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LIBERATION

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SIX YEARS OF OPPRESSION, SIX YEARS OF RESISTANCE



THIRTEEN YEARS AGO, Ferdinand E. Marcos began his reign as the President of the Philippines with the vow, "This nation can be great again."

Six years ago, Marcos signed Proclamation 1084 on September 21, 1972 and placed the country under martial law, "to save the republic and reform society".

Thirteen years of greatness? Six years of reform? Are these what Marcos rule has brought about for the Filipino people?

A close look at Marcos' economic and political record will reveal that his rule has brought nothing but hardship and suffering to the Filipino people. In particular, six years of his "new society", his "constitutional authoritarianism", his "crisis government", have brought nothing but six years of the most abject puppetry to U.S. interests, six years of unparalleled greed and corruption, six years of the continued suppression of basic human rights.

Against these six years of Marcos rule, the Filipino people in their millions are rising up in anger and protest. In the cities and in the countryside, resistance is spreading like wildfire among workers, peasants, national minorities, urban poor, youth and students, professionals, church people and other classes and sectors. A broad national united front is steadily building up among them -- a united front committed to the complete overthrow of the U.S.-Marcos regime and the establishment of a coalition government truly representative of the people's interests.

In this issue, LIBERATION takes a look at the economic and political crisis besieging the U.S.-Marcos regime in its sixth year of reign and the scope and breadth of the resistance movement rapidly expanding in the country today.

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REGIME IS MOST SERVILE TO U.S. IMPERIALISM



NO OTHER REGIME in the entire history of the Philippines has been most subservient to U.S. imperialism. Since the martial law regime came to power with the official blessing and support of U.S. imperialism, Marcos has been out to prove his worth as a puppet truly well-deserving of its continued assistance.

He has unilaterally reversed the Supreme Court decisions declaring illegal American ownership of private lands (Quasha case) and foreign participation in decision-making bodies of Filipino corporations (Lustevenco case). He has extended parity rights and opened strategic areas of industry -- banks, oil, steel, retail business -- to foreign control. To attract foreign investments, he has lavished foreign monopoly capitalists with vital concessions, unprecedented tax credits and tax holidays, unlimited repatriation of profits, unabated increases in the prices of their products, inflationary infrastructure projects and cheap, docile labor.

For his massive sell-out of the national patrimony, Marcos has been amply rewarded by his grateful master. Foreign investments have expanded 150% since martial law was declared; from \$5.45 million during 1970-1972, they ballooned to \$120 million from 1973-1975. About \$352 million or almost one-half of the \$771 million in direct equity investments by foreign corporations from 1970-1977 came from the U.S. At last count, U.S.-controlled financing institutions like the World Bank have funnelled close to \$7 billion in loans to the Marcos regime. Dollar earnings from the U.S. bases constitute a hefty \$250 million annually.

The U.S. State Department, despite all its noise about human rights, has declared its determination to support the Marcos regime because of the "vital American economic and military interests at stake in the Philippines". This is expressed in the U.S. economic aid to the regime which jumped from an annual average of \$716 million from 1973-1976, and U.S. military aid which jumped to an annual average of \$85 million from 1973-1977, compared to only \$30.5 million a year from 1970-1972.



REGIME HAS PLUNGED NATION INTO WORST ECONOMIC CRISIS

NO OTHER REGIME since World War II has plunged the country deeper into the worst economic crisis than the martial law regime. Its over-dependence on foreign capital and export-oriented, dollar-earning industries has wrought great havoc on the economy. Some of the facts:

- Foreigners are rapidly dominating the economy. From 28% of total investments registered in the Board of Investments in 1968, foreign capital has rocketed to more than 60% in 1977.

- Foreign debt has soared from \$2.2 billion in 1972 to a staggering \$7.78 billion as of end-December 1978. In 1965, the figure was only \$48 million. This means, each of 46 million Filipinos now owes \$169 to international creditors such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

- The balance of trade (exports against imports) deficit resulting from the continued slump of primary export prices widened to \$1.4 billion at the end of this year. This figure is three times larger than the \$453 million deficit for the same period last year.

● The balance of payments (total export receipts against expenses) registered a \$55 million deficit at the end of 1978. To offset this, the Central Bank has programmed about \$1 billion new borrowings next year -- an event which does not augur well for the mounting foreign debt.

● The value of the peso of 1965 has dropped to an all-time low of P.29 this year from P.59 in 1972. Put in another way, the peso of 1972 has been slashed in value by more than one-half as of 1978. This is in line with the regime's policy to keep the peso cheap in terms of foreign currencies and as an instrument of trade promotion.

Sufferings of People Intensify

AS A RESULT of all these, the sufferings of the people have considerably worsened.

● Prices have spiralled by 500% or five times since 1965. The cost of living has more than doubled since 1972 alone. At a rate of only 68.9% in 1972, the inflation rate has now risen to 242%.

● In contrast, the minimum wage inched up by only 25% from 1972-1978. Real wages have plunged from 21% in 1972 to 50% at present. This means, the present minimum wage of P10 is actually worth P2 only. Accurately, a survey indicated that the Philippines' wage level is the second lowest in Asia. This is deliberate in the part of the regime in order to make exports competitive abroad.

● Shortages of prime commodities are becoming more evident as these are diverted to profitable markets abroad. Sugar, cooking oil, milk, cement and other construction materials are only some of the products which frequently disappear in stores due to unwise exportation and unscrupulous hoarding by big traders, abetted by the Price Stabilization Commission.

● Unemployment has swelled to 11.5 million or a staggering 47% of the 24 million labor force, as culled from the figures of the National Census and Statistics Office. The number includes the 1.9 million underemployed, 1.5 million housewives and 538,000 jobless excluded by the regime from the ranks of the unemployed.

● The tax burden has grown heavier. Two-thirds of the entire taxes collected by the government are shouldered by the lower-income groups. In 1972, the tax burden stood at P6.6 billion; in 1974, it leaped to P14.3 billion. A large chunk of the people's taxes will go to pay for the P5.6 billion military budget and the P7 million infrastructure appropriation in the 1978 budget of P28.7 billion.

So lopsided has the regime's sense of priorities become, it probably thinks it can fill the empty bellies of the people with guns and bullets, roads and bridges.

Resurgence of Criminality

WITH THE RAPIDLY worsening economic situation, criminality is on the upsurge nationwide as more hard-pressed people are driven to commit acts of desperation. The PC-Integrated National Police reported last July that the crime rate in Metro Manila is back to pre-martial law levels: 1 murder is committed every 19 hours, 1 theft every 66 minutes, 1 robbery per 102 minutes and 1 rape per 30 hours.

What Progress? What Prosperity?

WHERE THEN, under the "compassionate society", is the "spectacular progress", the "tremendous gains", the "prosperity" Marcos is loudly boasting of?

Marcos points to the 14 new hotels worth over P4.5 billion; while 2 million urban poor are shackled in wretched barung-barungs in Metro Manila. Marcos points to the P5 billion Philippine International Convention Center, Folk Arts Theater, roads and bridges; while 12.5 million Filipinos or 30% of the population are living in poverty. Marcos points to the P100 million Heart Center; while tuberculosis, the country's No. 1 killer disease, struck 93,000 Filipinos dead in 1976 alone -- over 253 persons a-day. Marcos points to the export of 35,000 tons of rice this year; while 67 out of every 100 Filipinos have barely enough to eat. Marcos points to Imelda's donations of P11 million

to Tufts University and P7.37 million for the restoration of the Borobudur temple; while 6 million youths have dropped out of school due to high tuition fees. Marcos points to expanding tourism earnings; while an estimated 50,000 Filipinas in Metro Manila alone have turned to prostitution just to keep themselves and their families alive.

The Favored Few, the Forsaken Many

IT IS NOT difficult to see which classes and groups have benefited and are flourishing under martial rule.

Surely, not the workers who have been stripped of their rights to strike and to organize, whose wages are forced down to yield huge profits to foreign monopolists and local capitalists. Not the peasants who are denied of genuine peasant associations, who face the bleak prospect of ever owning the land they till due to heavy amortization payments imposed by the bogus land reform program. Not the urban poor whose communities are threatened to be erased from the map by "urban renewal" and "zonal improvement" projects. Not the cultural minorities whose lands, sources of livelihood and culture would be destroyed with the implementation of impact infrastructure projects. Not the students who are deprived of their academic rights, whose education has been geared to serve imperialist needs for cheap skilled labor. Not the small and middle Filipino businessmen who face total bankruptcy as they are elbowed out of business by foreign businessmen and their local partners.

Only the giant U.S. and Japanese monopolies, big Filipino landlords, big businessmen, big bureaucrats, the military, Marcos cronies and relatives have benefited and are flourishing under martial rule.

REGIME IS
UNSURPASSED IN
GREED, BRUTALITY



NO OTHER REGIME has been more greedy, corrupt and brutal in its hunger for political power. Marcos has concentrated all power in his hands -- executive, judicial and legislative.

As executive, he wields immeasurable presidential powers that allow him to control all of the agencies and instrumentalities of government. He can replace at will heads of local governments and any civil servant from public office. He concocted and ratified the 1973 Constitution, dubbing him Prime Minister and President. As jurist, Marcos has supplanted civilian authority with military authority by concentrating upon himself the sole authority on judicial matters. He has rendered the Supreme Court impotent by ignoring and even reversing its decisions. Under martial law, Marcos is virtually the "court of last resort". As legislator, Marcos embodies the national policy-making body of the government. The Interim Batasang Pambansa is nothing more but a rubber-stamp legislature packed to the hilt with the dictator's henchmen. As Prime Minister and President, Marcos has the upper hand in the assembly. He can legislate on his own, veto any measure passed and even dissolve the assembly.

As of January 1978, he has incorporated his extraordinary powers into 1,290 presidential decrees, 621 letters of instruction, 500 presidential proclamations and 60 general orders. Since 1973, he has rigged six sham referendums/plebiscites and one farce election, not to consult the people but to give a semblance of legitimacy to his rule.

The Captive Press

UNDER MARCOS' DIRECT control, and even ownership, are the nation's newspapers, radio and television stations and other forms of mass media. The media's function is to churn out government propaganda, smear and discredit

THIS IS WHERE YOUR TAXES are being SPENT..



OUR TAXES GO TO INFRASTRUCTURES SUCH AS ROADS...



...HOTELS AND TOURIST SPOTS...



...TO PROTECT THOSE IN POWER AND MAINTAIN PEACE WE SPEND BILLIONS FOR THE ARMY, CHDF, BARANGAY COUNCILS AND INTELLIGENCE...



...FOR PRISONS, SAFEHOUSES, AND TORTURE DEVICES...



THEN WE ALSO HAVE TO SPEND FOR MILITARY TRIBUNALS AND JUDGES TO DECIDE LAW DISPUTES...



...AND SPECIAL MEN APPOINTED TO LOOK FOR SUCH IMPORTANT THINGS AS AGRICULTURE...



...COMMERCE AND LABOR...



...LOANS TO MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES AND PAYMENT OF FOREIGN DEBTS...



...AND OF COURSE, FOR THE ONE WHO MAKES LAWS.

the dictator's critics, stifle dissent and manipulate public opinion. Press licensing and censorship have reduced the role of the press from watchdog to the lapdog and barker of the dictatorship. In 1975, the International Press Institute voted unanimously to withdraw recognition from the Philippine Committee on the grounds that a "free press does not exist in the Philippines".

The "Conjugal Dictatorship"

MARCOS' INSATIABLE LUST for power and wealth is matched only by his "my-heart-bleeds-for-the-people" wife, Imelda. Aside from being Metro Manila Governess, Mistress of the Ministry of Human Settlements, she is the de facto Deputy Prime Minister of the Interim Datasang Pambansa and self-anointed custodian of culture and the arts. Her unmitigated meddling in government and unbridled raids in the public treasury have turned martial law into a "conjugal tyranny", a partnership which has proved very profitable for the Marcos dynasty. In 1975, Time magazine reported that, from a P2,500 tax-payer before he became President, Marcos has become the richest man in Asia; Cosmopolitan listed Imelda as one of the "world's ten most reliably, notoriously, irrefragably rich women". The seizure of the multi-million peso properties of their political and business rivals like the Lopezes have immensely added to their wealth.

Militarization of Philippine Society

TO PROTECT HIS ill-gotten wealth and power, Marcos heavily banks on the rule of arms and force. The military budget has been enlarged from P80 million in 1972 to P5.6 billion in 1978 (with undisclosed funds for military intelligence). AFP personnel have been increased four times, from 62,000 in 1972 to about 260,000 in 1978. Marcos has lodged military officials in strategic positions in government and business enterprises. He has given them police powers and the police has been militarized with the integration of the national police system. The militarization of Philippine society is further evident in the creation of kangaroo military courts to try civilians, especially Marcos' political enemies, and in the intensification of civilian training programs as the mandatory Citizens Army Training in high schools.

It is said that when the laws are silent, the gun speaks and this is what has happened as military men, crazed with unprecedented power and privilege, perpetrate abuses ranging from smuggling and extortion to armed robbery, kidnapping with ransom and senseless murders against the people.

The brutality of the regime is equalled only by the Kempeitai during the Japanese occupation. Like the hated Kempeitai, Marcos has used the military to garrison the people and suppress civil and political rights. Since 1972, over 60,000 Filipinos, according to Defense Minister Enrile's own estimates, have been imprisoned for standing up for their rights; many of them underwent intensive torture. Despite condemnation of the regime's use of violence and intimidation by the Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines, Amnesty International, International Commission of Jurists, International Red Cross and even the U.S. State Department, cases of arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, kidnapping, massacres and "salvaging" of political activists persist, especially in the countryside.

THE ANSWER TO TYRANNY IS RESISTANCE



HAVE THE PEOPLE simply shut their eyes, locked their lips, thrown up their hands in despair to the tyranny and injustices of the Marcos dictatorship?

The past six years will bear out that the Filipino people have refused

to be lulled into complacency and submission while foreigners plunder the the country's natural resources, that they have refused to remain silent while their independence and freedom are destroyed.

Six years of martial law have only deepened the hatred and discontent of the broad masses of the Filipino people against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Six years of common suffering have turned this great hatred and discontent into unified, resolute resistance against the dictatorship.

Revolution is in the air. And the gusty winds of change are blowing it all over the land. In the countryside and in the cities, the dictatorship finds itself faced with the most widespread and most militant resistance against its rule.

REVOLUTIONARY ARMED STRUGGLE IS GROWING

ARMED STRUGGLE is gathering strength in all regions of the country outside Manila-Rizal. The two major groups waging armed struggle against the Marcos regime are the New People's Army, the military arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Bangsa Moro Army, military arm of the Moro National Liberation Front.

The New People's Army

FROM 60 MEMBERS and 35 firearms in the province of Tarlac in 1969, the New People's Army has expanded today to 41 provinces, with a total of 17 guerilla fronts, each composed of several inter-connected guerilla bases and zones. Within each region, the NPA has developed guerilla zones and rear bases in mountainous and forested terrain, where there is a wide area for manouevr and enemy rule is weak.



Its armed strength is estimated at a few thousand full-time guerillas. At present, regular NPA formations range from small teams to regular guerilla squads. The NPA is armed primarily with weapons seized from the government military.

The key to the growth of the NPA lies in the broad and deep support it receives from the people who recognize the need for an armed revolution which will thoroughly dismantle the armed machinery of the dictatorship's power. Such a broad and deep support has enabled the people's army to surmount serious difficulties and setbacks, such as encirclement and suppression campaigns and the capture of top leaders Jose Ma. Sison and Commander Dante.

Though still in the early strategic defensive stage of the people's war, the NPA is steadily mounting tactical offensives wherein the initiative is completely in its hands. Through ambushes, assaults and raids against the mercenary armed troops of the regime, it wipes out small, scattered enemy units, increases its weaponry and punishes informers and other bad elements.

The NPA, however, is not only a fighting force but, in fact, devotes most of its time and resources to organizing the peasantry -- the biggest motive force of the revolution. Under the guidance of the Communist Party of the Philippines, NPA guerillas help organize peasants to solve their land problems and also provide medical services, political education and literacy classes. From the ranks of the peasantry, the NPA draws its greatest number of armed contingents.

The NPA's capacity for self-reliant growth is revealed in the increasing number of victories it has accumulated in the last several months. In Central Luzon, well-planned military operations from February to June have resulted in 37 enemies killed and many others wounded; numerous rifles and ammunition have been captured. In Mindanao, 38 PC soldiers, policemen, CHDF members and other enemy agents have been killed in the past months. In Eastern Visayas, the increasing military capability of the NPA is shown in its seizure of the towns of Arteche and San Policarpio in Samar province last November 1977, without firing a single shot. In the Mountain Provinces, many oppressed Igorot masses have joined the NPA and successfully carried out

military operations against the regime's troops.

Moro People Resume Battle

THE MORO NATIONAL Liberation Front and its military arm, the Bangsa Moro Army, have also put up firm resistance to the depredations of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Since the outbreak of open hostilities in 1972, about 80% of the AFP has been tied down in Mindanao and Sulu. The civil war has drained government resources by P1 million a day and has resulted in over 5,000 government soldiers killed, 60,000 civilian casualties and 1.7 million refugees.

With an estimated armed strength of 15,000 men, the MNLF-BMA poses not only a military problem to the regime but a major political one as well. Formal recognition and support from the 42-nation Islamic Conference and members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries carry with them the threat of a cut-off of oil exports to the regime and the denunciation of its war of genocide against the Moro people before the United Nations.

To erode this support, the regime has tried to make a big show of granting Moro autonomy even as it maneuvers to divide and manipulate the ranks of the MNLF. It entered into a peace agreement with the MNLF in Tripoli, Libya in December 1976 with the covert intention of using the ceasefire period to destroy the movement. It rigged one of its farce referendum-plebiscites in April 1977 to approve a kind of "regional autonomy" completely under its control and denying MNLF participation. It set up the Bangsa Moro Liberation Organization in order to undermine the MNLF and capture its leadership.

In the face of the regime's treachery in implementing the Tripoli agreement and its renewal of military operations in September 1977, the MNLF-BMA has resumed fierce battle against the regime and the fascist military. In the past months, it has inflicted severe battlefield losses against AFP units in Southwestern Mindanao, Basilan and Sulu. Last March, Moro freedom fighters annihilated some 1,000 AFP troops, belonging to six battalions, in two separate encounters in Lanao del Sur.

The National Democratic Front, in its Ten-Point Program, has affirmed its steadfast support for the struggle of the Moro people for self-determination. The NDF recognizes their "right to secede from a state of national oppression" and is prepared to further develop relations with the MNLF, the BMA and other Moro organizations.

Peasants, Minorities Are Rising Up

SUPPORTING THE REVOLUTIONARY armed struggle is the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside.

The peasant masses, with the help of the New People's Army, are boycotting Masagana 99 and Samahang Nasyon and are carrying out a genuine land reform movement step by step. This year, peasant communities have launched vigorous mass actions against the regime's projects that threaten their livelihood and environment. In Sanal, Bataan, the barrio people have successfully scouted anti-pollution demonstrations and a workers' strike against the Bataan Pulp and Paper Mills; last May, a 2,000-strong demonstration forced the shutdown of the mills. Anti-nuclear groups as the Concerned Citizens of Morong, Bataan have so far collected 25,000 signatures in their drive against installing a Westinghouse nuclear reactor in the Philippines. In Western Visayas, sugar workers and peasants, supported by slum dwellers, students and religious, have staged large march-rallies in Dacolod, Negros Occidental on March 5 (5,600 people), May 1



(10,000) and June 12. They demanded a stop to military terrorism and abuses in the Panay and Negros countrysides and the implementation of land reform and higher wages. In Western Samar, 1,300 peasants, fishermen and their supporters gathered at the Catbalogan church to denounce military atrocities in Calbiga, landgrabbing and the entry of big trawlers into traditional fishing grounds.

The national minorities are also very active in the revolutionary struggle. In the Mountain Provinces, Igorot resistance has stalled the construction of the World Bank-funded dams on the Chico, Pasil and Tanudan rivers that would destroy the lands and homes of 90,000 tribespeople. Last June, the Kalinga and Bontoc people sealed a bodong (peace pact) reaffirming their united resistance to the dams. They censured PANAMIN and military attempts to bribe, intimidate and divide them. The Bilaans and T'bolis of South Cotobato have also made a firm stand against the damming of Lake Sebu for hydroelectric purposes. The Tingguians in Abra, Manobos in the South, Ilongots in Nueva Vizcaya and Negritos in Zambales are protesting the grabbing of their lands by logging companies and big landlords.



In Zamboanga, the Subanons are repulsing the regime's campaign to forcibly evacuate them from their homes so as to deny the NPA a mass base. Many of them are refusing to leave their farms while others are escaping en masse from the regime's concentration camps.

In the course of and as a result of these mass struggles, the peasants and national minorities are rapidly expanding their mass movements and mass organizations. Counter-insurgency operations -- forced mass evacuations, kidnapping, massacres, looting, bombardment, arson -- have only pushed them to take up arms and join the people's army.

The development of the revolutionary mass movement and the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside is laying the foundations for greater military victories and the people's political power.

UPSURGES OF PROTEST ROCK THE CITY

MILITANT OPEN PROTEST actions have erupted in Metro Manila, the center of the dictatorship's power, as more and more people rise up and organize themselves to fight the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. These mass struggles in the cities best complement and contribute to the advancement of the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. Through these mass struggles, the revolutionary mass movement in the cities can raise the people's fighting spirit, develop the underground movement and prepare thousands of activists to join the people's army in the countryside.

1 Million People Join Election Protest

THE GROWTH IN the urban mass movement is most evident in the upsurge of demonstrations which shook the city during the April 7 elections.

Progressive workers, slum dwellers, students, teachers, church people, professionals and other sectors seized the regime's pretensions to "free debate" and translated the elections into a widespread protest movement against tyrannical martial rule. Organized under the banner of the Kilusan ng Mamamayan para sa Kalayaan, they launched rallies, marches, mass meetings, saturation drives which saw the participation of over one million people. Among the biggest rallies were those held on: March 3, Plaza Bustillos, 10,000 and March 10, Plaza Miranda, 15,000 (mostly students); March 30, Plaza Sta. Cruz, 45,000 (mostly workers); April 5, Liwasang Bonifacio, 60,000 (multi-sectoral). The campaign was topped by the April 6 "noise offensive" wherein hundreds of thousands of people from all walks of life poured



into the streets shouting, banging pots and pans, tooting car horns to dramatize their support for the opposition party Lakas ng Bayan (LABAN) and their hatred and condemnation of the dictatorship.

The 45-day campaign revealed the scope and magnitude of the people's opposition to the regime. During that period, the underground network grew at least two-fold; national democratic cells, organizing groups and contacts were established in factories, schools and communities previously unreachable. Marcos may have won in the rigged polls but the real victory lies in the hearts and minds that the revolutionary mass movement won during the campaign.

Sectoral Struggles Advance

SINCE NOVEMBER 1975, there have been 17 huge demonstrations in which the people openly defied the ban on mass actions and aired their determination to struggle against the dictatorship. Among them: Dec. 6, 1975, Plaza Miranda, 6,000 people; Oct. 10, 1976, Plaza Miranda, 12,000; May 1, 1977, Rizal Park, 20,000; Sept. 23, 1977, Avenida Rizal, 35,000; and the election rallies. In addition to these, scores of lightning rallies of several hundreds have been staged in populous commercial areas such as downtown Manila and Cubao.

These demonstrations have galvanized the various local struggles of the workers, urban poor, youth and students, church people and other sections of the middle forces into one powerful movement for revolutionary change. Water cannons, truncheons, mass arrests, blacklists have not daunted these various classes, sectors and groups from pushing forward vigorous, militant struggles. Out of these struggles, a number of activists are stepping forward to take the road of armed revolution.

Workers. Since the historic La Tondeña strike in October 1975, the workers have stood in the forefront of the strikes and demonstrations. This was again shown during the election campaign when 20 strikes by 20,000 workers in vital industries erupted in various parts of the city. Of all the groups active in the campaign, it was the workers who most effectively utilized the election period to press for their economic and political rights and welfare. The number of strikes in that one-and-a-half period was the biggest since December 1975. The strikers' correct timing and uncompromising militance forced the capitalists to grant most of their demands, among them, the granting of salary hikes, emergency allowances and benefits, lifting of preventive suspension, and improvement of working conditions. Workers have transformed purely economic struggles into political struggles as they raise demands for the return of the right to strike and other trade union rights, repeal of the anti-labor code and other policies and the abolition of the government-controlled Trade Union Congress of the Philippines. Mostly unsanctioned by the Department of Labor, 161 strikes have been recorded from 1975 to 1977. But the Bureau of Labor Relations says that from Dec. 17, 1975 to Dec. 1, 1976, out of 312 strike notices filed, 277 were actually staged.



Urban Poor. Thousands of urban poor residents are carrying out stiff resistance to the regime's campaign to evict and relocate them to areas far from their sources of livelihood. In San Juan last January, slum dwellers put up barricades to prevent bulldozers from demolishing their houses and stoned Metrocom soldiers. At Tatalon early August, residents formed a human barricade against the bulldozers. In Cebu City and Davao City, slum dwellers marched in protest to their city halls. Resistance is also hardening among the 200,000 "squatters" of Tondo and neighbouring communities who are in their seventh year of resistance against the World Bank-funded Tondo Foreshore Urban Renewal Project. Under the leadership of the Ugnayan ng mga Maralitang Taga-lunsod, the urban poor are pressing the government to halt demolitions, terminate its grandiose programs which would only benefit



foreign investors and tourists and to implement a humane housing program.

Youth and Students. Since the massive boycott movement of 200,000 students in the third quarter of 1977, students have persisted in their struggle against arbitrary and unjust tuition fee hikes, the denial of academic freedoms and the commercialization of education. Under the impetus of these struggles, teachers are now openly protesting their own fixed, meager incomes and conscription into the government's election machinery. At the Philippine College of Commerce, Araneta University and University of the Philippines at Dagupan, teachers walked out of their classes in July and August demanding the granting of salary adjustments and the dismissal of inept school administrators. At UP Los Baños, teachers also gave their support to the boycott of 4,000 students last August to pressure the school administration into restoring genuine student councils and publications. After the April elections, some concerned public school teachers circulated open letters decrying the regime's brazen cheating at the polls.



Progressive Church people. The regime's Red-scare tactics to divide and confuse church ranks have not swayed the progressive section from pursuing their Christian mission to serve the dispossessed and the exploited. Concretely, they are giving full support to people's organizations and integrating themselves in the people's struggles. They are directing their social action organizations, programs, publications and task forces towards this commitment. The Christians for National Liberation, the underground organization of church people, is gaining ground as more priests, pastors, nuns and others seek to raise their political consciousness and deepen their involvement in the revolutionary struggle for national democracy.



Legal Opposition. Members of the legal opposition, especially the genuine civil libertarians among them, are denouncing the perpetuation of one-man rule, the regime's subservience to U.S. imperialism and the gross violation of human rights in their own publications and forums. Especially active is the Civil Liberties Union of the Philippines which has consistently called for the total lifting of martial law, the restoration of democratic rights and the removal of U.S. military bases in the Philippines. Having witnessed the boundless energy, enthusiasm and initiative of the people during the elections, progressive legal oppositionists are realizing the need to establish close links with the people -- the real agents of change.



Political Prisoners. Prison bars have not deterred the political prisoners from persevering in their struggle against the fascist regime.



A steady stream of manifestos, petitions and other propaganda materials continue to flow from prison camps exposing the regime's policy of torture and brutality towards political dissenters and challenging the dictator to make real his promises of "general amnesty". With the help of sympathizers, especially the religious, political prisoners have been able to broadcast inhuman prison conditions and their firm convictions to the entire world. Their militant and determined mass actions, such as hunger strikes, have resulted in some releases and improvement of prison conditions.

Resistance Abroad. Patriotic Filipinos abroad have not made physical distance from the motherland a barrier to their struggle against the martial

law regime. In the United States, Japan, Hongkong and Europe, the International Association of Filipino Patriots, Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino, Friends of the Filipino People, Anti-Martial Law Coalition of the Philippines (AMLC) and other progressive organizations are waging a propaganda and organizational drive to dismantle the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and to solicit international support and assistance for the Philippine revolutionary struggle. A strong anti-martial law lobby is pressuring the U.S. Congress to halt economic and military aid to the Marcos regime and withdraw U.S. bases from the Philippines. Spearheaded by the AMLC, sit-ins, pickets and demonstrations have taken place in Philippine consulates and embassies as during the elections, Independence Day and the anniversary of martial law.



Everywhere, the tide of resistance is surging as more and more people dare to rise in struggle and seize in their own hands the destiny of their country. Their determined, militant struggles are widening and deepening the mass foundation of the people's democratic revolution. To be sure, in direct proportion to the surging resistance is the intensifying repression. But arrests, detention, torture, preventive suspensions have only served to inflame the people and unite them to greater resistance.

U.S.-MARCOS Regime schemes to prolong its rule, deceive the people

THE ADVANCE OF the revolutionary struggle, in addition to the worsening economic crisis, has triggered a chain of problems for the dictator.

Abroad, constant exposures of the corruption and ruthlessness of his regime are pushing the freedom-loving peoples of the world to pressure their governments to stop aiding such a regime. Favorable reports of the courage and dedication of the resistance are drawing more and more material support to the Philippine revolution. At home, the worsening economic crisis is narrowing down Marcos' base of support as some of the ruling classes desert him in anger over the division of the spoils. Politically, Marcos is becoming increasingly isolated. Militarily, the resumption of the Mindanao war is draining his resources and stretching his forces; he has failed to quell the New People's Army.

This has alarmed U.S. big business and the Carter administration. U.S. investors and funding agencies are apprehensive about his failure to repulse domestic opposition and his capability to guarantee the stability of their interests here. The Carter administration, in the light of its much-touted "human rights" policy, is finding it harder to justify its support of the unpopular Marcos regime before the critical American people, U.S. Congress and the world.

Marcos is pressured to clean up his tarnished image, or else, he may have to be replaced by other Filipino leaders who can better protect U.S. interests. Marcos knows the warning from his U.S. master is not in vain; U.S. imperialism is perfectly capable of changing him, even at the cost of instigating a coup d'etat. At the same time, he badly needs continued U.S. economic, political and military support which is the lifeblood of his regime.

So, Marcos has to do something about his falling credibility -- and fast.

"Normalisation" or Bust

IT IS AGAINST this background that Marcos has unveiled his "normalisation"

policy. By "normalization". Marcos tries to make it appear that the country is "moving irretrievably towards democracy" and the "eventual lifting of martial law". Among others, this package includes such items as the "general amnesty" for political prisoners and the elections for the Interim Batasang Pambansa.

Marcos' "normalization" policy is part of his tactic of deception which he employs to put up a facade of democracy and shield his repressive rule from a critical public. Marcos fears that his usual tactic of repression would only further rouse international condemnation and weaken U.S. support for his regime.

In reality, Marcos has no wish to formally lift martial law and relinquish his dictatorial powers. In essence and in practice, his "normalization" scheme is but the institutionalization and further entrenchment of repressive rule in favor of U.S. imperialism. A rubber-stamp parliament, the Interim Batasang Pambansa is charged with the task of legitimizing the benefits and privileges gained by U.S. imperialism under Marcos rule.

By rigging the political circus of the IBP, Marcos dons the cloak of legitimacy and respectability required of him by the U.S. It puts him in a better position to protect, preserve and expand U.S. holdings. In return, he can now borrow more loans and receive more investments without any qualms.

Marcos knows that he is still the best and most loyal puppet of U.S. imperialism around town. But he is irked by the fact that even if he has served its interests well, the U.S. is making such a fuss over the \$1 million rent Marcos is asking in return for U.S.' continued use of its military bases here. After all what he has done for them, Marcos thinks he has rightfully earned the U.S.' unconditional support. This explains his sudden nationalist and anti-American rhetoric which is nothingmore but the whinings of a spoiled

brat insisting on Uncle Sam to give him his lollipop for being good.

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Marcos Rivals Jockey for Power

MARCOS' SUDDEN anti-Americanism, especially in the light of Carter's "human rights" campaign, has misled Marcos' political rivals that the U.S. is about to overthrow and replace Marcos. They fail to see that Carter's "human rights" campaign is but a propaganda gimmick intended to project the U.S. as a "benevolent" and "humane" nation to the world, even as it continues to sustain such repressive dictators as Pinochet of Chile and Park Chung Hee of South Korea and pour economic and military aid for the suppression of national liberation movements. They fail to see the campaign as directed more against U.S. imperialism's super-power rival, the Soviet Union.

For some time now, such anti-Marcos reactionaries as Macapagal, Manglapus, Aquino, Salonga and Roxas have been predicting Marcos' collapse even without any basis in fact. One of them even went so far as to set the date in 1977, for the simple reason that "a double 7 may yet turn out to be Marcos' unlucky number"!

These reactionaries pin their hopes on U.S. imperialism to bring about the downfall of the Marcos re-

gime. They parrot Carter's "human rights" line in the hope of currying favor in Washington. They try to convince the Carter Administration and every U.S. official who comes to visit here that the dictator is rapidly becoming a liability and cannot insure for long a stable climate for U.S. holdings.

In truth, what they desire is to replace Marcos at the helm of power. Their main objective is to secure privileges for themselves, not to fight for the basic rights of the people. In fact, they are even afraid of the people, branding the people's struggles as "communist-inspired". They merely ride on the great popular discontent to show the U.S. they have a mass following.

U.S. imperialism encourages their illusions. It realizes that while Marcos may be its staunchest puppet at the moment, he may prove to be a liability in the long run. It is to the interest therefore of U.S. imperialism to maintain Marcos' political rivals as a string of horses in reserve from which it could take its pick should Marcos outlive his usefulness. There is also the blackmail value of keeping horses in reserve in order to pressure Marcos to toe the line.

U.S. imperialism maintains and cultivates these anti-Marcos groups on two conditions: that they never join or even extend support to the revolutionary mass movement, especially the Communist Party of the Philippines, and that they propagate the line of peaceful, parliamentary struggle. Hence, these groups' hue and cry for "peaceful, general elections" to maneuver themselves peacefully into power.

U.S. Imperialism's Stable of Horses

WHO ARE THESE anti-Marcos groups comprising U.S. imperialism's stable of horses in reserve? They are split into several factions, each competing for the favor of their anti-imperialist master.

There is the camp of former Senator Benigno Aquino. Feverishly hoping that power-mad dictator Marcos should grant them seats in "parliament", this camp set up the LABAN party during the elections. Despite six years of hardship in prison, Aquino has shown that he is willing to compromise with the dictator, so long as he gets out of prison.

There is the camp of former President Diosdado Macapagal, consisting mainly of former Con-Con delegates. Unashamedly pro-U.S., Macapagal is banking on the "good graces" of the U.S. to change Marcos and pick his successor from the thoroughly discredited Interim National Assembly, of which he is the head. He will go down "even on bended knees" to press the reactionary armed forces to overthrow and replace Marcos.

There is the camp of former Senator Raul Manglapus which is closely allied to the Lopez and Osmeña families. Based in the U.S., this camp is trying to buy Filipino newspapers abroad to propagate their program against Marcos. Rabidly anti-communist, this camp is vilifying progressive organizations abroad and attacking their campaign to withdraw U.S. bases from the Philippines.

There is the camp of former Senator Gerardo Roxas who insists on rebuilding the Liberal Party as a power base from which to launch attacks against the Marcos regime. Their plans, however, do not go beyond mere participation in bourgeois elections and parliamentary processes.

There is the camp of former Senator Jovite Salonga. Together with some Liberal Party elements, he has formed the Kati-punan ng Bayan Para sa Kalayaan (KABAKA). In truth, this is an alliance with the leaders of the so-called United Philippine Democratic Socialist Party (UPDSP) or the "social democrats" who boast of their army and united front. But actually, they lie in wait for a CIA-instigated coup d'etat to topple the Marcos regime. Their top echelon, of which Jesuit Romeo Intengan is a key figure, continues to sow intrigue against'



the revolutionary mass movement and conspire with CIA-backed elements in the U.S., notably Raul Manglapus, for the overthrow of Marcos. Manglapus has promised the UPDSP leaders government positions in the event of their victory against the regime.

One other group deserves special mention, although it is not anti-Marcos at all. This is the Lava camp of the politically moribund old Communist Party. Posing as "communists", they have been collaborating with the Marcos regime even before the declaration of martial law. Their surrender at Malacang later on formalized the collusion. Considering Marcos a nationalist, the remnants of their armed groups and mass organizations work closely with the Marcos government, overseeing New Society projects. MASAKA (Malayang Samahan ng mga Magsasaka) and AMA (Anitan ng mga Manggagawa) cooperate with the Ministry of Agricultural Reform. SIKAP (Samahan sa Ikaunlad ng Kabataang Pilipino), their youth group, links up with the Kabataang Barangay; while the KBP (Katiipunan ng Bagong Pilipina), headed by Aida Lava-Dizon, closely works with the First Lady. While the Union Impresores de Filipinas works with yellow trade unions, their armed groups such as the HMB (Hukbong Magpapalaya sa Bayan) are tied up with the Constabulary and participate in raids against the New People's Army, as well as murder peasant militants in the countryside.



Merlin Magallona, Felicisimo Macapagal, Francisco Lava Jr., Aida Lava-Dizon and Ruben Torres -- their Central Committee members -- travel regularly to the Soviet Union with the blessings of the dictator. These traitors also receive financial aid from the Soviet Union. As a reward for their write-up against the Communist Party of the Philippines, the People's Republic of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, which was published by the Soviet Union in different languages, they received \$40,000 to \$60,000 from the Russian government. Their "cadres" suddenly came up with new houses and new furnishings. Even as they claim to be anti-imperialist, the Lavaites unholy alliance with Marcos, the U.S.' chief puppet, means that in practice they support U.S. imperialism.

It is important that the people know well and examine closely the nature of all these anti- and pro-Marcos reactionaries. Some of them pose as fighters for democracy and liberation and confuse the people. The most die-hard among them, especially those who consistently undermine the unity of the anti-fascist forces, should be isolated.

Elections and Coups as Alternatives to Marcos' Downfall

AT PRESENT, the various anti-Marcos groups are desperately banking on elections or a coup d'etat to put an end to tyrannical martial rule. Are their hopes justified? Can elections or a coup d'etat provide the way out of tyrannical martial rule?

Elections do not and cannot provide the way out of tyrannical martial rule. As the recent elections for delegates to the IRP have shown, elections under the martial law regime are nothing but a mass sham exercise in which the most zealous supporters of the U.S.-Marcos clique come out as winners. Since the time of the Roxas administration, elections have been used as a tool to deceive the people about genuine representation when, in fact, they only facilitate the replacement of one ruling elite with another.

In a country wherein U.S. imperialism has remained the sole dominant force in reactionary politics, no genuinely free, honest and democratic elections, which will provide for genuine popular representation, are possible. Only controlled, farcical and elitist elections, which guarantee the protection and enlargement of U.S. economic, political and military interests, are possible.

Under the present order wherein U.S. imperialism remains the single biggest benefactor of the martial law regime, as evidenced by the large economic concessions it has gained since September 21, 1972, it is remote to

expect that elections would hasten the end of martial rule. It is remote to expect a power-mad dictator such as Marcos to step down from power out of respect for the people's wishes as expressed in elections. Much more remote is it to expect that the IBP or some other puppet legislative body to effect such basic changes in society as the nationalization of strategic industries or the adoption of a truly genuine land reform program.

Is A Coup d'etat Any Better?

IS A COUP D'ETAT the answer to the people's desire for deep-going changes in government? A coup d'etat does not as much offer the people liberation from the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. This swift course of action, participated in by a small group of conspirators, cannot but fail in any attempt to topple the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship which has an overwhelming preponderance of political and military power.

Any coup d'etat, to be successful, has to have the blessings or, if not, instigated itself by U.S. imperialism and its covert military arm, the Central Intelligence Agency. Such a coup, then, is merely meant to replace the chief puppet with another and will not lead to the reversal of all programs, policies and decisions made by the overthrown regime in favor of U.S. and other foreign big business. The people must be on guard against a mere shuffling of puppets.

At present, the U.S. is not about to topple and replace Marcos, their most loyal and staunch puppet at the moment. Should Marcos fail to "deliver the goods", only then will he be toppled and replaced, either through a coup d'etat or bourgeois elections.

But this does not mean fascist martial law, in essence, will end. Martial law may be lifted, it may change in form or in name under the new government installed by U.S. imperialism, but the exploitation of the Filipino people, the suppression of the revolutionary mass movement and armed struggle will continue. U.S. imperialism's new placeman will see to this.



No Way Out But Struggle

THE RELIANCE of the leaders of the anti-Marcos groups on elections and coups to change Marcos have generated criticism from their rank-and-file members.

If these rank-and-file members go deep among the masses, engage and steel themselves in mass struggles, they will realize that the liberation of the Filipino people cannot be won through conspiratorial activities (like a coup) which do not take into account the people's collective role in bringing about revolutionary change. They will realize that liberation cannot be won through collaboration with the people's enemies, particularly U.S. imperialism. Liberation can only be won through the determined, militant and collective struggles of the people acting in their militias.

THE TASKS OF ALL FREEDOM- LOVING FILIPINOS



LIBERATION from the hated U.S.-Marcos dictatorship -- nothing less will satisfy the broad masses of the Filipino people. Not bourgeois elections, not putschist coups d'etat, nothing less but the complete overthrow of the dictatorship and the establishment of genuine freedom and democracy.

In response to the needs of the Filipino people's struggle for liberation and democracy, the Preparatory Commission for a National Democratic Front was organized in early 1973. It is made up of various patriotic organizations and individuals, representing all classes and sectors of Philippine society, who realized the need to unite and build up an alliance that will work for the establishment of national democracy. A ten-point program was drafted to serve as the basis of principled unity among all democratic forces in the country.

Based on the NDF ten-point program, we have drawn up the urgent tasks confronting each progressive class, sector and individual as the dictatorship completes its sixth year. In each of these urgent tasks, we affirm the strength of the people's collective, organized struggles as the most effective in paving the way for the collapse of the dictatorship.

► The workers must further develop the strike movement by launching militant protest actions, whether illegal or legal, to advance their own interests and the people's as a whole. They should demand for a just wage, for job security, for better working and living conditions and for the restoration of the right to strike and to organize. They should expand their organizations and promote contacts among workers of various factories, within labor federations and along industrial lines.

► The peasants must carry forward their struggle against landgrabbing and eviction, against usury and high rents and for the ownership of the land they till. They must reject such schemes as the "samahang nayon" and the "masagana 99". They should build their own associations to increase agricultural production and develop self-reliance within the barrio.

► The cultural minorities should undertake more concerted, more militant mass actions to stop government programs that would uproot them from their ancestral lands. They can strengthen even more the bodong (peace pacts) by turning these into militant people's organizations and alliances that take the line of the national democratic revolution. They are completely correct in taking up arms but should develop this into a widespread armed resistance movement.

► The urban poor must further strengthen the movement against demolitions, evictions and inhuman housing and proceed to transform their economically backward communities into advanced political bastions of the revolutionary mass movement in the cities. The most advanced among them should be encouraged to return to the countryside, where most of them have fresh natu-



ral links with the peasantry, and take part in the armed struggle.

► The youth and students should intensify their protests against tuition fee hikes and other unjust school measures as well as to demand for the revival of free student organizations and publications. Whenever possible, they should raise the level of their protest actions to expose and oppose the colonial nature of the educational system and the repressive Marcos regime. To deepen their consciousness, they must integrate themselves with the workers, slum dwellers and, if possible, with the peasants in the rural areas. They could make use of the regime's reactionary programs like the YCAP to do social investigation or spread revolutionary propaganda among the people.

► The teachers and other academic personnel must demand for higher wages and better working conditions. They should demand for academic freedom in teaching, in research and other related activities to counter the meddling of U.S. imperialism and the regime's "streamlining" of the educational system. They should also give full support to the struggles of the students against reactionary school administrators and policies.

► The church people -- priests, nuns, pastors, seminarians and lay people -- must further broaden their social work and orient it to the struggles of our people for justice and freedom. They must resolutely protest the interference of the dictatorship on their mission of evangelization among the poor and the oppressed. The progressive religious should undertake all steps to win over the rank-and-file members of reactionary groups like the "social democrats" who have been misled and manipulated away from the service of the people.

► Employees serving in the government bureaucracy and in private offices must demand salaries that shall enable them to cope with the rising standard of living. They must demand the right to form unions in government offices. As their ranks become more organized and united, they can stage protest actions against the regime's attempts to enlist them in its programs and to escalate so many taxes and fees. They should find ways and means of effectively utilizing the facilities of their offices in helping the revolutionary underground movement.

► Small and middle businessmen must demand the nationalization of strategic industries and expose and resist the dictatorship's pre-imperialist policies. They should unite, consolidate their ranks and undertake persistent, resolute actions for the promotion and protection of national capital.

► Members of the legal opposition should concretize their avowals of concern for the exploited masses and start integrating themselves in the people's struggles. They should boldly expand their membership and launch activities that would generate full popular participation. They could use their close links in the bureaucracy and the military by organizing within these very structures.

► Filipino compatriots abroad must further widen and deepen their propaganda and organizational efforts against the regime. Those in the U.S. should intensify their campaign to halt U.S. military and economic aid to the regime by winning over the support and sympathy of the American people.

They should actively enlist the moral and material support of the world's peoples to the Philippine revolutionary struggle.

The common task of all freedom-loving Filipinos is to fuse their various struggles into one broad movement that will carry forward the national democratic line against fascism, feudalism and imperialism and carry out armed struggle relentlessly.

They should work for the overthrow of the present dictatorship and the establishment of a coalition government truly representative of the people's interests, for the restoration of the people's democratic rights, for the nullification of all unequal treaties, for the release of all political prisoners and other measures that would redound to the benefit of the entire people.

They should give their all-out support for the armed revolution and the underground. Those who are committed to the people's ultimate victory should realize that its only guarantee is the success of the armed struggle. This support can take the form of combat and noncombat volunteers for the people's army, arms and ammunition, materials and equipment for propaganda work, medicine and medical equipment, communications facilities, clothes and other things, or funds for these.

The hated U.S.-Marcos regime will not last a day longer if all freedom-loving Filipinos are united and determined to carry out these urgent tasks.

Revolution is in the air. The people's revolutionary movement for change is blowing it all over the land. See the dictator and his imperialist master tremble in their fortresses like leaves in the wind. For the dictatorship, the storm of people's war will bring imminent destruction. For the Filipino people, it heralds the dawn of a free, just and prosperous Philippines.



PREPARATORY COMMISSION
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The Oppressed Masses
and the New People's Army
are One.

