, has contributed to the demoralization among the rank-and-file. For example, during the battles around the Jolo area, a total of 1,000 casualties were reported on the side of the government. Most of the young soldiers were new recruits assigned to the front lines with no previous experience in battle. The

survivors decried the fact that they were being used as "cannon fodder" by their officers.

Low morale, passivity in battle, and refusal to fight, has aggravated the growing crisis within the Army. The army despite its size, has only around 20,000 combat effective troops that are spread thinly across the country. In order to report "battle victories" the government has resorted to blanket bombings and strafings, then listing all the dead as "rebel casualties". Such demoralization, followed by brutality and massacres, stem from the mercenary character of the AFP. Most of the new recruits do not believe in the "new society" nor do they actively support Marcos. Rather, many find themselves in a battlefield because they have been drafted of forced into the army because of unemployment and lack of opportunity elsewhere. For this reason, although their numbers are large, they are no match for the highly committed, politicized, and disciplined guerrilla fighters.

U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE

It is U.S. aid, which oils the Marcos' fascist machinery. "Official" U.S. military aid to the Marcos regime for 1975 will be \$24.5 million (there are also many disguised forms of military aid). U.S. foreign policy towards the Philippines is dictated by the fact that economically, the Philippines represents 60% of the total U.S. investment in the Pacific Rim (outside Japan), and militarily the Philippines is a strategic bastion for continued U.S. presence and influence in Southeast Asia.

Indicative of the U.S. intentions to politically and economically support the Marcos dictatorship, was the appointment of William Sullivan as ambassador to the Philippines. Sullivan was one of the original architects of the Vietnam War. Curiously enough, he was also ambassador to Laos and Cambodia during the height of U.S. secret bombings in those countries. When appointed, Sullivan commented: "It would probably be my responsibility to issue orders to the U.S. military personnel in the Philippines to advise or accompany Philippine Constabulary or paramilitary personnel on counter-insurgency operations, upon consultation with the Department of State and the U.S. president."

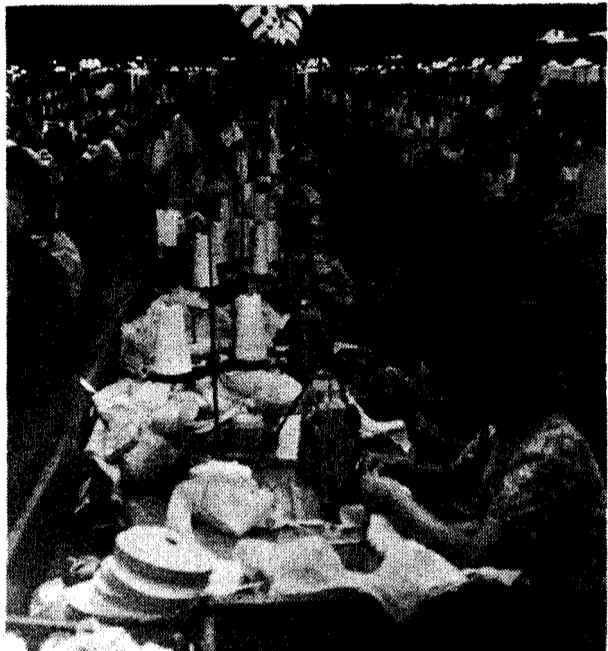
GREEN BERETS IN PHILIPPINES

With or without consultation, the fact is that U.S. ground troops are already active directly in the Philippine countryside. (This is over and above the "normal" U.S. "advisers" provided under the JUSMAG military treaty.) Since the early part of martial law, Green Berets from the 1st Special Action Group based in Okinawa, have been shipped to the Philippines in batches of 40. They are then deployed as "civic action units" into "backward provinces" which also happen to be in or surrounding provinces where there is guerrilla activity. To date, there are more than 1,000 Green Berets active in Panay, Mindoro, Palawan, Bohol, and in Zambales, and Northern Luzon provinces. It was in Panay where the Philippine Army carried out search-and-destroy missions and forced peasants into "strategic hamlets" with the direct participation of U.S. Green Berets.

WORKERS

"Come and invest in the Philippines; the labor is cheap and strikes are not allowed." The key to the success of Marcos' "new society" lies in the continued inflow of foreign investments. In order to entice such investments, Marcos must be able to promise cheap labor and a politically stable atmosphere. Therefore after martial law, some of the dictatorship's most concentrated economic and political attacks have been directed against the Filipino working class.

Of course, even before martial law, the Filipino workers had experienced low wages, bad working conditions, and union busting, resulting from their severe exploitation at the hands of imperialist companies and local Filipino capitalists. However, martial law has intensified all this while at the same time depriving them of the basic democratic rights to organize their own unions, engage directly in collective bargaining and strike.



Workers of Gelmart Philippines garment factory, mostly women, are paid less than \$1.20 a day.

General Order No. 5 prohibited immediately all protest demonstrations and strikes. The only unions allowed to function legally are those certified by Marcos and the Department of Labor. This brings unions under the complete control of Marcos and former union bureaucrats are now functioning more like government "officials". Collective bargaining under the "new society" is farcical. Since Marcos has frozen all wages there is legally nothing to bargain over when it comes to wages, and other disputes with management are arbitrated by the government controlled National Labor Relations Commission (NLRC) which has never been known to rule in favor of the workers.

LOW WAGES

While the Marcos Regime continually boasts of accelerated economic development under the "new society", the wages of Filipino workers have remained stagnant (P8.00 - minimum wage). As a result, the real wages of workers has been cut drastically because of the runaway inflation. In addition, many companies continue the practice of non-compliance with the minimum wage law. As before martial law, the "unofficial" minimum wage remains at 6 pesos a day. The workers most affected by this are those in stevedoring, logging, sugar, tobacco, and textile industries, as well as salesgirls. Agricultural workers are being paid from P1.50 to P7.50 a day, and industrial workers are being paid from P4.50 to P8.00. To make matters worse, since martial law, Marcos has imposed a wage-freeze policy and even ordered Labor Secretary Blas Ople to undertake a survey of industries where the minimum wage could be lowered! In some industries, newly-hired employees are being falsely classified as part-time or "casuals" by management, as an excuse to pay them lower wages.

SALARY DEDUCTIONS

Also, the regime is always finding new ways to shrink workers' paychecks through numerous salary deductions. The Marcos regime has boasted about the Medicare and SSS (Social Security) benefits workers are now receiving under the "new society." But in reality, not only do these benefits come from the workers

paychecks, but in fact most hospitals refuse to accept workers on Medicare because they have to wait so long before getting paid by the government.

To date, Medicare has paid out less than 10% of its total treasury of P63.84-million to workers medical benefits. Similarly, many of the SSS benefits are not paid even if workers have fulfilled the necessary qualifications. Many workers have been denied their pensions and in cases where they are approved, government payments are irregular. Under conditions of martial law, the government enjoys complete arbitrary powers and it does little good to complain. In addition, most companies are coerced into donating enormous sums of money to finance the First Lady's pet projects. In turn they deduct "contributions" out of workers paychecks. Furthermore, a Department of Labor circular issued last September 1973 has actually ordered compulsory "contributions" through salary deductions from all government employees for projects endorsed by the President and the First Lady!

ARBITRARY LAY-OFFS

What little "job security" existed before martial law is completely gone now. A worker who is a mechanic one day, can very well be transferred to a janitorial position the next day. Arbitrary lay-offs have become a common practice of management. The National Labor Relations Commission (NLRC), the government body created to mediate labor-management disputes, itself admitted that it received on the average of 60 dismissal complaints per month. (This is a conservative number since most workers do not even bother to file formal complaints.) According to even government-tied union sources, the NLRC has failed to reinstate a single employee. From the government sector alone a total of 200,000 employees (representing one-third of the total state bureaucracy) have been gradually laid off since martial law was declared. This is part of the Integrated Reorganization Plan, that was announced by Marcos in Presidential Decree No. 1, which is supposedly intended to eliminate the "red tape and corrupt officials that hinder the government from being able to execute the law". However, in fact, it is only a cover to dismiss thousands of lower-level employees by branding them as "corrupt" while channeling the funds originally budgeted for their wages and pensions into military expenditures.

SPEED-UPS

Workers are also subject to production speed-ups, and heightened production quotas. These are standard unfair labor practices employed by companies, and can be seen most clearly in the agricultural and garment industries where workers' salaries are dependent on their fulfillment of high production quotas and yet their wages are not supposed to be determined by production output. Combined with arbitrary lay-offs, such production speed-ups are used by companies to increase their profits while relying on a smaller labor force sometimes working in two shifts (16 hours each). In addition, many workers are subject to overtime work without pay, and many other unfair management practices. A cook in a downtown Manila restaurant for example said that the "normal" working day for cooks in the Greater Manila Area is 10 hours, and yet most are not paid for the 2 hours overtime work. Similarly, a salesgirl from the Good Earth Emporium said that workers in many downtown department stores have indefinite time schedules for lunch, breaks and when they get off work.

WORKERS RESISTANCE

Despite the total lack of democratic rights to organize and strike under martial law, the Filipino workers, true to their militant tradition, have continued to wage political and economic struggle relying on their unity and utilizing creative, though limited, forms of protest.

During the height of the oil crisis in late 1973, for example, when the giant oil companies in the Philippines seized upon the opportunity to hike oil prices, militant jeepney drivers from Baguio, Manila, Pampanga, Davao and Iloilo went on strike to protest the government's subservience to foreign monopolies and demanded a decrease in prices. The protest is well remembered, because

of the dramatic march of 300 wives of Manila jeepney drivers who protested right in front of Malacanang, boldly defying the dictator's decree banning demonstrations.

Similarly, walk-outs and brief wild-cat strikes were staged by 1,000 workers at the glove manufacturing plant in Canlubang, Laguna; 900 sugar-mill workers at the Pasumil Sugar Refinery in San Fernando, Pampanga; 100 employees of the Express Transportation Corporation also in Pampanga, and others.

Small-scale sabotage and production slow-downs are also creative tactics being used by Filipino workers when their just demands go continually unheeded by management. Some workers have effectively cut-down on company profits by decreasing the quality of commodities produced. In Davao for example, cannery workers of the Dole Pineapple Corporation put nails into pineapple ready for slicing, thus damaging the cutting equipment of the company. In Apple Sidra Company also, workers staged a slow-down by removing vital parts of company machinery when management continually refused to recognize their union as their sole bargaining agent.

Workers all around the country are also secretly organizing their own independent unions in factories and building independent federations within industries. The martial law regime refuses to recognize such unions and considers them "illegal," but the workers continue to demand that their own unions be legalized and recognized by management and government alike.

Probably the most significant workers struggle this year is the recent Gelmart workers struggle which has been forced into the open despite Marcos' attempts at censorship. 500 laid-off workers have led a fight to be rehired and are exposing the forced overtime, speed-ups, supervisor harassment, and other abuses continuing within the giant garment factory. Gelmart is a U.S. multi-national firm hiring 10,000 Filipino workers, mostly women, at less than \$1.20 a day. After martial law, Gelmart workers had formed a secret rank and file caucus to defend themselves against excessive capitalist abuses; it is called the Democratic Labor Party and now they are demanding that the government's NLRC recognize it as their legitimate representative. This battle is an important example of the harsh conditions, as well as the growing anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle of the Filipino working class. ●

URBAN POOR



Squatters who live in the slum areas of Manila, now targetted as "eyesores" for the "new society."

The "new society" may be able to hide the urban slums behind white-washed walls, but it has not eliminated the problems of the millions of urban poor. Unemployment and underemployment has increased in the past two years. The urban poor is composed of unemployed workers, small peddlers and stallkeepers, house servants, jeepney and pedicab drivers, - all those who can find no work or stable jobs. Under conditions of martial law and soaring inflation, their economic hardships have reached crisis

proportions. With the enforcement of curfew, many peddlers who sell their wares at night have suffered reduced incomes. Sidewalk vendors too, who cannot afford to acquire licenses are similarly driven out of work unless they can afford to bribe the military police. Because they have no stable means of livelihood, they are forced to live in make-shift dwellings of cardboard and scrap metal, located on government or private lots. And since they are forced by their conditions to live this way, they are termed "squatters" and treated as criminals.

After martial law, there has been a major push to evict squatters from the lands they occupy. These evictions are being made in line with Imelda Marcos' National Beautification and Cleanliness Campaign, and the Pasig River Beautification Project. The squatters occupying the narrow banks and estuaries of the Pasig River are being systematically evicted, and the "official" excuse is that their "presence clogs up the estuaries and consequently result in flooding when the rainy season comes".

Many of these squatters have been dumped in nearby provinces under the supervision of the Presidential Assistance on Housing and Resettlement (PAHRA). However, no decent provisional housing or alternate source of income is provided for them. Most risk losing their jobs or income in the city since the costs to commute daily would use up all their earnings. To date a total of 201,000 families have been ejected from their homes since martial law. In the Greater Manila area a total of 5,086 families were relocated to Carmona, Cavite; 170 are in San Pedro, Laguna; and 3,812 are in Sapang Palay, Bulacan.

This brutal attack against the urban poor and squatters is part of a "new society" scheme to sell the nation to foreigners; to make room for more foreign companies and to invite more tourism.

The urban poor however have not remained passive in the face of this attack. Many have organized to resist the joint efforts of corporations and the government to bulldoze them off their lands. In Tondo, for example, 1,000 residents from the waterfront areas marched to Malacanang in November 1973 to protest the unauthorized eviction of tenants. This was headed by Zone One Tondo Organization (ZOTO), a strong community group active prior to martial law. While crossing the Del Pan Bridge, they were blocked by a huge formation of Metrocom police who threatened to arrest the marchers for violating Gen. Order No. 5 (which prohibits demonstrations, marches or rallies). At this point, the marchers told the Metrocom they would not disperse unless there were orders to stop the illegal demolition of their homes. Brig. Gen. Prospero Olivas conceded to their demand.

Meanwhile, resident of the Tatalon Estate in Quezon City publicly denounced the collusion between the government and the Araneta-Tuason group for trying to evict them off the land and prevent them from acquiring tenant permits that would legally establish their rights to the land. The tenants have organized themselves into the Association of the Urban Poor.

In Barrios Bagumbayan and Ugong Norte, tenants formed a human barricade to resist the bulldozers of the Ortigas Corporation from demolishing their homes. Also in Alaska Beach, Cebu City, women and children stoned eviction teams who were ordered by the American landowner to clear the area.

Most recently, during the Miss Universe Contest in July 1974, the government undertook mass eviction of squatters, in order to "clean-up and beautify the area" before the tourists came to view the pageant. Hundreds of families extending from Nicols Air Base to the North Cemetery valiantly put up a fight against their evictions and refused to leave their lots even after the eviction teams had succeeded in demolishing most of their homes. During the last day of the evictions, the tenants banded themselves into human barricades and threw stones at the demolition team while chanting, "Ibagsak ang New Society!" (Down with the

New Society!). Needless to say, not a hint of this struggle could be found in the internationally televised Miss Universe Contest.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE

Even prior to martial law, the revolutionary movement had many sympathizers among the workers and urban poor. Today, with the

increased fascist repression there are growing numbers who support the activities of the underground resistance and the armed fighting being carried out in the provinces by the New People's Army (NPA). There are reports that many revolutionary workers have also left the cities and gone into the countryside to join the NPA.



Prior to martial law, peasants participated in active discussion of their problems, particularly landlord oppression and the need for genuine land reform.

PEASANTS

Together with the workers, the Filipino peasants have had to shoulder the heaviest oppression and exploitation; this was true before martial law and remains true today. Representing the vast majority of the population, over 70% of the Filipino peasantry still remain land poor or landless tenants. This is two years after the launching of the much publicized "new society" land reform.

LAND REFORM

Posing as the "great emancipator of the tillers", Marcos proclaimed the whole of the Philippines a land reform area immediately after martial law. However, when the propaganda fanfare began to die down, the hard cold facts about Proclamation No. 27 came to surface: 1) It only applies to about one-third the total rice and corn lands or those which are presently leased out to tenants. The hundreds of thousands of hectares planted in export crops, i.e. sugar, abaca, coconut, pineapple, etc. are completely exempt; 2) No provisions are made for the millions of peasant *sacadas* (farm workers) and seasonal plantation workers; 3) And for those tenants in affected areas, there is no real transfer of land ownership for 15 years! Peasants are "awarded" nothing more than Land Transfer Certificates which merely provide the option to buy 3 hectares of land for an average yearly payment of somewhere between 1,500 to 2,000 pesos.

Marcos' land reform amounts to an empty propaganda claim which has failed to bring any substantial reforms to the Philippine countryside and, in fact, has worsened the peasant problems in many areas. First of all, generous compensation to the landlords is the cornerstone to Marcos' land reform. As of January 1974, though 144,538 tenants had received Land Transfer Certificates, none so far have actually received government deeds to these lands. In fact, the high price of the land immediately excludes most poor and middle peasant families from purchasing land since their yearly income usually amounts to less than 1,500 pesos. Therefore most poor peasant families continue to work plots of 2 hectares and pay landlord rents of 50 to 70% of their harvest.

LOOPHOLES

Even for those rich peasants who might be able to take advantage of these land reform certificates, the "program" was carefully designed to allow enough loopholes so that all the landlords can slip through. For example, Presidential Instruction No. 143 raised from 7 to 24 the amount of hectares that can be kept by one family under the land reform — this saves many small landlords. Medium-sized landlords, with active government and military cooperation, can easily distribute their lands among relatives, or transfer over to sugar or abaca

planting, or as in some instances, forcibly evict tenants in order to keep their lands. And the biggest landlords of course have no real worries since many are already engaged in export crop plantations; and if they do turn over their lands, they can rest assured they will be over-paid, resulting in expanded fortunes and they will then be given government assistance in transferring their holdings into new and profitable areas.

All these things were recently confirmed in the 1973 survey taken by the Association of Major Religious Superiors, which reported that "landowners throughout the country resist the implementation of the land reform program. There have numerous accounts of harassment and threats, outright eviction of tenants on many farms, conversions of rice and corn lands to other crops, subdivisions or fishponds ... subdividing among heirs and changing the status of tenants to agricultural workers is also fairly common." However, for the Filipino peasantry the lesson was learned long ago that it is futile to attempt to save enough money to buy "emancipation" from the landlord. All of the land reform schemes of the ruling oligarchy from the Commonwealth period up to the present dictatorship have only resulted in further enriching the big landlords while keeping the Philippines a backward and underdeveloped country producing only cheap raw materials.

GOVERNMENT COOPERATIVES

Linked to Marcos' sham land reform are similarly-related projects such as Samahang Nasyon (SN) and Masagana 99 of the "green revolution." Like the land reform program they are publicized in such a way as to give the illusion of progress while glossing over the basic problems of the Filipino peasantry. All individuals in land reform areas, who are over 15 and till land, are required to become members of government cooperatives (Samahang Nasyon). Members must pay an initial fee of 10 pesos and annual dues of 5 pesos. Everyone must attend classes to learn the policies of the "new society," this is done under the guise of learning "modern farming methods." Also, members must contribute to the cooperative savings program which is not used to purchase cooperative tools and farm animals, as one might think, but rather it is a fund to compensate the landlords in case some members fall behind in their payments.

The "green revolution", a pet project of Imelda Marcos, was under attack even before martial law. The plan was to produce abundant harvests through introducing "miracle grains". These so-called "miracle grains" will only grow with massive doses of special chemicals, fertilizers, and pesticides which poor peasants could never afford to buy. The "green revolution" amounts to a scheme which ends up benefitting only the big landlords and foreign chemical and fertilizer manufacturers. Under

"Masagana 99" program, loans are made available only to those "farmer-borrowers" who are committed to planting heavy yield varieties. Out of a 700 peso per hectare loan, 380 pesos must be spent on Esso fertilizers and chemicals required for their high yield strains. It is of little surprise that Esso Standard Fertilizer Company played a key role in the introduction and marketing of the "miracle grains" in the Philippines.

RICE SHORTAGES

Perhaps the most telling proof of the failure of Marcos' sham land reform and related "new society" programs has been the rice shortages which have plagued the country since the imposition of martial law. For the first time since World War II, there have been rice queues in the Philippines. By the government's own admission, there will be another critical shortage before the end of 1974. There are many reasons for these shortages: 1) the government's land reform program itself actually discourages the production of rice; 2) Marcos' practice of exporting high quality rice in order to achieve a favorable trade balance of payments; and 3) severe flood damage in rice producing areas caused by years of irresponsible logging deforestation and government neglect. Since the floods of 1972 it has become a widespread practice in the provinces to mix rice with corn. This has always been a sign of "hard times," and despite the "new society" propaganda, this practice continues today with no sign of letting up.

C.I.A. DESIGNED

The underlying motive for Marcos' land reform program becomes clear only when we view these "new society" projects as a means of economic and social control rather than reform. It is not widely known that the chief architect for these martial law projects is Mr. Roy Prosterman, a known CIA agent, working presently with the Marcos government. Formerly he designed counter-insurgency land reform programs for Laos and Thailand. This is borne out by the fact that all the "target areas" for Marcos' land reform and cooperative movement are those provinces where the NPA is strong and has developed mass bases - Nueva Ecija, Camarines Sur, Tarlac, Iloilo, Pampanga, Isabela, and Cagayan are the top seven. Countless numbers of peasants have already been arrested and tortured or otherwise shot down in cold blood by the AFP on suspicion of being members or supporters of the New People's Army (NPA).

SEARCH AND DESTROY MISSIONS

In attempts to deprive the New People's Army of its mass base, the AFP has launched search and destroy missions and created "free-fire zones". Such punitive campaigns have taken place in Panay, Cagayan Valley, Bicol, Nueva Ecija and most recently in Bataan and Samar. Last July, an estimated total of 30,000 residents of Barrio Calbiga in Western Samar were forcibly evacuated from their homes by combined forces of the Task Force Bulig and 59th PC Battalion, in an effort to flush-out "dissident elements". Many farmers and poor settlers who refused to leave their homesteads were threatened by the PC that their homes and crops would be burned. Farmers who remained steadfast were willfully executed by the brutal military men.

In another incident, in Balanga, Bataan, joint American and AFP troops launched a punitive campaign against peasants in Barrios Tangilad and Tuyo at the foot of the Sta. Rita mountains. The mercenary men burned down houses and crops and rounded up and interrogated all the male residents. The terror campaign was launched in order to retaliate for the deaths of three American naval engineers who were ambushed and killed by NPA guerrillas while they were inspecting the construction work going on to expand Subic Naval Base.

Military campaigns such as these affect not only the peasants but also settlers who inhabit the mountainous frontier regions. These settlers are mainly displaced peasants; they often get robbed by landgrabbers of their homesteads

which they have developed. In Bontoc, for example, settlers of the Mainit mountains fought efforts of the Benguet Consolidated Mines, Inc. (BCI) to encroach upon their lands. Armed with bolos, hundreds of settlers marched to the BCI camp and chased the BCI team till they fled into the forests. Because they inhabit the mountain and forest areas, settlers often come into contact with the NPA and are willing to give them support. The NPA helps them with their special problems and organizing to resist landgrabbing and abuses of the government troops.

PEASANT SUPPORT FOR THE NPA

Historically, every attempt by Filipino peasants and agricultural workers to organize has always been met with the most violent attacks by government and private landlord armies. Martial law has increased this repression a hundred-fold, yet the peasants' resistance continues among the impoverished *sacadas* and agricultural workers. And reports indicate that the army and martial law "projects" are being met with similar suspicion and minimal cooperation that characterized the people's response to the Japanese occupation during WW II.

In many provinces the peasant support for the NPA has grown rapidly in a few short years. In areas where the NPA is strong, revolutionary peasant associations are formed and land rents are reduced. Many peasants join the NPA or encourage their children to do so. The peasant masses are quick to realize that armed struggle offers the only hope to free them from generations of feudal poverty and debts.



Check points were set up in schools when they were re-opened after the declaration of martial law. Marcos did all that he could to make sure that free expression was crushed and replaced with strict military control.

STUDENTS, TEACHERS and WRITERS

Long before martial law, the intellectual strata of the country had been the most vocal critic of the Marcos regime. In the period from the late 1960's up to the declaration of martial law, colleges, universities and even secondary schools in the Philippines had become centers for nationalist sentiments and activism.

By the late 1960's, the national democratic revolutionary movement, opposed to U.S. imperialist domination and feudalism, had gained its influence on different campuses throughout the country.

It was also the student activists that spearheaded what was called the national democratic cultural revolution. This movement challenged the colonial and feudal mentality which had kept the Filipino people disunited and downtrodden; in particular, ideas of Philippine subservience toward the U.S. were attacked.

They were also a vital element in the

mounting protest movement which intensified during the early 1970's. During this time, there were many protests and mass demonstrations involving tens of thousands of people and putting forth such demands as the end to unequal treaties and the presence of U.S. bases in the country.

It came as no surprise to anyone therefore, that schools, universities, and activist headquarters were among the first targets of the military once martial law was declared. Hundreds of student activists and professors were rounded up and jailed without trial and many still languish in Marcos' prison camps. Those who escaped arrest remain wanted; the homes of their relatives and friends are still being kept under military surveillance. All schools were ordered immediately closed and were not reopened until the following January, 1973. In the Manila area alone, 500 teachers were fired as Marcos began to weed out "subversives" from the nation's educational institutions.

Once the schools were reopened, Marcos did all that he could to make sure that academic freedom and free speech were crushed and replaced with strict military control. In some instances, military men were appointed to administrative positions. The duly elected student governments were dissolved and replaced with councils selected by the military. Marcos' book, "Today's Revolution - Democracy," which outlines his reasoning and plans for martial law is now required reading in all schools.

In addition, students have been pressured by the military into "new society" activities, such as cleaning the streets and white-washing the revolutionary slogans off the walls in Manila. This is an attempt to artificially create a pro-fascist youth movement that supports the "New Society" to take the place of anti-imperialist youth organizations such as the *Kabataang Makabayan* (Nationalist Youth) that existed prior to martial law. However, this is proving to be a futile attempt as student youth are responding to the "New Society" with conspicuous non-cooperation and lack of enthusiasm, which even the government propaganda has a difficult time hiding.

Teachers have been forced to attend "in-service training sessions" in which the military dictates what ideas are to be taught and the teaching methods to be used. Check-points were set up in the schools where students, faculty, and school employees alike were subject to search and harassment by the military. Any grouping of over 3 people can be ordered "broken up" by the military. They have infested schools with an assortment of agents and military thugs and made it clear that the duties of teachers under the "new society" would include spying on their students. Marcos recently created a special agency whose sole function is to spy on students and teachers called the Civil Intelligence and Security Agency (CISA).

ECONOMIC HARDSHIPS

There have been severe economic ramifications of martial law for students and teachers alike. Wage increases won by teachers prior to martial law were eliminated and their salaries are now depleted even further through unpaid compulsory overtime and Sunday work. Last May, Marcos signed Presidential Decree No. 451 which authorizes all private schools from the elementary, secondary, and collegiate levels to increase tuition and registration fees by 15%.

WRITERS, JOURNALISTS, MEDIA PEOPLE

Another sector which has experienced severe hardships due to martial law were the country's writers, journalists, and media people. Before martial law, the corrupt government run for the benefit of the oligarchy and foreign imperialists was continually being exposed and criticized in the media. In particular, Marcos' own corruption was continually exposed through one scandal after another, to the point where his regime became the target of bitter ridicule among the people. After martial law, he moved quickly to seek revenge and immediately ordered the military to shut down all the newspapers, radio, and TV stations. Except for the Marcos-

controlled media, all these forms of media are closed until now, depriving many people of their only income; they have joined the thousands of others who lost their jobs due to martial law. Marcos has also established the Department of Public Information (DPI) which exercises absolute control over the various media outlets; everything has to be cleared by the DPI. This effectively blacklists all former journalists who had been critical of Marcos.

INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY RESISTS

In spite of these kinds of sweeping restrictions, protest and resistance are still very much alive. Many progressive writers and journalists who refuse to be made pawns of the Marcos regime in promoting its deceptive propaganda have chosen instead to join the underground movement. These progressive writers and journalists have contributed significantly to the movement by publishing resistance newsletters such as *Liberation*, *Ulos*, *Taliba ng Bayan*, *Anak Pawis*.

The student activism that Marcos tried to crush has taken on new forms such as silent protests and organized non-cooperation with government sponsored activities. On some occasions, students have resorted to the whistling of revolutionary songs and the mass chanting of slogans during lunch time to express their anti-dictatorship sentiments. Despite the fascist army's frustrated efforts to paint over revolutionary slogans, these slogans always find their way back on to the walls of many campuses as a burning reminder that the basic social problems still remain and activism has not died. Every major campus has an underground resistance newsletter. At the University of the Philippines for example, the *Rebel Collegian* continues to be published regularly and gets widely distributed and read in spite of military agents who practically permeate campus life.

In addition students have openly demanded the re-establishment of freely-elected student councils. For example, in a student conference held in Baguio last December, student representatives forwarded a petition to Malacanang, calling for the re-establishment of student councils that would be freely-chosen by the student body. Student activists were also instrumental in popularizing the "vote no" campaign which was organized in answer to the first referendum through which Marcos sought to ratify his "new constitution." Students organized leafleting, mini-rallies and wall painting campaigns in bold defiance of military surveillance.

Many student activists have weathered the repression against their militant activities in a noble effort to continue the struggle against the dictatorship. One heroic example of this is the martyrdom of Lilia Hilao, a 21 year old woman activist from the *Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila* who was mercilessly tortured to death and then mutilated by brutal military men, when she refused to inform on her comrades and her brother who is a suspected NPA cadre in Bicol.

MANY JOIN THE UNDERGROUND

Thousands of student activists, teachers, intellectuals and writers have found new occupations and are part of the growing network of underground resistance in the cities.

Some of the vital functions carried on by the urban underground include: intelligence work to keep track of current government and military plans; keeping communication lines open between the resistance movement and political prisoners and their families; providing underground newspapers and leaflets about the latest developments within the dictatorship and the resistance activities and victories of the revolutionary movement. It is reported that there are around 100 different underground publications being distributed to various sectors of people and in different regions of the country. In fact, the underground had been able to establish a resistance news service to combat the censorship of Marcos' Department of Public Information. It is called *Balita ng Malayang Pilipinas* (Free Philippines News Service) and is published once a week.

Many former student activists have also gone into provinces since martial law, integrated with the peasantry and joined the NPA or other armed groups.



Photo: Pacific News Service (SF)

(above) Fighters of the Bangsa Moro Army (Muslim People's Army) in a strategy meeting during the recent Jolo uprising, February 1974. National minorities in the Philippines are victims of foreign logging, mining and plantation interests and are waging a long and bitter struggle to save their ancestral lands.

NATIONAL MINORITIES

The national minority peoples of the Philippines inhabit the remaining frontier areas, such as in Mindanao, as well as the mountain hinterlands throughout the country. Traditionally, they have been the victims of unscrupulous land grabbing of giant Filipino and foreign logging, mining and plantation interests. Consequently, they share a long and bitter history of struggle to save our ancestral lands in an ongoing fight against the Philippine government, and the U.S. and Spanish colonial governments before 1946. Prior to martial law, it is safe to say that the practices of the Marcos regime has brought about the mistrust and hatred of the national minorities, and two years of the "new society" has brought nothing but more fighting and greater hardships into these areas.

NOT A RELIGIOUS CONFLICT

In Mindanao, Marcos has always tried to depict the conflict as being due primarily to religious differences: Muslim versus Christian. Although Muslim Filipinos have historically faced prejudice and discrimination based on the religious and cultural chauvinism of "Christians", the main target of their resentment and attacks has always been against the Manila government and not individual Christian settlers; this is particularly true in recent years.

With the active backing of the Marcos regime, foreign monopolies have carved out of Muslim lands some of the largest plantations, mining, and logging areas in the whole country. Dole Pineapple alone has over 12,000 acres of recently purchased land in Mindanao.

After martial law, the Muslim uprising was sparked by Marcos' attempt to disarm the people and force them to surrender their guns. Instead many Muslim youth went off into the hills to fight against the dictatorship. Enjoying the support of the Muslim population, as well as that of many poor Christians, the Muslim fighters soon gained control of areas in Sulu, Zamboanga, Cotabato, and Davao. To this day the fighting is widespread in Mindanao between government and guerrilla forces. In the course, the Marcos troops have committed untold atrocities against the Muslim population only to encounter increasingly heavy defeats at the hands of Muslim fighters.

CIVIL WAR IN SOME AREAS

Less than one month after martial law, guerrilla fighters reportedly from the New Peoples Army, took over Marawi City for two days, successfully drawing government troops out of the Manila-Central Luzon area. Most recently, in August, 1974, there were reports of

renewed heavy fighting in Catabato and Davao. However, the largest and most devastating battles thus far took place on the island of Jolo in Feb. 1974. Fighters from the Bangsa Moro Army (Muslim People's Army) liberated most of the island and took over the provincial capital of Jolo from government troops for three days. Reports indicate this was done with the active cooperation of most of the city's inhabitants including the Muslim police force and the children of the town's mayor. Marcos sent in air and troop reinforcements, and the whole world was shocked as the city of Jolo was completely destroyed and leveled by government bombs and fire. Conflicting reports place the numbers of people killed approximately at 2,000 while over 25,000 refugees were evacuated to the province of Zamboanga. The remaining 50,000 people fled to other parts of the island held by the resistance fighters. Today, the city of Jolo is still not rebuilt and hunger and disease is widespread.

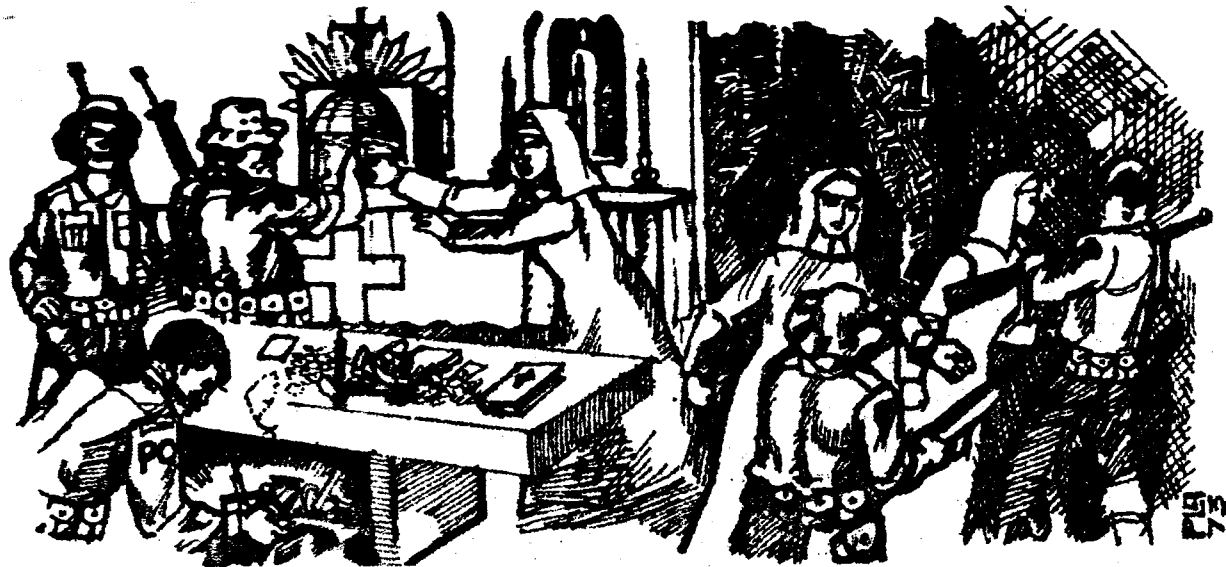
INTERNATIONAL OUTCRY

International public opinion has been very unfavorable to the Marcos government because of the abuses on the Muslim population in the Philippines. This is particularly true among Islamic nations. At the Islamic Conference held in Pakistan in February 1974, a special investigating committee was formed to look into the situation of Filipino Muslims under the martial law regime. Based on its findings and recommendations, the fifth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Manado, Indonesia in June of this year, condemned the Marcos government for its treatment of the Muslim minority and demanded an immediate end to the wanton killing of Muslims by Philippine government troops.

OTHER MINORITY TRIBES

In other parts of the country, there has also been increased fighting between government troops and minority tribes, in particular with the Igorots and Ifugaos in the mountain provinces of Luzon. In their long fight against the continued invasion of logging and mining interests the national minorities have built close alliances with the New People's Army in the area. In government attempts since martial law to "flush out" the NPA, more abuses have been heaped on the innocent mountain tribes people, which has served to further strengthen their anti-fascist and anti-imperialist sentiments.

Most recently, Marcos attempts to gain economic and military control in mountain areas has led to a government campaign to gain monopoly control over the marketing of the handicraft industries of the national minority tribes. This is being met with strong resistance. In these northern highlands the Cordillera Revolutionary Council has also been formed of different minority tribes who support the NPA in the armed struggle to overthrow the U.S.-backed Marcos dictatorship.



A campaign of repression was launched against the clergy, with PC raiding dozens of religious schools, dormitories, convents and seminaries throughout the country. Picture taken from *LIBERATION*, November 12, 1973.

CLERGY

A progressive movement among the Christian clergy, a traditionally conservative sector of society, had started long before martial law. Many had begun to take part in protest marches against the creeping militarization of the Marcos regime. This movement sought to break away from viewing passivity and fatalism as virtues. To the priests, ministers, and nuns in this movement, christianity should not merely promise eternity but should find relevance in the day-to-day struggles of the masses of people especially against their poverty and oppression. Christianity was redefined to mean service to the people, whether in school or community work, in factory or farm labor organizing.

Many activist groups like the *Kilusang Kristiyana ng Kabataan*, a mass organization of militant Christian youth, and the Christians for National Liberation, a mass organization of priests, nuns, and active church people were formed prior to martial law. These organizations upheld that it was their democratic and Christian responsibility to support revolutionary change in the Philippines in order to put an end to the sufferings and poverty of the majority of Filipinos due to the imperialist domination, feudal oppression, and bureaucrat corruption.

RAIDS AND MASS ARRESTS

When martial law struck, these most active and progressive Filipino priests, nuns, and ministers were among the thousands hauled to jail during the first days of martial law. Six

foreign priests engaged in community and labor organizing work were deported immediately for "anti-government" activities.

As the fascist repression of martial law became more apparent, many more priests and nuns joined opposition to it. In retaliation, Marcos began to strike at the moderate forces among the clergy. More priests and nuns were harassed and arrested; Catholic schools, such as St. Joseph College and Trinity College; convents such as the Oblate Order and Good Shepherd Sisters; and seminaries such as the Holy Angels and Sacred Heart seminaries were raided.

During the latter part of this year, a sweeping arrest was made of the leadership of the National Council of Churches in the Philippines. The arrest included an American couple who had been doing missionary work in the country. The arrest aroused international indignation from various church groups around the world. In particular the World Council of Churches, National Council of Churches in the U.S., and the United Church Board for World Ministers sent telegrams to President Marcos and U.S. officials denouncing the arrests and calling for the immediate release of those arrested.

CHRISTIAN RESISTANCE

In the two years since martial law, resistance has become widespread among the Christian clergy and laity. It takes many forms, such as the use of the pulpit to denounce the dictatorship which is one of the most popular ones. In fact one of the first dramatic mass actions by the clergy was the "Mass for Freedom", a prayer-rally held in Binondo Church, Manila on January 21, 1973. While the

prayer-rally was well on its way, government troops were bold enough to disrupt the gathering and arrested 60 persons, including priests, nuns, student activists, and foreign correspondents covering the event.

Shortly afterwards, in Bacolod City, the Holy Week was marked with a protest against the dictatorship. A prayer manifesto depicting the plight of the masses under martial law was distributed urging people to "oppose the greedy and brutal men who now hold sway over the country". Entitled "The Calvary", the prayer-manifesto reached an estimated 20,000 people.

The official indifference of the Catholic hierarchy on the issue of civil liberties is slowly turning to concern as more church people are arrested. Pressures have increased for the church hierarchy to take a strong position against the fascism of the martial law regime. Already individual leaders like Bishop Francisco Claver of Bukidnon and the Mindanao-Sulu Pastor Secretariat, have publicly questioned the one-man rule of Marcos.

Last year, the Catholic Bishops Conference urged the restoration of basic freedoms and denounced the deception of the Marcos media.

Meanwhile, in September 1973, a national survey made by the Association of Major Religious Superiors revealed that 75% of those who responded felt that the political and economic situation of the country was worse than before martial law. The survey was undertaken to obtain information for a clearer and more accurate picture of the country's situation which is not projected by Marcos propaganda.

Similar research projects of this nature have been undertaken by different church groups and are widely circulated in the Greater Manila Area.

SUPPORT FOR THE ARMED STRUGGLE

Many clergymen have come to actively support the armed struggle both politically and materially. In some instances, they have actually joined in armed struggle like Fr. Ed de la Torre and Fr. Luis Jalandoni. Both priests were active in the Christians for National Liberation and played vital roles in the politicization movement within the clergy before martial law. Fr. Ed de la Torre in a statement last year, said that now is the time for Christians to prove that they are truly committed to the cause of "man's salvation", by participating in the struggle of the Filipino people for national liberation. Fr. Jalandoni has been captured and is now in prison, while de la Torre and others are engaged in the armed struggle. ●

PATRIOTIC BUSINESSMEN

The anti-nationalist character of the martial law regime was clear from its first day as Marcos promised that the "new society" would be friendly and protective of all foreign investments. He was widely quoted internationally, from *U.S. News and World Report*, as saying to U.S. businessmen, "Tell us what you need and we'll pass the laws you want". Martial law has opened up the country completely to foreign economic control and represents a serious attack against Filipino businessmen and a reversal of the nationalist trends of recent years.

UNFAIR COMPETITION

The Filipino nationalist businessmen (small capitalists engaged mainly in domestic-oriented industries and businesses) have always faced unfair competition from the giant imperialist business interests and their local partners, the Filipino comprador oligarchy and bureaucrat capitalists. Over the years, such competition has successfully crippled young Filipino capitalism and prevented the development of any truly national economy and industrialization.

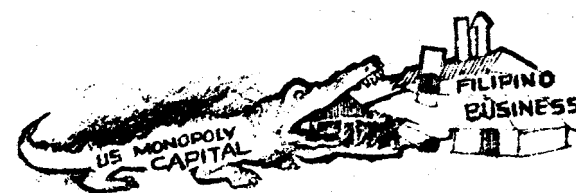
However, the growing nationalism brought with it the demand for government safeguards to protect Filipino capital and provide some "economic areas" where it would not face foreign competition. A few months prior to martial law some important victories had been won in Supreme Court rulings which promised to severely curb all U.S. ownership of land in the

Philippines, as well as, American and foreign control over domestic industries.

No sooner had Marcos declared martial law, when he overturned these Supreme Court rulings by presidential edict. He promised outright that under his rule, there would be no expropriation of foreign holdings and no restrictions placed on foreign investors taking their profits out of the Philippines. He has used his dictatorial powers a number of times to grant outrageous privileges to foreign capitalists. In a most recent example, with the stroke of a pen, Marcos turned over complete bauxite mining rights on the island of Samar to Reynolds Aluminum.

LOCAL BUSINESS CRIPPLED

Two years of so-called economic "progress" under the "new society" has greatly increased the U.S. financial hold on the Philippine banking system. This places Filipino businesses at a severe disadvantage in attempting to receive credit for capital investments. The general policy now under martial law is to force Filipino capital into "joint ventures" with foreigners in order to supposedly "bring new capital into the country," as well as, "economic expertise" (foreign). In fact, this policy opens the door wider for foreign interests to swallow up Philippine businesses. Refusal on the part of Filipinos to agree to "joint ventures" usually results in the loan application being turned down.



In addition, martial law has served to further increase U.S. control over the country's energy sources. This means that all nationalist owned industries are ultimately at the mercy of imperialist interests, who through manipulating fuel supply and prices can easily drive small Filipino capitalists into bankruptcy.

NATIONALIZED INDUSTRY

Although the Laurel-Langley Agreement, which represents many of the unequal economic relations between the U.S. and Philippines, has been allowed to formally expire, martial law has assured the continued imperialist control of all strategic sectors of the Philippine economy. This has resulted in increasing support from the patriotic businessmen for the movement to overthrow the Marcos dictatorship. Many are also coming to understand that their only chance for future survival is in a Philippines free from imperialist domination; they support the idea of a national democratic revolution, in particular, the demand for the nationalization of all imperialist holdings. The main form of their support is material and financial assistance to the underground and the NPA and other anti-fascist armed groups in the countryside. ●

HARASSMENT, INTIMIDATION AND TORTURES REPORTED:**20,000 POLITICAL PRISONERS STILL DETAINED**

Two weeks before martial law was declared, the systematic arrest of activists was already being conducted. And one of the first things that the dictatorship did on September 22 was to arrest thousands more. The lightning incarceration of well known critics and mass activists was meant to silence and intimidate the people. Two years later, reports indicate there are still between 18 to 20,000 political prisoners. The original number of detainees was estimated at 10,000.

Despite the propaganda that only a few political prisoners are left, the truth remains that arrests continue to be made daily, adding to the number of detained persons. Arbitrary military arrests have become part of the character of Philippine society under martial law. Prison camps have been built or expanded throughout the country in the past two years, though week after week, the Marcos-controlled press issues long lists of released prisoners.

However, those released are mainly for the purpose of making room for new "suspects" who are brought in for "questioning". Besides, even this propaganda is belied by complaints of relatives of supposedly "released" prisoners, who have yet to see them free.

The political prisoners of the "new society" come from all sectors of the population. They include anti-fascist personalities (Senators Diokno and Aquino); suspected members of the Communist Party and the New People's Army; and activists from other democratic organizations. Priests and nuns have also been jailed for the "crime" of what amounts to working among the poor. By the fascists' own admission, a number of people have been imprisoned because of mistaken identity and not a few of those in jail are victims of frame-ups. For example, Father Luigi Ricciarelli, an Italian priest, was turned in by a man whom he sheltered and fed for several months. The man turned out to be an agent of the hated PC-METROCOM outfit who was planted in Father Ricciarelli's mission in order to frame him. For his missionary work among the poor, Father Ricciarelli is now tagged as a "communist". The more fortunate among Marcos' victims are the disgruntled members of the ruling class who were his former economic and political rivals, now kept under house arrest. Except for a few cases, no formal criminal charges have been made against any of these people and their imprisonment stems from their political beliefs and activities.

TERRIBLE PRISON CONDITIONS

The general conditions in the regime's jails which detainees have to contend with day and night are unbearable. Prisons are literally congested. A hall that could decently house 30 prisoners now houses 250 prisoners! The overcrowding of jails and the deliberate negligence of prison authorities has contributed to the stench and filth that has made many detainees ill. Basic utilities such as water, proper lighting, and sanitary washrooms are not provided. In fact prisoners in Fort Bonifacio have to queue in long lines for water delivered every afternoon by the Manila Fire Department. Prisoners are allocated one pail of water each, which is totally inadequate for their personal hygiene. Food is scarce and unsanitary. Rotten rice, measly pork, uncleaned fish (complete with scales and intestines), are daily mainstays in the detainees diets. Brutality is common. Prison guards pick on whoever they fancy. Women are molested and men are provoked into fights for no apparent reason, just to satisfy the sadistic pleasures of the guards.

TORTURE AND HARASSMENT

Prisoners are subjected to many forms of torture and harassment both crude and sophisticated. The main aim of the fascists is to break the will of a detainee so that he would "cooperate" and "confess".

As an example, both Senators Diokno and



Nilo Tayag, chairman of Kabataang Makabayan, was one of the first of thousands of political prisoners now languishing in Marcos' jails.

Aquino were held incommunicado and placed in maximum security isolation cells for long periods without proper light and food. This resulted in severely damaging the health of Diokno and great weight loss for Aquino. John Quimpo, an activist, underwent the water cure where water was forced through his genitals. Lilia Hilao, another student, was tortured and then killed by pouring down muriatic acid through her throat to make it appear that she had killed herself. Father Hagad, a Catholic priest from Sulu, was subjected to severe beatings which incapacitated him for three weeks.

Harassment of relatives and psychological conditioning, termed by the military as "rehabilitation", are also used to break the will and spirit of the prisoners.

Latest reports indicate that the fascists have added a new more sophisticated form of torture. They inject prisoners with morphine and other addictive drugs in an attempt to make them "cooperate". Two known victims are Fidel Agcaoili, a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley and vice-president of a Manila insurance firm, and Jose Lacaba, well known associate editor of the former magazine *Asia-Philippines Leader*. Both were addicted with morphine for the purpose of extracting information from them in return for more injections. This was done after all other forms of physical and mental torture had failed.

RESISTANCE WITHIN THE WALLS

Within prison walls resistance activities are limited, but they nevertheless continue in whatever form possible. Both Senators Diokno and Aquino, Marcos' two main political opponents before martial law, have refused to

compromise their principled opposition to his fascist dictatorship throughout their two year legal battle to regain their freedom. Through such courage they have served to completely expose the subservience and impotence of the civilian courts under martial law. Recently, political pressure from home and abroad, has forced Marcos to let Senator Diokno out of prison, where he now remains under house arrest and in poor health.

There have also been hunger strikes staged in protest against bad conditions and abuses of prison guards. For example, in Cebu, political prisoners detained in Camp Lapu Lapu went on a hunger strike last December to protest against three military policemen who constantly harassed them. Their protest received such strong support from Cebu's citizens that special prayers led by Cardinal Rosales were said for the political prisoners during the Christmas mass. In Fort Bonifacio, Rizal, 130 political prisoners went on a hunger strike to protest the senseless mauling of six fellow detainees. They also demanded the improvement of prison facilities.

Whenever possible, prisoners have formed collectives to help keep up their spirit of resistance; help one another with problems of prison life, and organize discussions and protests. There have also been reports where prisoners have been able to escape after careful planning. For example, five political prisoners bolted out of Camp Vicente Lim last September 3, 1974, in Canlubang, Laguna after weeks of contemplating an escape. In Baguio, two women activists climbed high prison walls to freedom despite the tight prison guard and sentry. In Fort Bonifacio, the Reverend Father Nacu after more than a year of detention, staged an escape when he was granted permission to leave the camp. Father Nacu after fleeing from his prison escorts proceeded to the French embassy to ask for asylum. When his request was turned down, Father Nacu reportedly rejoined the anti-fascist underground.

PERSIST IN STRUGGLE

To many imprisoned activists, the repression in camps and the prospects of languishing in jail for years, are day to day realities.

Thru inflicting both mental and physical torture to the detainees, Marcos hopes that they would give up their political beliefs and eventually capitulate to his regime. On the contrary, the tortures and brutalities in jail have only served to deepen the commitment of many activists to the revolution. Incarceration however has not stopped them from contributing their share to advance the struggle and in a way, it has served to even strengthen them for the many difficulties that lay ahead in the struggle for national liberation. ●

CAMP CRAME**THE POLITICAL PRISONERS**

PROFESSIONALS

For years the Philippines has educated more scientists, technicians, and professionals than its semi-colonial and semi-feudal economy could absorb. Consequently, for years, large numbers of highly skilled Filipinos have been forced to leave the country in search of the work they were trained for.

In spite of the "new society" propaganda, most of the new foreign investments to the

Philippines bring with them foreign managers, technicians, and engineers. The proof of this can be seen in the fact that in 1973 estimated unemployment among college trained Filipinos was still around 40%. The martial law regime has not altered this situation, but has in fact aggravated it through mass lay-offs in government departments, services, research centers, etc. Many graduates of colleges and universities find fewer and fewer employers willing to hire them at home. According to the government's figures, 35,000 Filipinos left the country to look for jobs abroad the year after

martial law was declared; this is an increase of 150% over the 1972 figures.

In addition, Philippine consular agents abroad require these immigrants to pay taxes on their earnings. This is in addition to the high taxes they must pay in the U.S. Since consular agents have the authority to issue and renew passports, they use this as blackmail to force Filipino immigrants to make substantial tax contributions to the Marcos dictatorship. In effect they say: no taxes, no passport. This amounts to double taxation without true representation in either country!



NEW YORK - June 12, 1974, anti-martial-law groups at a picket-demonstration in front of the EXXON Bldg. protesting martial law and sham RP Independence Day. (left)

SAN FRANCISCO - September 22, 1973, about 300 protested the continuation of the martial law dictatorship.

RESISTANCE IN U.S.

ANTI-MARTIAL LAW MOVEMENT

The progressive sectors of the Filipino community in the U.S. immediately responded to the declaration of martial law by forming the National Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties in the Philippines (NCRCLP). Composed of a broad spectrum of Filipinos and Americans, the NCRCLP spearheaded the anti-martial law movement in the U.S. during the first year. The organization was united around demanding: (1) an end to martial law; (2) restoration of civil liberties; (3) freedom for political prisoners; (4) an end to U.S. aid to Marcos. On October 6, 1972, mass demonstrations were conducted in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, and New York. NCRCLP chapters developed in many cities and conducted forums, teach-ins, house meetings, and cultural presentations exposing the fascist nature of the Marcos dictatorship.

In July, 1973, the *Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP)* was formed. The KDP pledged to lead and mobilize militant support for the national democratic revolution in the Philippines, particularly the struggle to oust Marcos. In September, 1973, KDP and NCRCLP chapters in major U.S. cities led a nation-wide mobilization to protest the beginning of the second year of the dictatorship. Thousands of Filipinos and Americans participated in the protest-rallies. In San Francisco, at least three hundred demonstrators marched through the Filipino community near the downtown area where they gave out leaflets and sang songs of protest to sympathetic spectators along the way.

Other Filipino groups and individuals have joined the anti-Marcos, anti-martial law movement. The "Movement for a Free Philippines" was formed in Washington, D.C. on September 22, 1973. This group has pledged to work for the peaceful return of constitutional rule in the Philippines. Its activities are largely centered around Raul Manlapus, the former Senator and Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Also Heherson Alvarez, former Constitutional Convention delegate; Quintin Yuyitung, former publisher who was jailed for his crusade against corruption in the Marcos government; and former congressman Raul Daza are among the many others who have come-out publicly against the dictatorship.

The anti-Marcos, anti-martial law sentiments in the Filipino community is strong. However, there are many Filipinos who, for fear of reprisals against their relatives in the homeland, still hesitate to come out and join the movement; however the movement enjoys the sympathy and support of an overwhelming number of Filipinos. A survey conducted by the Chicago-based Philippine Study Group revealed that six out of every ten Filipinos and Filipino-Americans strongly disapprove of martial law. The survey further revealed that eight out of ten believed that Marcos imposed martial law in order to perpetuate himself in office.

"PEACE AND ORDER" PROPAGANDA SENT TO THE U.S.

The results of the survey became even more significant if seen in the light of the barrage of propaganda which the Marcos dictatorship has conducted in the U.S. Marcos has sent to the U.S. scores of big name propaganda agents to speak in favor of the "new society," like former Ambassador Amelito Mutuc, ex-Senator Sonny Osmena, Foreign Secretary and former UN president Carlos Romulo, and lately, Luis Taruc, a Huk surrenderee who gave in to the government and turned over a list of his former comrades. To further "cosmetize" his brutal regime, Marcos has bought full-page ads in the *New York Times* and pages more in the *Fortune Magazine*. He has also initiated the *Balikbayan* campaign which was designed to draw back to the Philippines thousands of Filipinos and Filipino-Americans. To those who take advantage of the generous terms of the trip, Marcos attempts to show how peaceful and orderly the Philippines is under martial law. However, a great many of those who have gone on a *Balikbayan* visit to the homeland are convinced that the plight of their relatives has become worse after martial law. A great many more hesitate to speak out because they fear what would happen to their remaining relatives in the homeland should they tell the truth about what they saw.

AMERICAN SUPPORTERS

Many progressive Americans have organized to join the mounting protest movement against martial law in the Philippines. One hundred twenty prominent Americans which included

U.S. Senator Alan Cranston, Father Eugene Boyle, director of Ministries for Peace and Justice of the National Federation of Priests' Council, and Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers of America, took out an advertisement in the December 18, 1973 issue of the *New York Times*. They demanded the restoration of "constitutional democracy" in the Philippines.

In October, 1973, the Friends of the Filipino People (FFP) was formed in New York by progressive Americans. The FFP has done valuable research work on the political and economic conditions in the Philippines, and has conducted a lobby among U.S. officials for the purpose of ending U.S. aid to the Marcos regime. The FFP has pledged its "support to the Filipino people in their efforts to secure full independence and freedom in their country and social and economic justice in the U.S."

The dedicated work of these various Filipino and American groups and individuals is beginning to affect the thinking of many American people and some American officials. In the U.S. Congress, there is a growing sentiment in favor of cutting U.S. aid to dictatorial regimes. Senators Cranston and Abourezk and Representative Abzug have all come out to particularly target the Marcos dictatorship. In addition many pacifist and church groups, like the World Council of Churches, have placed their prestige and resources solidly at the service of the Filipino peoples' struggle against the fascist martial law regime.



Demonstrators in April, 1974 protesting the martial law dictatorship in front of the Statler-Hilton Hotel, Boston, where RP Ambassador Romualdez was scheduled to speak.

Most recently, the Filipino People's Far West Convention held in Los Angeles in August 1974, passed a unanimous resolution condemning the martial law regime and supporting the people's struggle for genuine independence and freedom. This conference represented over 600 of the most active and progressive forces in the Filipino community on the west coast; the resolution is a stinging defeat for the Marcos propaganda efforts.

The third year of resistance to martial law will yet see, to Marcos' dismay, a still stronger movement in the U.S. against his dictatorship. Progressive Filipinos and Americans will continue to demand an end to U.S. backing for the Marcos regime and support the struggle of the Filipino people for genuine democracy and freedom!

National Democratic Movement

The National Democratic revolutionary movement had unfolded in the Philippines years before martial law. In fact the main reason given by Marcos for his coup d'etat was the growing threat to the status quo represented by the national democratic mass movement in the cities; the New People's Army in the countryside, and the re-established (1968) Communist Party of the Philippines.

Beneath Marcos' fascist propaganda however, is the fact that the idea of national democratic revolution was gaining wide influence and taking deep root among the Filipino people. Such a desire for revolution, however, can only stem from the objectively harsh exploitation, oppression and poverty that characterizes the lives of the Filipino masses. What the national democratic movement was able to do was tap and give direction to this pent-up anger of the people by identifying the root causes of their misery and pointing out the solution to replacing the present rotten system.

U.S. imperialist domination, feudal land-lord oppression and bureaucrat capitalist exploitation became popularized as the three basic evils from which stemmed all the misery and poverty of the Filipino people and the backwardness of the Philippine nation. People only had to look around them to the imperialist military bases and giant corporations, the rich and idle Filipino oligarchy, and the corrupt and ambitious Marcos and his cronies to understand the truth of this class analysis.

Could the Filipino people expect these ruling classes to be reasonable and fair? Would the foreign imperialists and Filipino oligarchy give up their wealth peacefully, without a fight? Of course not! Any fool that would say so would be openly ridiculed by the majority of Filipino people. The idea that armed struggle was the only way to carry out a revolution was also easily accepted, especially among Filipino workers and peasants.

What do the Filipino people want and need? Genuine independence, that is to develop the country for the benefit of the majority of the Filipino people. This means an end to foreign domination, in particular U.S., over the economy and political life of the country; an end to unequal treaties; and an end to U.S. military bases and privileges in the Philippines. The Filipino people also want genuine democracy. This means a people's land reform where the poor peasants who till the land will be assured of owning it and collectively benefit from its harvests. It means real democratic rights to organize and participate in shaping the policies and direction of the government, in particular guaranteeing these rights to the workers, peasants, and national minorities who, not only represent the majority of the population, but have historically been denied these democratic rights.

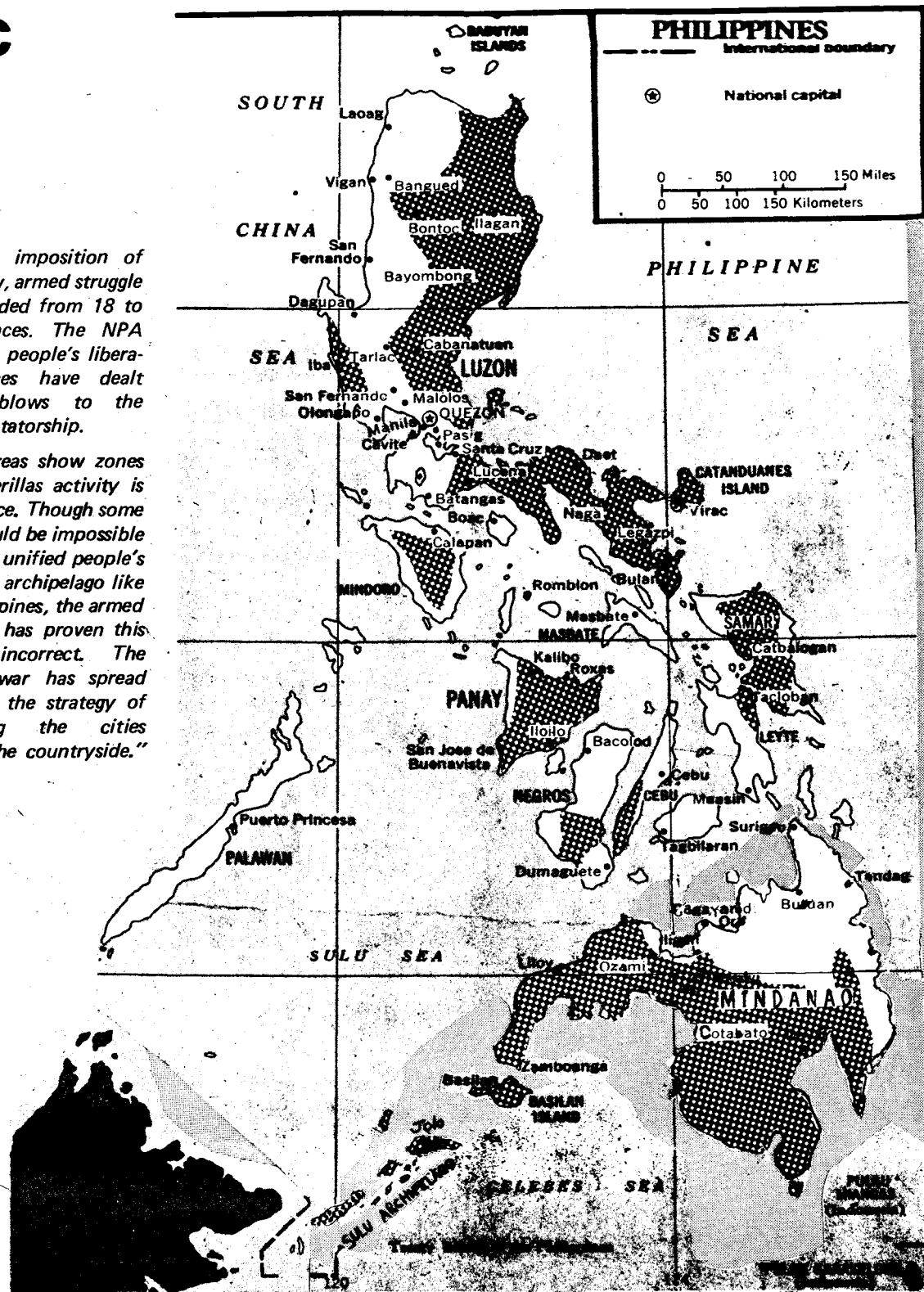
These are some of the major and most pressing national and democratic aspirations of the Filipino people. Given all the hardship and injustice in Philippine Society it is quite understandable how a powerful movement could be forged to accomplish these ends including within it millions of Filipinos from the broadest sectors including workers, peasants, intellectuals, minorities and nationalist businessmen. However, the reactionary propaganda, both before and after martial law, try to picture the national democratic revolution as a "violent conspiracy!" But despite this, the strength of National Democracy shines through in the fact that it represents the most logical solution to the fundamental problems that face the Filipino people and nation.

FORMATION OF THE NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY

In 1969, much of what the national democratic revolution stood for was crystalized with the formation of the New People's Army (NPA), under the leadership of the Communist Party. Armed fighting between the NPA and government troops began in four provinces in

Since the imposition of martial law, armed struggle has expanded from 18 to 34 provinces. The NPA and other people's liberation forces have dealt stinging blows to the Marcos dictatorship.

Shaded areas show zones where guerrillas activity is taking place. Though some say, it would be impossible to wage a unified people's war in an archipelago like the Philippines, the armed resistance has proven this to be incorrect. The people's war has spread based on the strategy of "encircling the cities through the countryside."



North Central Luzon and spread quickly to cover 18 provinces before martial law was declared in 1972. During that period, revolutionary base areas had been established among the peasants, settler, and minority tribes in the mountainous Isabela - Cagayan Valley area and the NPA gained strong support among the poor peasants of central Luzon who have a long revolutionary tradition. News of NPA activities and victories became widely known and began to receive sympathetic backing from a growing number of people throughout the country.

Immediately after martial law, Marcos concentrated in trying to break the backbone of the NPA in north central Luzon. Large scale fighting took place in November 1972 in the province of Isabela resulting in the near total destruction of the government's 5th Infantry Battalion, resulting in over 200 government casualties. By March of 1973, the dictatorship was prepared to launch two unprecedentedly large "encirclement and suppression" campaigns in the Cagayan Valley. The first was launched from March to July with 3,000 government troops; the next campaign involved 10,000 government troops from September to December 1973. Both campaigns proved a failure since the main forces of the NPA could not even be located! Because of their knowledge of the terrain and close links with the people, NPA guerrilla squads were able to slip in and out of the government network, striking at weak points when the reactionary army least expected it.

NPA ACTIVITIES EXPAND RAPIDLY

Meanwhile during the first year of martial law the NPA boldly expanded its area of operations from 18 to 34 provinces including 11 on the southern island of Mindanao. In the northern Luzon area alone about 500 Marcos troops and agents were exterminated by the NPA in 1973. There are also reports of strong NPA presence in the Bicol region of southern Luzon; the islands of Panay and Negros in the Visayas, and in Mindanao the NPA is developing ties and

cooperation with the Moro Bangsa guerrilla army and other armed Muslim groups.

In all provinces where the NPA is said to be operating there is at least one full-time regular squad, linking together part-time guerrilla and people's militia units. The NPA makes careful preparation in organizing the barrio people before initiating any open, large-scale fighting with the government troops. Recently Bernard Wideman in the July 15, 1974 issue of *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported on the beginnings of open NPA fighting on the island of Samar this past May. It began with the successful ambush of a unit of the much hated Philippine Constabulary (PC), leaving nine dead. Reports that subsequent government intrusions into the area of Calbiga has shown that strong ties that the NPA has developed with the barrio people. Most peasants support the NPA, two whole barrios in fact went into the mountains with the NPA rather than be forced to relocate into the town by government troops. Wideman reports that, "The NPA works by approaching farmers and offering instructions on better farming methods, improving irrigation, and giving medical aid. Later, discussions are held on the rising cost of living and the growing inequities in Philippine society".

This is precisely the key to the NPA's success its close ties with the masses. As a revolutionary guerrilla army facing a larger and better equipped enemy, its most important weapon is the people's support. With that, the NPA are like "fish in the ocean" and can defeat any enemy no matter how big and powerful.

In developing the NPA and gaining mass support in any one area, the liberation fighters study carefully the local conditions, recruit local cadre from that area, and help to organize mass organizations of peasants, women, etc. to solve the most immediate problems at hand.

REVOLUTIONARY LAND REFORM

Organizing the peasants to implementing the revolutionary land reform program is one of the

(continued from page 11)

major tasks of the NPA. This is because problems of land distribution, high rents, and landlord/army abuses have always been pressing ones for the peasantry. The land reform program has different stages depending on how strong the NPA and revolutionary mass organizations are in the area. Minimally, the program calls for drastic reductions in rents to the point where the major portion of the harvest goes to the tenants and the wages of agricultural workers are raised. The NPA also severely punishes any physical abuses committed against the peasants and barrio women by the landlord, his goons, or the Marcos army. In "liberated" areas, where the peoples' forces are in full control, Revolutionary Barrio Councils are elected; big landlord estates are confiscated and the lands are divided up and distributed free to the landless and land-poor peasants; cooperatives and peasant militias are formed to prevent the landlords and Manila government from regaining control of the area.

This revolutionary process is presently unfolding in provinces and barrios throughout the whole country; it represents the flames of Peoples' War. The total suppression of civil liberties and democratic rights by the fascist Marcos dictatorship, has brought more and more Filipinos to hail the victories of the NPA and other anti-fascist armed groups. Each time the Armed Forces of the Philippines steal another chicken, rape another woman, burn another village, and committ another massacre, the people's hatred for the dictatorship grows deeper and the people's support for the NPA and the national democratic revolution grows stronger.

UNDERGROUND RESISTANCE

Martial law has also failed to destroy the revolutionary movement in the cities. To begin with, people were preparing for martial law fully one year in advance after Marcos had suspended the writ of habeas corpus in 1971. When it came, the legal mass movement was forced underground, yet in only two years time the anti-fascist resistance (with national democratic activists at its core) has managed to develop a fairly advanced network of underground organizing, propaganda, and intelligence work.

People active in the underground are in the midst of many of the workers, community, students, and political prisoners' protests that have continued under martial law. Careful research about the policies and trends within the

dictatorship is being carried on and numerous publications are being written and printed in the cities. Also government and military intelligence work is being developed and close links between the underground resistance in the cities and the armed struggle in the provinces has been maintained. (The information gathered for this supplement is in many ways an indication of the strength of the revolutionary underground movement.)

"... To the American people, we issue a special appeal: Resolutely oppose the leaders of U.S. imperialism for supporting and abetting the Marcos fascist regime. Stop them from converting our country into another Vietnam."



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT

In April of 1973, a Preparatory Commission was formed to lay the foundations for the eventual formation of the National Democratic Front (NDF). Once formed, the NDF will represent the united front of all the patriotic and democratic classes and sectors of Philippines' society who can be united around support for the national democratic revolution. The NDF will provide the basis for the eventual formation of a democratic and representative coalition government to replace the present semi-colonial, semi-fuedal puppet regime.

Following is the ten-point program which will serve as the foundation of unity upon which the National Democratic Front will be built:

1. Unite all anti-imperialist and democratic forces in order to overthrow the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and work for the establishment of a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation;

2. Expose and oppose U.S. imperialism as the mastermind behind the present fascist dictatorship, demand the nullification of all unequal treaties and arrangement with this imperialist power, and call for the nationalization of all its properties in the country;

3. Fight for the re-establishment of all the democratic rights of the people, such as freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, movement, religious belief, and the right to due process;

4. Gather all possible political and material support for the armed resistance and the underground against the U.S. - Marcos dictatorship;

5. Support a genuine land reform programme that can liberate the peasant masses from feudal and semi-feudal exploitation and raise agricultural production through cooperation;

6. Improve the people's livelihood, guarantee the right to work, and protect national capital against foreign monopoly capital;

7. Promote a national, scientific, and mass culture, and combat imperialist, feudal, and fascist culture;

8. Support the national minorities, especially those in Mindanao and the mountain provinces, in their struggle for self-determination and democracy;

9. Punish after public trial the ringleaders of the U.S.-Marcos fascist gang for their crimes against the people and confiscate all their ill-gotten wealth;

10. Unite with all peoples fighting imperialism and seek their support for the Philippine revolutionary struggle.

Two years of fascist repression under martial law has been met with two years of growing resistance. The Filipino people's just struggle for genuine independence and democracy continues to broaden and deepen under the U.S. backed Marcos dictatorship. It has overcome many difficulties and hardships and it will continue to do so and advance till final victory.

DOWN WITH THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP!

LONG LIVE THE FILIPINO PEOPLE!

REVOLUTIONARY FILIPINO ORGANIZATION IN AMERICA

KATIPUNAN NG MGA DEMOKRATIKONG PILIPINO (KDP)

"Ang Katipunan" is the national newspaper of the *Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino* (KDP).

KDP is a mass organization based in the U.S. and is committed primarily to the struggle for the basic and long-term needs of the Filipino people, both in the Philippines and here in the Americas.

Because of this, KDP supports the struggle of the Filipino people against the Marcos dictatorship and pledges to help build a broad-based movement among Filipinos in the U.S. to oppose martial law.

However, KDP sees that the root cause of all the misery and poverty in the Philippines is the imperialist control, exercised principally by the U.S., over the economy and politics of the country. The Filipino people can solve this basic problem only through long and difficult revolutionary struggle for a truly genuine democratic and independent Philippines.

Here in the U.S., KDP is committed to struggling for the democratic rights of the Filipino minority. Katipunan views the racial

and national discrimination experienced by the Filipino people, as part of and stemming from, the monopoly capitalist system in the U.S. KDP members understand that the U.S. government is in fact, not democratic, but in the hands of a tiny minority of monopoly industrialists and bankers.

KDP sees that the people of the U.S. also need fundamental, revolutionary change to solve the basic ills that plague American society. The Katipunan understands that the working class must firmly control the government before it can rightfully be termed a government "of the people and for the people."

KDP sees that greater numbers of Filipinos are coming to these same political understandings. KDP is an organization open to all who agree with our political programme. In addition, KDP is committed in working in close cooperation with all progressive Filipinos to build a strong Filipino people movement in America.

KDP has chapters in most major cities where there are Filipino communities. Inquiries regarding KDP should be sent in care of *Ang Katipunan*.

SOURCES:

The facts in this supplement have been compiled by our staff over the last two years since the declaration of martial law. Each source would be too numerous to mention, but following are the general categories and major sources.

International press: *Far Eastern Economic Review, New York Times, Washington Post, and Manchester Guardian*. Also the IDOC report of U.S. corporations in the Philippines under martial law done by the Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches.

Philippine sources: Principally from the underground press. *Balita ng Malayang Pilipinas (BMP), Liberation, Ang Bayan, and Economic Perspectives*.



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