

**First Quarter
STORM of 1970**

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Kabataang Makabayan

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INTRODUCTION

The historic mass actions of January 26 and 30-31, February 12, 18 and 26 and March 3 and 17 have focused public attention on the role the Communist Party of the Philippines played in said events and in the progressive mass movement in general.

It is to be recalled that in the background of the recent upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement is the emergence and rapid development of the patriotic youth movement in the last decade which raised the banner of national democracy and rallied around it the working class, peasantry and other progressive sectors against U.S. imperialism and its local allies, the landlords, comprador bourgeoisie and bureaucrat capitalists.

Public attention has been greatly aroused after the newspapers reported on the Congress of the Re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968. Since then, various shades of opinions and commentaries about the Communist Party of the Philippines have been said and printed. Quite expectedly, they have occupied greater time and space in comparison to the time and space given by the mass media to the original documents and statements of the CPP.

With the view of providing an initial basis for appreciating the role played by the CPP in the above mentioned historic mass actions and in the progressive movement in general, the editors gathered all kinds of documents publicly distributed in the course of the demonstrations, sifted those coming from the CPP and made this present compilation.

We note that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the Communist Party of the Philippines are fast gaining influence among the Filipino youth and working people. This is evidenced by the fears often expressed by those who wield power and wealth and those who desperately attempt to divert the progressive movement from its revolutionary path. However, the reactionaries have a shallow response to the CPP or Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought by meeting it with force, derisively dismissing it as "foreign" or by resorting to the easier excuse of "exceptionalism".

We believe, however, that the universal truth of any ideology can be proven by its applicability to concrete conditions. We believe, too, that the concept of "exceptionalism", which does not recognize the validity of general laws derived from and proven in constant social practice, is nothing but a variation of the same ideological fallacy of branding these laws as "foreign".

In publishing this book, we have considered the consequent outcry from the loyal defenders of the *status quo*. If we will be witch-hunted for putting out this book, then it will only again illustrate the sad state of freedom of the press and freedom of thought we are supposed to enjoy under our laws.

We believe that truth can best be served by allowing the amplest opportunity for and fullest freedom in the battle of ideas. To that goal the publication of this book is dedicated.

THE EDITORS

MARCOS IS A FASCIST PUPPET OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

Since U.S. imperialism is in a grave economic and political crisis, it is inevitable that its Philippine puppet government finds itself in the same morass. That is because the imperialist master must squeeze more profits and political advantage from its semi-colony like the Philippines. In a futile attempt to facilitate the intensification of exploitation and oppression, both master government and subject government collude in a partnership of deception. Thus, have the imperialist chieftain Nixon and the puppet chieftain Marcos adapted their rhetorics to that partnership.

The more the Philippines is laid prostrate by the blood-sucking activities of U.S. imperialism and by the local reactionaries, the comprador bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalist, the more are Nixon and Marcos heard preaching "self-reliance" and "nationalism" in order to obscure the oppressive and exploitative relations between the foreign and local tyrants on one hand and the Filipino people on the other.

Marcos tries to take advantage of the fact that he was confronted with the kind of opposition put

up by such a fossil of outright pro-imperialism as Osmeña in the last elections. Putting himself into false contrast with Osmeña, Marcos declares that his terroristic and fraudulent re-election is a victory of his "platform of nationalism". In this manner, he tries to conceal the anti-national and anti-democratic character of his regime and to put into disrepute the very slogan of nationalism that the national bourgeoisie and quite a number of intellectuals have been uttering to denounce the unjust impositions of U.S. imperialism.

We can certainly expect Marcos to prate more often and even more raucously about his "New Filipinism" and "new morality" as a measure of his futile attempt to counteract the rising revolutionary mass movement and hoodwink the various classes and strata which are now increasingly suffering from the evils of U.S. imperialism and puppetry. By his nature as a bureaucrat capitalist, with large comprador and landlord interests of his own, Marcos will continue to serve U.S. imperialism and all the exploiting classes. He shall deceive those he can deceive and he shall attack those he cannot deceive with the full force of the reactionary state. The more he acts as a fascist puppet of U.S. imperialism, the more shall he picture himself as a nationalist. This is his way of trying to parry off the attacks against his masters.

The broad masses of the Filipino people have been vigorously calling for the abrogation of unequal treaties and executive agreements that oppressively tie down the entire nation to U.S. imperialism and the local reactionaries. But the clever bureaucrat capitalist Marcos, instead of unilaterally and clearly

asserting the national sovereignty and democratic interests of the people, prefers to call vaguely for "renegotiation" and puts himself into the position of a broker or fixer. U.S. imperialism actually goes into a duet with the Philippine puppet government in belching out in a monotone the line of "renegotiation". They stop their ugly duet as soon as they presume that they have sufficiently headed off the popular call for abrogation. They merely issue press statements calling for "renegotiation" only when an imperialist abuse, like the murder of a Filipino, within the U.S. military bases occurs and becomes an occasion for the just demand for the abrogation of the RP-US Military Bases Agreement, Military Assistance Pact and Mutual Defense Treaty.

The termination of the Laurel-Langley Agreement is scheduled for 1974. Both U.S. imperialism and the Filipino puppets led by Marcos have acted to renew and aggravate the same imperialist privileges contained therein. The Marcos puppet regime has, with canine devotion, continued to implement the recommendations of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank that were first implemented with gusto by Macapagal. The single purpose of these recommendations is to render the Philippine reactionary government financially desperate in preparation for the termination of the Laurel-Langley Agreement. After its first four-year term, the Marcos puppet regime now finds its own puppetry, corruption and the resulting bankruptcy of the reactionary government as the very excuse for begging U.S. imperialism to grant trade preferences and "stabilization" loans in

exchange for the extension of U.S. privileges in the Philippine economy. Already U.S. imperialism has extorted from the Philippines the Investment Incentives Act and the Magna Carta of Social Justice and Economic Freedom which are being deliberately propagandized as "nationalist" documents but which actually give all the incentives, guarantees and legal phrases that the U.S. monopolies can easily use to perpetuate their economic and political domination of the country.

Because of the present state of financial bankruptcy on the part of the reactionary government, the U.S. imperialists, the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord class are riding roughshod over the Filipino people even more viciously. Nevertheless, while the Marcos reactionary regime piously calls for "austerity", the broad masses of the Filipino people who have always led lives not only of austerity but of dire poverty can see through the hypocrisy even more easily. The inflation that has already started to smash the subsistence income of the toiling masses of workers and peasants will be more telling than any slogan dished out by the Marcos reactionary regime. At a time of deep financial and economic crisis for U.S. imperialism and all other imperialist powers, the local reactionaries cannot perpetually rely on foreign investments in the form of loans and direct investments without getting into deeper economic and political trouble. The United States and other imperialist powers are now extracting every ounce of profit from the colonies and semi-colonies in order to make up for their own internal economic crisis. Openly, they now speak frequently of their own nationalism as Nixon does.

The Marcos puppet regime has already dug its own political grave by incurring an extremely huge budgetary deficit and foreign debt. To pull back, it has to cut down credit and dollar support for the national bourgeoisie. It has to lay off government employees wholesale. Local enterprises which are so dependent on imported raw materials, spare parts and fuel will also have to lay off their workers in great droves and will further hold down the wages of those retained. The conditions of employment will worsen as the prices of commodities rise. Widespread strikes of the proletariat are certain to occur. The student masses who are so dependent on the salaries of their parents will intensify their campus and extramural protest actions against the reactionaries. The high prices of commodities and increased landlord and merchant exploitation of the peasantry will produce more armed fighters in the countryside. The reactionary government will increasingly fail to make its farcical tokens of "land reform". The "civic action" of the reactionary armed forces will also be increasingly exposed as a mere camouflage for spying on and suppressing the people.

Marcos has seen the handwriting on the wall. That is why he is desperately resorting to counter-revolutionary dual tactics by calling himself "nationalist" even as he attacks the beginnings of widespread rebellion. It is his foolish illusion to stamp down the student and workers' strikes in the city and the growing revolutionary mass movement in the countryside at an early stage. He obscures the actual depth of the crisis and the truth that more suppression will only engender more resistance.

The reactionary armed forces have been ordered by the Marcos puppet regime in compliance with the dictation of U.S. imperialism to concentrate in Tarlac in a futile attempt to suppress the peasant masses. Yet he is using the same tactics that have failed and that have proven to be disastrous for the reactionary puppet regime in south Vietnam. Mass murders and assassinations are being committed almost daily in Central Luzon. Innocent civilians are arrested arbitrarily and then tortured. Oftentimes, they are misrepresented as "surrenderees". Homes are ransacked daily by cowardly troops moving in battalion and regimental strength. The people's democratic rights are abused with impunity. These are all committed by the Armed Forces of the Philippines, especially by Task Force Lawin, by the local PC command, "Monkees" and Home Defense Forces. After being thoroughly exposed and isolated as a mercenary force of U.S. imperialism, the bulk of the Philcag has been brought home to participate in the suppression of the people.

Yet Marcos boasts of respecting civil liberties. To project an image that his regime is "democratic", he calls for the repeal of the Anti-Subversion Law. This only exposes the fact that the reactionary government is colluding with the local revisionist renegades to combat the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army. Jesus Lava who is an idol of the local revisionist renegades has publicly stated with the effrontery of a scab that Marcos is veering towards their cause. Accommodation of the local revisionist renegades within the present system is in line with the counter-revolutionary alliance

of U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and Japanese militarism in Asia today.

Within the Philippines, the fascists and the local revisionist renegades collude and compete with each other under the mutual signboard of "nationalism" and in opposition to the Communist Party of the Philippines. The counter-revolutionary alliance of U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and Japanese militarism dictates upon the local fascists and local revisionist renegades to serve U.S. imperialism in keeping a "low profile" and in opposing the people, communism and China.

The great Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must be clear-headed, that is, we must not believe the 'nice words' of the imperialists nor be intimidated by their bluster."

Correctly describing the general trend of the world today, Chairman Mao says: "The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better daily."

—*Ang Bayan*

THE CORRECT ORIENTATION ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

A. An Instrument of National and Class Oppression and Exploitation

The essential nature of the Philippine Constitution since the very start has been its being an instrument of national and class oppression and exploitation. It is a constitution designed to synthesize and synchronize the interests of U.S. imperialism and those of the local ruling classes under the camouflage of pious bourgeois populist expressions and the myth of self-government.

The making of the Philippine Constitution was part of the rotten deal to effect the false grant of independence by U.S. imperialism to the Philippines under the Tydings-McDuffie Law. The convention of 1934-35 that drafted the constitution was packed by the political agents of U.S. imperialism and those of the local ruling classes. Inevitably, the interests of the U.S. imperialists, the compradors, the landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists were given blessings by the convention. The constitution as a colonial piece of document was approved by the president of an alien government, the United States.

Never has the Philippine Constitution been free from its origin and nature as a legal instrument of national oppression and exploitation. Its colonial validity hinged on the Tydings-McDuffie Law. The constitution contained special provisions (Article XVII) and the first ordinance appended in 1939 which demanded allegiance to the United States and which ensured the perpetuation of the political, economic, military and cultural control of the Philippines by the United States during the entire period of the Commonwealth. These made sure that even upon the false grant of Philippine independence by U.S. imperialism the Philippines would still be under its control. It is a big crime to accede to this kind of constitution as has been done by the old merger party of the Communist Party and Socialist Party.

The US-RP Treaty of General Relations was signed on July 4, 1946 by both the U.S. government and the Philippine puppet government so that corporations and citizens of the former would enjoy property rights like those of the latter in the Philippines, so that U.S. military bases and reservations would remain in violation of territorial integrity and so that Philippine foreign relations would be under U.S. control.

Not satisfied with the constitutional provision expressly allowing 40% foreign equity in Philippine corporations engaged in the exploitation of natural resources and operation of public utilities, the U.S. imperialists extorted the Parity Amendment in exchange for war damage payments and trade preferences for the benefit of the comprador-landlord-bureaucrat sector in the country. The Parity Amend-

ment which extends not only parity rights but even superior rights to U.S. monopolies in law and in practice remains the most blatant manifestation of the colonial character of the Philippine Constitution. Until now, the Parity Amendment remains intact in the Laurel-Langley Agreement.

To protect its huge economic interests in the Philippines, U.S. imperialism further extorted the US-RP Military Bases Treaty, the Military Assistance Pact and the Mutual Defense Treaty. These military treaties ensure U.S. extra-territorial rights, control of the puppet reactionary armed forces and the privilege of imperialist intervention in Philippine affairs under the guise of mutual defense. All of these violate the national sovereignty of the Filipino people and make the Philippine Constitution a rag of scorn.

At present, the Philippine Constitution is patently a colonial document on incontrovertible grounds. It completely disregards the principle that for a colony or semi-colony to liberate itself genuinely and fully from imperialist tyranny there has to be a revolutionary assertion of the people's sovereignty and democratic rights. Instead, there is the cowardly acceptance of puppetry and the false notion that independence can be granted by an alien power to the people. It does not show how the political, economic, military and cultural dominance of U.S. imperialism can be undone within the Philippines. The Parity Amendment and also the provision allowing 40% foreign equity in Philippine corporations nullifies the very preamble which preaches the conservation of the national patrimony. There are so many executive agreements, treaties and statutes that have been pass-

ed to perpetuate puppetry to U.S. imperialism in an all-round way. The constitution has often been invoked by the reactionaries to justify these.

The present constitution is essentially an instrument of class oppression and exploitation. To conceal the fact that it is the biggest piece of class legislation, it obscures the basic class differences in Philippine society and dishonestly tries to incorporate in the general category of *people* the very ruling classes that oppress the democratic majority of the people, the masses of workers and peasants. By denying the existence of classes and class struggle, the present constitution seeks only to bless the kind of order where the reactionary state is used by the U.S. imperialists, compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists to oppress and exploit the broad masses of the people.

The high-sounding terms of the preamble, declaration of principles and the bill of rights are mere bombast in the absence of clear class distinctions. To take up one basic point: so it is recognized as a matter of constitutional right to be secure in one's property. Certainly, it would be a fundamental principle of democracy to recognize the right of workers and peasants to be secure in their hard-earned private property. But it is utterly wrong to recognize in the same breath the "equal" right of the big bourgeoisie and the landlord class to own property for the oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people. Under the present constitution, the reactionary state can only claim to "regulate" labor-capital and landlord-tenant relations and it is empowered

to exercise compulsory "arbitration" in favor of the exploiting classes. In practice, the intervention of the reactionary state in the class struggle means the use of the police, armed forces, the courts and prisons against the workers and peasants.

All the twenty-one sections of the Bill of Rights (Article III) are negated essentially by the reality that it is the U.S. imperialists and their local stooges, the compradors, landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists, who monopolize the "freedoms" under the guise of enjoying them in their capacity as individuals or as corporate entities. The truth is that these tyrants in their class roles actually deprive the broad masses of the people, especially the workers and peasants, of their national, class as well as individual rights.

A constitution would not be useful to these oppressors and exploiters if it did not dangle deceptive promises before the oppressed and exploited masses. After recognizing the right of the ruling classes to be secure in their right to own the means of oppressing and exploiting the people, the constitution boasts of the right of expropriation and police power belonging to the state in the "public interest" or in time of its own emergency. The U.S. imperialists, compradors and landlords can feel secure that their constitutional demand for "just compensation" will only reinforce, instead of decrease, their wealth and power. The present government is their own government. Their reactionary government is in no economic and political position to expropriate or cause the expropriation of the capital of the big bourgeoisie or the lands of the landlord class for redistribution

to the peasants except for token purposes or when isolated landlords can exact a good price.

B. The Forthcoming Constitutional Convention

False hopes are being raised about the 1971 constitutional convention as a possible means of "revolutionary" change to head off a real armed revolution of the broad masses of oppressed and exploited people. Reformists of various stripes and undisguised counter-revolutionaries play down the fact that this constitutional convention shall be held within an unchanged system under the sponsorship of a counter-revolutionary government in the service of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Erroneously, they play up the fantastic expectation that by a mere stroke of the pen after long-winded debates fundamental changes can be effected irrespective of the basic colonial and class character of the constitutional debaters.

A constitution can be nothing but a mere reflection or summing up of the general situation or particular balance of forces in a society. It cannot escape from the reality that anti-national and anti-democratic forces, U.S. imperialism, the comprador bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists, dominate Philippine society. It is nothing but the fig leaf for a reactionary state. Never has it occurred in the entire history of mankind that a piece of document alone would suffice to persuade the foreign and local tyrants to leave their well-entrenched positions and ways. It can never be hoped that U.S. imperialism and the local exploiting classes shall allow

themselves to be written off without a sanguinary fight. On the other hand, it can only be expected that these malefactors will exert every effort to have their political representatives elected to the constitutional convention in order to design the new constitution in such a manner as to deceive the people with glittering generalities and essentially permit national and class oppression and exploitation through some general terms in the same constitution or through the actual operation of the present system.

During the last whole decade, U.S. imperialism and the local ruling classes have taken full advantage of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal status of the Philippines in preparing for the formal termination of the Laurel-Langley Agreement in 1974 and for the perpetuation of their privileges. By manipulating the Philippine financial situation alone, U.S. imperialism has succeeded in maneuvering the Philippine reactionary government into its position today of begging for "stabilization" loans and preferential trade in exchange for the recognition of U.S. "vested rights" in the Philippines and the extension of "national treatment" (a synonym of "parity rights") for its investments. By following the recommendations of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, two U.S.-controlled financial institutions, the Philippine reactionary government has implemented the policy of decontrol which has facilitated the huge profit remittances of U.S. monopolies and the aggravation of the colonial exchange of Philippine raw material exports and foreign manufacture imports benefitting the U.S. monopolies and such evil

local forces as the compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists. Under the same recommendations, the Philippine reactionary government has made heavy expenditures mainly to provide the infrastructure for the imperialist domination of the country and for further reinforcing the economic and political power of the U.S. imperialists, compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists. At the present moment, the external and internal debts of the reactionary government for such purposes have resulted in a crisis (inflation, balance of payments problem, devaluation, increasing unemployment, heavy taxation and tight credit).

At this early stage, U.S. imperialism and its puppets have clearly established the ground level for the retention of imperialist privileges as this is evident from the Investment Incentives Act and the Magna Carta of Social Justice and Economic Freedom, two pro-imperialist documents misrepresented as "nationalist". Furthermore, the US-RP panels renegotiating the Laurel-Langley Agreement are colluding secretly to give more and bigger privileges to the U.S. monopolies and are biding their time. Already the U.S. imperialists have clearly exacted assurances for the extension of "national treatment" and "incentives" such as the privilege of monopolizing "preferred areas", non-expropriation, investment insurance, tax exemptions, tax credit and the like.

It is being made to appear by the reactionaries that it is progressive enough to limit foreign equity in new Philippine corporations to 40% or 30% but at the same time the reactionaries are determined to extend parity rights to U.S. monopolies upon the "case-

to-case" decisions to be made by an executive agency like the Board of Investments.

The U.S. imperialists see clearly that it remains the policy of the Philippine reactionary government to attract foreign investments. But fearing the growing revolutionary mass movement that is profoundly aware of them as evil bloodsuckers, they are subsidizing the gang of Manglapus, the Christian Social Movement, to propagandize the finance capitalist idea of "profit-sharing". This sinister tactic of U.S. imperialism is to dangle before the people the false hope of being able to buy out the incumbent U.S. assets or to buy additional shares that U.S.-owned or U.S.-controlled corporations in the Philippines may issue. This is calculated not only to keep intact U.S. investments here but even to trap a big mass of small Filipino shareholders in corporations controlled by a solid bloc of U.S. monopoly capital. The finance capitalist idea of "profit-sharing" leads to the reactionary line of proportionate or relative decrease of U.S. assets through "joint ventures" and through the stock market.

The idea of "democratizing" a \$100 million corporation by selling \$90 million incumbent shares or \$900 million additional shares to ill-paid Filipino workers is as fantastic as the old preposterous idea of liquidating or reducing landlordism by selling land to impoverished tenants as in the Agricultural Land Reform Code. The advocates of Christian socialism or "bayanieracy" (with "universal capitalism" as its main formula) are not simply playing the role of idiots. They have the sinister purpose of fooling the

workers and peasants into accepting U.S. imperialism and feudalism.

Under the present dire situation of the Philippines, the 1971 constitutional convention will only prove to be an occasion for updating the present reactionary constitution in a way as to express in a more deceptive language the impositions of U.S. imperialism and its comprador-landlord and bureaucrat puppets. The political organizations and personalities that will prevail in this year's election of convention delegates are organized, supported and manipulated by U.S. imperialism, the comprador bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists. These anti-national and anti-democratic forces will use their much-tested political machineries, the Nacionalista Party, the Liberal Party and such other partisan groups as the Christian Social Movement and other allied organizations under the influence of the Catholic clergy. No matter how much politicians and narrow partisans of the type of Manglapus, Pelaez, Araneta and the Catholic bishops and parish priests try to misrepresent themselves as "non-partisans" and try to keep the election of constitutional delegates "non-political", the Nacionalista Party and Liberal Party will be the major determining forces either in a direct or indirect way. It is foolish to expect that the Pelaez bill or any such legislation will stop NP and LP partisans from running for the constitutional convention under the banner of the Cursillo or the Rotary Club or even under the guise of not being bound by a single organization.

The various organizations formed recently in connection with the constitutional convention will not

have much to say in the election of delegates different from the usual bunch of politicians. Some of these organizations misrepresenting themselves as "civic" or "non-political" can only lend bourgeois prestige to various personalities. The only political force with some amount of independence from the NP and LP but without any basic independence from U.S. imperialism and the local ruling classes which might succeed in making a significant number of its candidates win is an organization or a group of organizations enjoying the support of the Catholic clergy. The purpose of the Christian Social Movement and other religion-sectarian-political organizations in agitating for the exclusion or reduction of NP and LP influence in the forthcoming constitutional convention is to give the Catholic clergy and its political sacristans the biggest opportunity possible in their sinister attempt to dominate the constitutional convention on behalf of U.S. imperialism and the local ruling classes and, of course, on behalf of the special interests of the Catholic Church. Truly progressive elements will be an extremely small minority in the constitutional convention.

The growing political activism of the Catholic clergy and its political sacristans under the guise of moral superiority will not reduce the filthiness of counter-revolutionary politics. The political intervention of the clergy is but an ingredient in the rise of fascism in this country. It is but another camouflage for the social cancer and reign of greed.

The manner of elections for the constitutional convention will be no different from that of previous elections for the bureaucracy. The constitutional convention will not simply be an occasion for debate among

populist orators who take the name of the people in vain. U.S. imperialism and the local reactionaries will grab as much privileges as they can. They will subsidize their political agents in their bid to get seats in the convention. The stakes are too big for them to be indifferent. Especially now, they need the constitution to give blessings to the aggravation of their oppression and exploitation of the people. The candidates will fight bitterly for a position in the convention not only to gain prestige to be able to run for other elections later. They will fight bitterly because there is plenty of money to be gained by them by running and also by selling their delegate votes to the highest bidders when such big issues as foreign investments and feudal privileges come up in the agenda of the convention.

Within the convention, the delegates will be subjected to the same pressures and manipulations that those in the present reactionary government are subjected to. Money will flow in the constitutional convention to make sure that privileges and compromises will be decided in favor of foreign and local tyrants. The people will be afforded only with debates comparing advantages and disadvantages of a number of alternatives within the range of puppetry to the foreign and local tyrants. The people will be provided with the spectacle of parliamentary debate with regard to mere questions of form. The reactionaries will exert every effort to focus public attention on such questions of form as whether to have a parliamentary or presidential form of government; a six-year term without reelection for the president or otherwise; a two-party

system or electoral inspectors for all parties; suffrage for those 18 years of age; foreign loans or foreign direct investments from the same imperialist sources; and the like.

These questions of form will be used to obscure questions of substance such as the continued violation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity; plunder of the national patrimony by U.S. imperialism and the anti-democratic and feudal right of landlords to own vast lands and exploit the peasant majority of the people. The extension of special privileges to the Catholic Church such as the medieval privilege of indoctrinating the youth, tax exemption in its business enterprises and possession of vast landed estates is also a major question of substance.

C. What Is To Be Done

The main task of all proletarian revolutionaries and all those who adhere to the people's democratic revolution is to expose and oppose the 1971 constitutional convention as a farce. In doing so, focus must be put on questions of substance. These questions can be drawn from the Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution of the Communist Party of the Philippines. By raising the most important questions involving the national freedom and democratic rights of the people, the 1971 constitutional convention can be easily shown up as a mere pretense to deceive the people once more.

The constitutional convention will certainly fail to liberate the Filipino people from U.S. imperialism and such other oppressors and exploiters as the compradors,

the landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists. It is only through an armed revolution that these can be overthrown by the workers, peasants and all patriotic and progressive strata of this society and that a new democratic constitution can be effected to sum up the correct relations and express the true aspirations of the people without being shamed and frustrated by clever provisions and escape clauses that in practice negate the most bombastic preamble and the most pious declaration of principles.

During the constitutional convention, mass actions assailing the basic reactionary pattern of convention deliberations will even be more important than the speeches and debates made by those few in the minority who will seem to be patriotic and progressive within the convention hall. Those few in the minority who will make positive contributions in the constitutional convention will be proven worthy of admiration only to the extent that they can expose and oppose both the covert and overt maneuvers of the reactionaries to use the constitution as another instrument for oppressing and exploiting the people. However, the moment that they start arranging compromises with the reactionaries they become the object of our just contempt. All those who will sign the final draft of the constitution despite all its counter-revolutionary provisions will only affirm their opposition to the true national and democratic interests and aspirations of the Filipino people.

Before, during and after the 1971 constitutional convention, the Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution is the guide for taking the correct road of armed revolution. Only after an armed revolution

has overthrown the exploiters with their oppressive laws can the Filipino people convene a revolutionary congress to draft and ratify a constitution that truly expresses their sovereign and democratic interests and aspirations.

The Lava revisionist renegades are condemnable for helping the bare-faced counter-revolutionaries spread the false illusion that a constitutional convention can be the occasion for a peaceful putsch or that all legal possibilities can be exhausted. The reactionary state may favor them with more liberties and bigger opportunities for relations with their revisionist masters, the Soviet social-imperialists. But the true proletarian revolutionaries correctly view the constitutional convention as another swindle perpetuated on the people.

We should cease to be duped by the counter-revolutionary idealist cliché that "those who have less in life shall have more in law." Laws are deliberately passed by the foreign and local tyrants of this society precisely to deceive and oppress the broad masses of the people. What is pompously called the "rule of law" by the reactionaries is nothing but their own class rule.

*For the Central Committee
Communist Party of the
Philippines*

AMADO GUERRERO
Chairman

ON THE JANUARY 26 DEMONSTRATION

Significance of the January 26 Demonstration

Students all over the country and the broad masses of the people are happy about and proud of the militant demonstration of January 26 on the real state of the nation. They regard it as a fitting rebuff to the mendacious "state of the nation" address delivered by Marcos, the fascist puppet of U.S. imperialism and chief political representative of the big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists.

The militant January 26 demonstration on the real state of the nation is a great milestone not only in the revolutionary student movement but also in the broad revolutionary mass movement. Although the main protagonist in the militant action was the students, there were contingents of militant workers and peasants who joined the students in revolutionary solidarity.

The militant January 26 demonstration sets the keynote for more massive and more combative mass actions in the city during the current decade of the seventies. It represents a new and higher degree of

development of the entire mass movement that unfolded during the previous decade of the sixties. By all indications in the international and national situation, the reactionaries will rot even more rapidly and the January 26 demonstration is merely the opening salvo for bigger mass actions in the near future. It is a blow against the reactionaries to be followed by more and bigger blows.

The magnitude and resoluteness of the militant masses were unprecedented. For nearly three hours, more than 50,000 demonstrators stood their ground and battled 7,000 policemen and troops who employed on them the brutal "anti-riot" methods taught by the A.I.D. Public Safety Division and by special "counter-insurgency" agents of the JUSMAG. The mass of students acted in self-defense and unleashed a tit for tat struggle against the fascist brutes.

The militant January 26 demonstration stood firmly in just condemnation of the rottenness of the entire system and the rise of fascism. It was inevitable that the reactionaries would attempt, as they did futilely, to suppress through counter-revolutionary violence the truth that the mass of protesters spoke about the state of the nation in opposition to the brazen lies that Marcos dished out to the Congress. The manifestoes and slogans chanted by the demonstrators against the reactionary state and the fascist puppet chieftain expressed clearly the real state of the nation.

The demonstration in front of Congress was a far greater and more honorable assemblage than the joint session of the House of Representatives and the Philippine Senate that met to celebrate their fraudulent and

terroristic election and to listen to the lies of the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos.

The Tactics of the Enemies of National Democracy

The enemies of national democracy are bent on misrepresenting the January 26 demonstration as a demonstration for nonsense like "non-partisanship" in the forthcoming constitutional convention. They wish to obscure the fact that the demonstration was mainly on the real state of the nation. They wish to make the demonstrators appear reformist, instead of revolutionary, notwithstanding the resoluteness with which the students fought the reactionary police and troops.

In the first place, the reactionaries, with Marcos and Manglapus in cahoots with each other, have deliberately spread to the mass media that the January 26 demonstration was exclusively concerned with the forthcoming constitutional convention. A handful of priests, nuns and seminarians were deployed to help the police and the Metrocom prevent 50,000 demonstrators from voicing out the basic issues about the real state of the nation.

Overestimating their capacity for deceiving the people, the reactionaries tried to disperse the demonstrators immediately after Marcos had delivered his "state of the nation" address. They wished to make it appear that Marcos could lie in public without being seriously rebuffed. But the demonstrators shouted the truth that Marcos is a puppet and a fascist before, during and after he arrived to peddle his mendacity. The shouts of the people against reaction and for revolution drowned out the petty and sham issue that the reactionaries tried to raise.

Two political mummies of counter-revolution, Emmanuel Pelaez and Luis M. Taruc, tried to misrepresent themselves as friends of the people. But they were strongly repudiated. Pelaez was hit on the head by a student for suggesting to the police to use water cannons and tear gas, instead of truncheons. As soon as Taruc appeared on the scene, the demonstrators in unison called him a traitor and a scab and stopped him from usurping the microphone.

In the course of the demonstration, the demonstrators clearly grasped their political objective: to expose the real state of the nation and to oppose the lies of the reactionaries. Even the minority group of Catholic-school students joined the bigger mass of students from non-sectarian schools. The students and other demonstrators united, especially when the fascist brutes waded into their ranks and wantonly attacked them. Immediately after the demonstration, Marcos commended the police and the troops.

Later, true to their nature as fascists and demagogues, the reactionaries led by Marcos hypocritically called for investigation of police brutality and praised the students while they talked of possible "communist infiltrators" in the ranks of the students. This is a worn-out tactic of the reactionaries in their vile attempt to divide and rule the students and the people. Until now, the reactionaries prate in the press about the issue of "non-partisanship" in the constitutional convention as the exclusive issue of the demonstration. This is consistent with their line of

preventing the people from speaking out on the real state of the nation.

The Christian Social Movement and its allied organizations have once more shown themselves up as partisans of counter-revolution by describing the students as victims of "infiltration" in order to soften up the just condemnation by the people of fascist brutality and the miserable state into which Marcos has plunged the nation.

Demagogues of both the NP and LP are also trying now to entrap student leaders into a joint House-Senate committee investigation. This is a worn-out device of the reactionaries to conduct a witch-hunt under the guise of helping the students. The "nationalist" prestige of Tañada is now being conveniently used for this purpose.

The chief fascist puppet Marcos himself is now seen in so many newspaper pictures pretending to be magnanimous and solicitous about the victims of state brutality. "His Majesty", together with other rotten politicians, is now trying to flatter a handful of scabs in the student movement and mislead others with intrigues in presidential audiences. Labor racketeers like Oca, Hernandez, Arniago and Co. are also helping Marcos obscure the real state of the nation and attack the student movement and have offered their strike-breaking services.

Be Resolute in Struggle

The January 26 demonstration should be the inauguration of a nationwide campaign to make the students aware of the real state of the nation and

the despicableness of fascism and to enmass them to the fold of the national democratic revolution. Ideological, political and organizational preparations should constantly be made to launch bigger mass actions taking national proportions against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

In cities, the revolutionary student activists and masses should develop the strongest worker-student alliance. As the national crisis bred by the fascist puppet regime of Marcos is fast worsening, the students and workers should always join up to launch mass actions against their oppressors and exploiters. All reactionary attempts to split up or draw away the students from each other or the students from the workers and other progressive sectors of the population should be vigorously rebuffed.

To the countryside, the students must also go in order to link themselves up with the biggest democratic force in the country, the peasantry. They must make rural investigations and participate in the peasants' struggle as already demonstrated by quite a number of students. The initial requirement for the truly progressive student masses is to make rural investigations and mass work in conscious preparation for fuller participation in the uncompromising armed struggle against the tyrants of this society.

The guide for taking the road of national democratic revolution is the Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

—Ang Bayan

ON THE JANUARY 30-31 DEMONSTRATION

The Brutality of the Reactionary State

Not satisfied with the brutal breaking-up of the January 26 demonstration in front of Congress, the reactionary regime of Marcos perpetrated on January 30-31 far bloodier and more brutal crimes against more than 50,000 students, progressive intellectuals, workers and peasants who demonstrated in front of Malacañang.

Four student heroes enrolled in various large schools in the Greater Manila area were wantonly murdered with rifle fire by military troops and the police. Hundreds of other young men and women were seriously injured and maimed for life. They filled six large hospitals in the Greater Manila area. The savagery of the shooting and truncheon beating conducted by the reactionary troops and police was such that until now scores of demonstrators continue to be on the verge of death. Hundreds of militant demonstrators were arrested and wounded demonstrators were thrown into PC and Army trucks like hogs for the butcherhouse. Many of those arrested were subjected to torture and long hours of interrogation

by PC investigators. Some of those apprehended are still being missed by their schoolmates and friends.

Even after the demonstration, the fascist brutes continued to kidnap and arrest students and other demonstration leaders in the futile attempt of the Marcos puppet reactionary regime to blackmail and intimidate them and forestall more and bigger mass protests against its bloody crimes against the people. Immediately after the demonstration, the reactionary government filed sedition charges against demonstration leaders and other militants, closed the schools in the Greater Manila area and turned its spies against patriotic students and leaders of mass organizations suspected of organizing more protest actions. A ban on protest demonstrations was brazenly imposed.

During and after the demonstrations, the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos called all his top henchmen in the major services of the reactionary armed forces and briefed them for more intensified suppression and intimidation of patriotic students and organizations. The U.S. A.I.D.-trained brutes of the Manila police as well as those of the suburban areas were organized to be let loose on the demonstrators.

Never has there been a more open and bloodier suppression of democratic rights in the city than the suppression of the demonstration of January 30-31.

The Revolutionary Courage of the Students and Other Demonstrators

The militant participants of the January 26 demonstration in front of Congress were never cowed by the brutality of the reactionary state. They

came back with more intense patriotism and courage to join the January 30-31 demonstration against the reactionary state and the fascist puppets of U.S. imperialism.

The militant students, constituting the majority of the participants in the demonstrations, came in big numbers from 36 universities, colleges and high schools in Manila. Also participating were representatives from more than 40 universities and colleges in the provinces. Together with contingents of workers and peasants, they gave full play to the revolutionary spirit of "It is right to rebel" against U.S. imperialism and local reaction. They fought tit for tat against the reactionary troops and police with explosives made on the spot, iron bars taken from street railings and stones. They commandeered a fire truck to break the main gate of Malacañang and a bus to break the lines of the advancing hordes of Metrocom men and set fire to several army and police vehicles, including trucks, jeeps and a cop motorcycle.

The patriotic demonstrators shouted revolutionary slogans condemning the fascist brutality of the reactionary state and calling on the workers, peasants, students and progressive intellectuals to unite against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and the Marcos puppet reactionary regime.

The residents in the demonstration area were inspired by the dauntless revolutionary spirit of the demonstrators as they held their ground against the attacks of the armed brutes of the reactionary state. They took in many wounded demonstrators and even treated them.

Frightened out of his wits, the fascist puppet Marcos gave the order to shoot the patriotic demonstrators and had a helicopter ready for his immediate escape from the ire of the militant demonstrators. Apart from the 2,000 reactionary troops which unleashed the sanguinary suppression against the demonstrating masses, AFP chieftain Manuel Yan ordered the 12,000-man strong PC on "red alert", and the air force, navy and army on "blue alert". He even summoned Task Force Lawin, the Marines and five companies of the Special Forces from Fort Magaysay in Nueva Ecija to reinforce the troops in and around Manila. This has clearly shown the utter panic of the Marcos reactionary regime in confronting the militant masses of demonstrators. In mortal fear of further mass protest actions against its corrupt and brutal regime, it has kept a large number of reactionary troops in the Greater Manila area up to now.

After the demonstration of January 30-31, the patriotic students and other demonstrators have continuously fought in various forms the reactionary puppet regime and vowed to develop their struggle in scale and depth. Their dauntless revolutionary spirit has inspired and won the sympathy of the broad masses of the people throughout the country. Mass actions are sweeping the country in support of the January 30-31 demonstration and in protest against the fascist terror perpetrated by the Marcos puppet reactionary regime.

The revolutionary courage and heroism of the students have lifted the hearts of the oppressed and exploited people all over the country. They have in a

big way fanned the flames of revolutionary struggle. The entire Filipino people are increasingly awakening to the need for armed revolutionary struggle in the face of armed counter-revolution.

Subsequent Tactics of the Enemy

Within 24 hours after the sanguinary suppression of the patriotic demonstrators, the fascist chief-tain Marcos babbled in his "nationwide call" through the mass media that the militant mass demonstration was either "communist-inspired" and "not communist-inspired" in a desperate effort to tone down the immediate nationwide condemnation of his bloody crimes. Marcos has tried in vain to cover up the fact that the broad masses of the student demonstrators together with workers and peasants, are united in their common feeling of indignation against and in their resistance to his puppet reactionary regime and his U.S. imperialist masters. He cannot hope to split the ranks of patriotic students, workers and peasants who will always rise up inasmuch as they have reached a new and higher level of consciousness against the enemies of national democracy.

Marcos has tried to wash his hands of the blood of the patriotic demonstrators brutally murdered and maimed by his henchmen — the reactionary military troops and police. He even has the impudence to demand gratitude from the people because he has exercised "tolerance" and restrained himself from murdering more students or formally suspending the privilege of *habeas corpus*. But his hypocritical speech cannot erase the fact of the unprecedented murder

of four student youth and maiming and mass arrests of hundreds of patriotic demonstrators under his regime nor can it hide the truth that all this is but a preparation for further bloody suppression of patriotic militants and organizations and the national democratic movement in general.

Marcos' January 31st red-baiting statement has set the line for the subsequent bicameral hearings being conducted by Congress. It is evident from the pattern of interrogation in the hearings that militant and patriotic organizations are the object of this witch-hunt. This again is a dirty scheme to divert the attention of the people from the bloody crimes of the Marcos reactionary regime and to stifle the growing mass movement of the Filipino people against U.S. imperialism and its local reactionary allies. It is not surprising for such a politically bankrupt regime to concentrate its attack on those who truly speak and act for the national democratic interests of the people. Not a single one of its henchmen who brutally attacked the patriotic demonstrators has been apprehended and tried.

Far from putting the blame on the reactionary troops and police, Marcos even lauded their "exemplary" conduct in the murder, maiming and mass arrests of the patriotic militant demonstrators. Together with his gang of fascist brutes, Marcos led a field mass at Malacañang Park where he took the opportunity to exhort the troops of the reactionary armed forces to prepare for more sanguinary suppression of the people's struggle for national liberation and democratic rights.

Marcos callously manipulates the Catholic Church through Cardinal Santos, the bishops and the priests to chasten the demonstrators for having militantly acted in defense of their democratic rights. True to his role as an apologist of the counter-revolutionary state which exploits and oppresses the Filipino people, Cardinal Santos is first of all "concerned" about the "destruction" of "private property" than about the wanton killing of four student demonstrators and the serious injury of hundreds of demonstrators by the Marcos fascist gang. He clamours for a "dialogue" only after a monologue of bullets burst out from the guns of the reactionary troops and police to repress the indignant voices of the patriotic demonstrators who gathered on that historic day of January 30 and fought back for more than six hours till the early hours of January 31. In more cleverly couched terms so as not to appear "political", he has also warned against "ideologies" which "sow disunity" among the people. This is a vicious attempt to hide the truth that never in the history of our country have the Filipino people forged such a militant unity against such a hopelessly corrupt regime which has extremely isolated itself from the overwhelming majority of the people because of its virulent opposition to their national democratic aspirations.

After the murder, maiming and mass arrests of patriotic demonstrators, the Marcos puppet regime would now dangle before the students monetary and other material bribes such as the promise of a \$0.6 million trust fund for so-called "student welfare programs and projects" and the creation of a "national

student commission". But the students know better. They are very much aware that this is but one face of the counter-revolutionary dual tactic of the fascist puppet regime to soften up their struggle against the reactionary state. They are more vigilant than ever about the dirty trick of buying off scabs in the student and youth movement.

In order to attack the surging patriotic student and youth movement, the Marcos reactionary regime is resorting to the use of fascist gangs and even the "Monkees". It has also sent infiltrators and agents into youth meetings and conferences in the foolish hope of splitting the ranks of patriotic and militant organizations of youth and students.

The Marcos reactionary regime continues to mobilize thousands of military troops for guarding the Greater Manila area. It has ordered the PC authorities of various zones to organize their own "anti-riot" squads to suppress the rapidly spreading wave of indignation rallies and demonstrations against the brutal suppression of the patriotic demonstrators in Manila.

The puppet regime of Marcos in its role as the chief hatchetman of U.S. imperialism and feudalism has been so discredited before the eyes of the broad masses of the Filipino people that only the most rabid counter-revolutionaries will ever try to save it from its inevitable doom as the local revisionist renegades are vainly attempting to do by crying in dismay about the "purely anti-Marcos" line of the recent militant mass demonstrations. Evidently, this is for the sole purpose of begging political capital from the Marcos reactionary regime in the form of allowing

them to participate in bourgeois parliamentary politics.

Evaluation of the January 26 and January 30-31 Demonstrations

The demonstrations of January 26 and January 30-31 came close on the heels of the student and worker demonstrations against the visit of U.S. Vice-President Agnew last December 29. They signify the new awakening of the Filipino people against U.S. imperialism and the local reactionary puppets. They are a bugle call for more militant mass actions in the city for this year as well as the current decade.

These demonstrations have served to raise the consciousness of the masses of the Filipino people against the reactionary state which serves U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The broad masses of the people have increasingly understood the need for revolutionary armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution and for overthrowing the present reactionary state.

The demonstrations have served as a rich source of activists for the national democratic revolution and, therefore, of prospective members and fighters of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army.

The revolutionary mass actions in the city are bound to develop in coordination with the surging agrarian revolution in the countryside. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, ideological, political and organizational preparations are continuously being made for intensified revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and

bigger mass actions in the city against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The entire reactionary system in the Philippines is rotting daily and the objective conditions for waging armed struggle are getting better daily.

Internationally, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are plunging speedily into insoluble political and economic crises while the invincible forces of socialism and national liberation are surging in ever-victorious waves.

The revolutionary situation has never been so excellent!

The students and progressive intellectuals who participated in the demonstrations of January 26 and January 30-31 have proven their revolutionary courage and militance. By constantly studying and implementing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way and by integrating themselves firmly with the masses of workers and peasants, learning from as well as teaching them, they will certainly not fall back but march forward along the road of the struggle for national democracy.

—*Ang Bayan*

TURN GRIEF INTO REVOLUTIONARY COURAGE AND MILITANT UNITY FOR NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

We express the profoundest grief over the death of four student martyrs, the injury and maiming of several thousands of students and other patriots, the wanton mass arrests and illegal detention of several hundreds, kidnappings and tortures in interrogation rooms which were all perpetrated by the counter-revolutionary state in the course of and in connection with the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31.

There is nothing more reasonable and urgent now than to turn our grief into revolutionary courage and to forge the most militant national democratic unity against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism for which the Marcos puppet reactionary regime serves as the bloodthirsty hatchetman.

The Marcos puppet reactionary regime has long engaged in the bloody suppression of the people in both city and countryside. It goes down in Philippine history as a regime characterized by white terror and no amount of hypocritical rhetorics and subterfuge can ever wash its hands of the blood of students, workers, peasants and other patriots.

The bloody suppression of the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 is a part of the systematic fascist suppression of the national freedom and democratic rights of the Filipino people. However, like all the other heinous crimes committed by the Marcos puppet reactionary regime, it has failed and will further fail to intimidate the broad masses of the people from fighting tit for tat and from fighting through to the end for a national democratic revolution.

The more the people are oppressed with counter-revolutionary violence, the more shall they resist with revolutionary violence. The violent actions of the counter-revolutionary state will only temper the people in revolutionary struggle. These will only serve to expose the utter bankruptcy and instability of the reactionary government, instead of cowing the people.

The people will never permit its finest sons and daughters to die in vain. The revolutionary courage of more than 50,000 demonstrators in front of Congress on January 26 and of another more than 50,000 in front of Malacañang Palace on January 30-31 has inspired them to fight ever more vigorously and steadfastly. A militant national democratic unity is now sweeping the land against the entire system that inflicts fascist brutality on the people and that causes the martyrdom of heroes.

There are now the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army which are guided by the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and which are patriotically implementing the national democratic revolution in the Philippines. We have become more determined to fulfill our sacred responsibilities to the Filipino

people as a result of the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31. We can never forget the cries of the unarmed demonstrators for arms and for the succor of the people's revolutionary armed forces at the moment that the counter-revolutionary state was mercilessly attacking them with high-caliber guns and truncheons. To these fellow Filipino patriots, we owe great inspiration and we are grateful that they have made it clear that only through armed revolution shall the Filipino people be able to liberate themselves from foreign and feudal oppression and exploitation.

Grasp the Historic Significance of January 26 and 30-31

The militant demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 mark a new and higher stage in the national awakening of the Filipino people for the revolutionary struggle for national democracy and against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The unprecedented magnitude and militance of these demonstrations are the outgrowth of long-term revolutionary efforts. They foretell beyond doubt the doom of the ruthless oppressors and exploiters of the broad masses of the people. They are the opening salvoes for the more massive and more militant revolutionary rising of the Filipino people on a nationwide scale.

Never before has the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside been as well joined with the revolutionary mass movement in the city. The murder, maiming and mass arrests of people in the city by the reactionary armed forces and police have only served to unite them even more firmly with the

people in the countryside who have long suffered the atrocities and impositions of the fascist brutes and their class masters. The militant mass demonstrations in the city have always raised the revolutionary spirit of the people and the Red fighters in the countryside.

It is politically fatal for the reactionary state to have vent its brutality on that particular section of the people, the student youth, which is articulate, mobile and widespread. The student youth are extremely decisive in the preparation of public opinion for revolution on a nationwide scale and in winning over the vacillating sections of the population to the revolutionary cause of the oppressed and exploited masses.

The militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 have succeeded in laying bare the basic rottenness of the entire system. To the entire nation have been exposed the rapacity and brutality of the counter-revolutionary state that is in the service of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The picture of the corrupt and fascist terrorist Marcos directly ordering all the services of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and all metropolitan police to attack the people can never be erased from the minds of the people. On January 30-31, AFP chieftain General Yan, Philippine Army chieftain General Heto, PC chieftain General Raval, Defense Force chieftain General Espino and the commanders of all other major services were in Malacañang to do the bidding of their fascist commander-in-chief. The events of the night of terror are more difficult for all the reactionaries to distort and misrepresent than all the previous massacres and other acts of terrorism committed by the Marcos puppet reactionary regime against the people.

The militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 are certainly a further development of the protest actions of the previous decade. They are also the harbinger of a more turbulent revolutionary storm in the current decade of the seventies. They are clearly the expression of the revolutionary aspirations of the broad masses of the people for national democracy and against the foreign, feudal and fascist oppression and exploitation. As U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism increase their oppression and exploitation of the people, there is no remedy but for the workers, peasants, students, the intelligentsia in general and the progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie to increase their resistance. The use of counter-revolutionary violence, restrictive procedures and double-talk will only result in more intensified revolutionary violence.

The objective conditions for making revolution are extremely favorable both internationally and nationally. We are now in the era of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought when imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is marching toward worldwide victory. In every major contradiction in the world today, the people's revolutionary forces are rapidly isolating and defeating all the forces of counter-revolution. The oppressed nations, especially of Asia, Africa and Latin America, are daily delivering deadly blows on imperialism and social-imperialism. The proletariat is unceasingly fighting the bourgeoisie in capitalist and revisionist countries. Although the imperialist and social-imperialist countries collude, they also contend with each other; likewise, the imperialist countries maintain the same kind of dog-bite-dog re-

lationship. The socialist countries of the People's Republic of China and that of Albania continue to hold high the great red banner of the proletarian dictatorship against imperialism and social-imperialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has transformed the People's Republic of China into the great invincible iron bastion and center of the world proletarian revolution.

U.S. imperialism and all the local reactionaries are in a state of bankruptcy, desperation and hysteria. Like its imperialist masters, the Marcos puppet reactionary regime is frantic about the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army, about the rapid growth of the revolutionary mass movement and about the spread of Mao Tsetung Thought in the whole country. U.S. imperialism and the Marcos puppet reactionary regime are so bankrupt and desperate that they are now increasingly allowing the Japanese militarists and the Soviet revisionist social-imperialists to participate in the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people, in the maintenance of the counter-revolutionary state and in the reinforcement of U.S. imperialist domination. The Marcos puppet reactionary regime seeks to misrepresent its posture as national. The militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 have exposed it as fascist puppetry.

Reply to the Lies of Marcos Concerning the Militant Mass Demonstrations

It is not strange that Marcos, the fascist puppet of U.S. imperialism, should try to pinpoint the most advanced militants of the mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 as "Maoists" or, to use appro-

appropriate words, adherents of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. He is utterly afraid of the fact that the Communist Party of the Philippines is the force at the core of the revolutionary mass movement in the Philippines. He has the demagogue's illusion that he can isolate the universal ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, by calling it a "foreign" ideology. He is merely repeating the old tactic of the reactionaries of 1896 who sought to isolate Andres Bonifacio as a "foreign agent" for having been inspired and guided by the old bourgeois democratic ideology of the French revolution. It is a futile and worn-out tactic of those who actually represent the counter-revolutionary interests that are alien to the true national and democratic interests of the Filipino people. It is in a way also equivalent to expressing contempt for bourgeois philosophy or Christian theology by merely dismissing it as foreign ideology without going into the concrete analysis of its class basis in Philippine history and society.

In this era of the impending collapse of imperialism, it is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought that can give ideological clarity to the national democratic revolution of the Filipino people. It is the great red banner of the Filipino proletariat, now leading the national democratic revolution. It is the theoretical guide for the correct and concrete analysis of the history, problems, motive forces, targets, tasks and stages of the Philippine revolution. Even if Marcos, the terrorist puppet of U.S. imperialism, shouts a million times about the "Maoists", he cannot conceal the fact that he is the political hatchetman of the foreign and feudal oppressors and exploiters of the

Filipino people. He can only succeed both by his words and deeds in showing the antagonistic difference between his real puppetry and the patriotism of communists who seek to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. He has only succeeded to call the attention of the revolutionary masses and youth to the need for the living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Marcos, the fascist puppet of U.S. imperialism, tries to confuse the issues of the militant mass demonstrations by raising the "issue of communism". He has only made a fool of himself by doing so. We communists recognize that the nature of Philippine society is semi-colonial and semi-feudal and that the pressing issue is national democracy. The issue now in the Philippines is neither socialism nor communism. If Marcos is really raring to have a debate with communists, he should not seek it from modern revisionists and academic bureaucrats under his executive power. All that he has to do is to make a public statement of his views on the Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The Communist Party of the Philippines will oblige him with an answer. The mendacity of the imperialist slogan of "communism versus democracy" will certainly be exposed. By this time, he should know that he cannot make any counter-revolutionary propaganda against the Party and the New People's Army without being rebuffed.

It is as impossible for the Marcos puppet reactionary regime to remove communists from the re-

volutionary mass movement as it is impossible for it to remove all the fish from the sea. Not only can the Communist Party of the Philippines participate in the national democratic revolution but it also does lead the national democratic revolution. The revolutionary mass movement today would be lacking in strength and consistency without the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the practical leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines. The more the reactionary state seeks to attack this truth, the closer that state shall come to its grave.

The militant mass demonstrations of January 29 and 30-31 have thoroughly succeeded in laying bare the counter-revolutionary character of the Marcos puppet reactionary regime. They have also turned Marcos into a blabbering fool in contrast to the pose he has taken of being an expert in counter-revolutionary dual tactics.

In his extreme hatred and fear of the people he has been compelled to show off his criminal, intimidating, cowardly and mendacious character. On January 30-31, he lost all chances to pass on the blame to his subordinates as he was clearly the one directing the concentration of the reactionary military and police in and around Malacañang Palace. It was clear that he was directly responsible for the murder, maiming and mass arrests of demonstrators.

In a futile attempt to rationalize the murder, maiming and mass arrests of students and other patriotic demonstrators and also the mobilization of more than 12,000 troops from the Army, PC, Marines, Special Forces, Tabak Division, Task Force La

win, Navy, Air Force and the Metrocom and the Manila Police Department, the USAFFE puppet war hero claims that he was put under siege by "men with an evil purpose" who were determined to seize Malacañang Palace from his family and that he was such a good commander-in-chief that he succeeded in warding off the attempt at a palace revolution. The truth was that he was surrounded by unarmed people who were engaged in direct democratic action and who had to arm themselves with stones, placard handles, bottles and the like only when they had to defend themselves from the murderous rampage of the fascist brutes.

The gross misrepresentation of reality inevitably leads to a contradiction of terms that the sleekest liar cannot avoid. At one turn, Marcos claims that the militant mass demonstration of January 30-31 was a well-organized act of rebellion. At another turn, he slanders the militant demonstrators as a mob engaged in destructive anarchy and vandalism. In the same breath he describes the militant mass demonstration as a well-organized plot to seize power that was either "communist-inspired" or "not communist-inspired".

As the present circumstances show, it is patently a big lie for the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos to claim that the Communist Party of the Philippines or any other group was engaged in deploying unarmed people to implement a putschist policy. It is clear that Marcos is desperately in need of an excuse for the murder, maiming and mass arrests of the demonstrators.

The fascist commander-in-chief Marcos has actually no reason yet to fear a coup d'etat by any reactionary faction though his brazen use of fraud and terrorism in the last elections has severely exacerbated the internal contradictions of the counter-revolutionary state. The reactionaries, including the Nacionalista Party, the Liberal Party and the emergency CIA gangs like the Christian Social Movement, the Citizens National Electoral Assembly or any other, are at the moment mainly concerned with peddling the farce of constitutional convention to deceive the people with the illusion of "democracy" and give new blessings to imperialist and feudal privileges and also with exerting every malicious and brutal effort to stamp out the flames of the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside and militant mass actions in the city. The Marcos puppet reactionary regime is still one with them in this evil enterprise.

For the general information of Marcos and his cowardly ilk, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are now engaged in a protracted people's war which is at this moment in the initial stage of strategic defensive in the countryside. The Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are not putschists. They firmly adhere to Chairman Mao's strategic principle of encircling the cities from the countryside. All counter-revolutionaries should rest assured that the day will surely come when the people's armed forces shall have defeated the reactionary armed forces in the countryside and are ready to act in concert with general uprisings by workers and students in the final seizure of power in the city. It is simply ma-

licious for the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos to claim that the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army would violate their basic principles. He seeks to cover up his crimes with an anti-communist hysteria.

The dirtiest slander that the fascist puppet chieftain seeks to make against the Communist Party of the Philippines is his statement that he can turn communist if he wants to but that for his love of democracy he does not want to. The Communist Party of the Philippines hereby tells Marcos that he can neither be a communist nor be a lover of democracy. He represents the counter-revolutionary interests that the Filipino people, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the national democratic revolution are so determinedly fighting against. He has not only robbed the people but he has also directly incurred blood debts in the course of performing his anti-national, anti-democratic and anti-communist role of being the top running dog of U.S. imperialism and such exploiting classes as the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord class. He can seek alliance with or even membership in the local revisionist renegade groups but he should never dare seek it from the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The fascist puppet chieftain himself appeals hypocritically for "calmness" and "unity" after murdering, maiming and arresting en masse unarmed demonstrators engaged in direct democratic action. Not satisfied with the fascist brutality that he has already inflicted, he still threatens to use force against the people and gloats that he has not even used 1/30th of the available force that he can use. He brazenly

implies that he can always murder, maim and arrest more people whenever he wants to. This incorrigible terrorist is really in need of a lesson from the people.

The Marcos puppet reactionary regime has aggravated the conditions for a revolutionary war. The fascist puppet Marcos can no longer go to any part of the country without fear of facing the wrath of the people. He is no longer in a position to embellish the increasing oppression and exploitation of the people with catch-phrases and token acts. He has aggravated the suffering of the people in the city and countryside with too many massacres.

The fascist puppet chieftain Marcos can no longer stay in Malacañang or go anywhere without being conspicuously surrounded by too many armed guards. But even then the people will always shout their indignation against him and his regime. They show their indignation whenever they merely see the picture of Marcos and the reactionary troops and police.

No amount of trickery on the part of the Marcos puppet reactionary regime can absolve it from its criminal responsibility in the murder, maiming and mass arrests of the January 26 and 30-31 demonstrators. The Filipino people see through such tricks as trying to use the Catholic clergy against the demonstrators by holding a "thanksgiving mass" on the Malacañang grounds immediately after the demonstration or by putting the notorious military criminal Raval side by side with Cardinal Santos to make a sham appeal for "calmness" and "sobriety"; holding congressional and police investigations to witch-hunt particular mass organizations and their leaders or to put the blame on everyone except Marcos and his

masters; asking students to separate themselves from the workers and peasants or the students from each other; calling for opportunists; using anti-communist elements in the mass media to undermine the revolutionary mass movement; closing the schools and preventing the demonstrators from giving due honors to their martyrs; advising parents and school authorities to restrict the activities of students; saturating the city with troops and putting the people under military surveillance; putting the blame on the demonstrators for the death of their own fellow demonstrators; using the local revisionist renegades to complain about a "purely anti-Marcos line" and to speak merely of "an emerging pattern of repression" or "fascistic tendencies"; and so many other tricks. All of these tricks have only intensified the just anger of the people against the Marcos puppet reactionary regime and all other enemies of the national democratic revolution.

Expose the Fascist Puppetry of Marcos and the True State of the Nation

The January 26 demonstration was essentially a demonstration on the true state of the nation to debunk that mendacious "state of the nation" address of the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos and to condemn the gathering of the people's oppressors and exploiters in Congress. The reactionaries, including the local revisionist renegades and the Catholic clergy and its political sacristans, sought but failed to misrepresent the mass demonstration as a demonstration to endorse such nonsense as a "non-partisan" constitutional convention or "peaceful revolution".

Fearing mass criticism and the exercise of the people's democratic rights, the fascist despot Marcos gave verbal instructions to attack more than 50,000 demonstrators assembled outside the puppet reactionary legislature. He was incensed that a green papier mache crocodile with a U.S. dollar sign symbolizing his greed and puppetry and a black coffin symbolizing his suppression of democracy were hurled by the people at him and his first lady, his well-known partner in corruption.

In seeking to terrorize the people with the brutal attack of 7,000 troops and police on the demonstrators on January 26, he created the immediate conditions for the more militant demonstration of January 30-31 which would unfold even more forcefully his fascist puppetry to U.S. imperialism and the irrepressible aspirations of the people for national freedom and democracy. The two demonstrations, especially the latter one, have sounded the keynote of the true state of the nation. They shall serve for a long time as a clear statement of the irreconcilable contradiction between the counter-revolutionary state and the broad masses of the people.

The Mendiola massacre is nothing but the culmination of a series of massacres and assassinations perpetrated in both city and countryside by the Marcos puppet regime. It is also a dialectical development of the shameless commission of fraud and terrorism in the last elections. In firm opposition to it is the kind of revolutionary courage and militant unity manifested by tens of thousands of demonstrators who counter-attacked the enemy troops and police wave upon wave for more than six hours. While from the

fascist puppet viewpoint of Marcos he deserves another war medal from U.S. imperialism, the Filipino people have become ever more enraged to give him a one-ton medal. Indeed, in trying to ward off the small stones justly thrown at him and to retaliate vindictively against the people, the fool himself has picked up a big rock only to drop it on his feet.

The Marcos brand of nationalism has resoundingly been exposed by the people as fascist puppetry to U.S. imperialism and to the local exploiting classes. The Filipino people have learned even more sharply the necessity of waging armed struggle to overthrow the national and class oppression and exploitation, precisely at a time that the reactionaries are trying to deceive them with such a farce as the 1971 constitutional convention. The striking truth of people's war is being embraced by the people at a time that the reactionaries are at the end of their wit and means to concoct gimmicks and to strengthen their machinery of suppression.

The ugliest features of the reactionary state in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society have become too conspicuous to be camouflaged by mere rhetoric. Undeniable to the entire nation now are the blood-thirsty use of the police trained by the U.S. A.I.D. and the vicious military manipulated by the JUSMAG in "counter-insurgency" to suppress the people; the operation of murder gangs like the "Monkees", Special Forces, Home Defense Forces and the Barrio Home Defense; the all-round U.S. imperialist control over the Armed Forces of the Philippines; the combined use of private armies and regular reactionary

troops in terrorizing the people, especially during the last elections; the puppet indoctrination of reactionary military officers in the National Defense College and in U.S. military schools; the counter-revolutionary orientation of PMT and ROTC; and the expanded use of the deceptive concept of "civic action" to displace civilian personnel with military personnel and perform espionage work on the people or the concept of "crowd control" to break up workers' strikes, peasant actions and demonstrations.

It is futile for the Marcos puppet reactionary regime to boast of having a limitless amount of military force to suppress the Filipino people under the slogan of national discipline. The reactionary government is now in a state of bankruptcy after incurring huge internal and external debts in the course of intensifying the foreign, feudal and fascist oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people. Even the fascist troops and police have long found their government salaries to be inadequate; that is why they engage in all kinds of extortion activities and in the process they have become isolated from the people. The whole nation, especially the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie, is now terribly suffering from inflation, devaluation, increasing unemployment and higher taxes. The national bourgeoisie is finding itself crushed by a tight credit squeeze and the excessive impositions of the international monopoly bourgeoisie led by U.S. imperialism. The masses of workers and unemployed, with the assistance of the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially the students, are bound to launch soon even more

powerful mass actions against the counter-revolutionary state. In the countryside, the people's war is advancing ever more vigorously against U.S. imperialism and the local tyrants.

The Marcos puppet reactionary regime keeps on repeating that it has been for the purpose of "development" that it has incurred extremely heavy debts and a huge foreign trade deficit. The truth is that the Marcos puppet reactionary regime has only been implementing consistently the dictates of U.S. imperialism ("recommendations" of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) to improve the infrastructure for the colonial exchange of Philippine raw materials and foreign manufactures especially from the U.S., to facilitate the huge profit remittances of U.S. monopolies and also to extend credit to them for their local operations, to intensify the import-export operations of the comprador bourgeoisie and to reinforce the hold of the hacenderos on agriculture. The Marcos reactionary regime has faithfully served U.S. imperialism and the local exploiting classes because its ringleaders do not only enjoy the status of compradors and landlords but they also exact their own share of exploitation through graft and corruption in their capacity as bureaucrat capitalists.

In intensifying their bloodsucking activities on the Filipino people, U.S. imperialism and its local stooges have also calculated to create the conditions for the reactionary government to beg for "stabilization" loans and preferential trade from the United States in exchange for the perpetuation of parity rights and more imperialist privileges in the various

aspects of Philippine society. Already the local reactionaries which include revisionist renegades, pseudo-nationalists and Christian "socialists" have already set the ground level for the continuation of U.S. imperialist privileges under the terms of such legislations as the Investment Incentives Act and the Magna Carta of Social Justice and Economic Freedom. The secret negotiations concerning the Laurel-Langley Agreement and other negotiations concerning other treaties with U.S. imperialism are being synchronized with the worsening conditions of Philippine society and also with the farce of Constitutional Convention in 1971 which can only be expected to sanction once more the foreign and feudal oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people.

To dissimulate their treasonous character, counter-revolutionaries have started to misrepresent themselves as nationalists and to dilute the ranks of democrats in an attempt to mislead them. Advocacy of relations with the revisionist countries, especially with Soviet social-imperialism, is being misrepresented by the Marcos puppet reactionary regime, the Lava revisionist renegades and other reactionaries as the cornerstone of an "independent" foreign policy. U.S. imperialism is actually behind the plot to cover up its increasing oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people by accommodating Japanese militarism and Soviet social-imperialism in the Philippines. Reeling from its economic and political difficulties, U.S. imperialism is in need of Japan as its fogleman in Asia and the Soviet Union as its collaborator in the strategic imperialist alliance to oppose the people, revolution, communism and China.

Unite for the National Democratic Revolution

The militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 have clearly spelled out the urgent need for a thoroughgoing national democratic revolution. The people who have experienced the fascist terror recognize now the need for such powerful weapons as a proletarian revolutionary party, a people's army and a united front to be able to strike back at the enemy effectively and to achieve national democracy. It has become ever more clear that the vast majority of the Filipino people — the proletariat, the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and, to some extent, the national bourgeoisie — must unite under the leadership of the proletariat and its party against all those foreign and local tyrants that use the Marcos puppet reactionary clique as their pet running dog.

The necessity of propagating the Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution of the Communist Party of the Philippines has become urgent among the participants of the demonstrations and in the entire nation. From the ranks of the militant demonstrators can be drawn those who will dedicatedly spread and put into practice Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the Party Programme. The Party is now pressed upon to distribute to them the *Guide for Cadres and Members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* and *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung* and other basic constructive materials that can inspire them to fight U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism in the correct way.

The only way by which the Filipino people can carry the Philippine revolution forward at this stage

of our national history is to unite with the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army on the basis of the Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution. This programme responds to the principal demand for national democracy made by the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31.

We note with pride that the militant majority of the demonstrators of January 26 and 30-31 were the student youth. We urge them to seek further the support of workers and peasants, contingents of which were in the demonstrations. It is by enlarging and ensuring the support of the workers and peasants for the militant mass demonstrations of the student youth that the struggle for national democracy can be waged more effectively.

We urge the students to undertake the following:

1. Make a living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution;
2. Raise the level of revolutionary consciousness and practice among the students throughout the country;
3. Go to the workers either in places where they work or live and assist them to assume the revolutionary class leadership;
4. Go to your respective towns or barrios, if you have any, and promote the revolution in the countryside and on a nationwide scale; and
5. Wage a protracted people's war on the basis of mass work against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The student youth can take full advantage of the fact that they come not only from every area in Greater Manila but also from every province in the whole country. They are in a very good position to promote revolution throughout the land and they have the ability to learn from the masses and concentrate their concrete learning into revolutionary demands under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution.

A particular form of organization that the students can adopt is the propaganda team (of at least three members) which assumes the specific task of arousing and mobilizing the students and workers in a well-defined area in the city; or the students, peasants, farm workers, the national minorities and fishermen in a well-defined area in the provinces.

The mass work of student propaganda teams in urban areas and in provinces close to Manila will result in bigger and more articulate demonstrations and more powerful general strikes. The mass work of student propaganda teams in the provinces will create the best conditions for getting hold of a gun and fighting the armed counter-revolution successfully.

The minimum that can be done by the student youth is to shatter the superstructure of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. For them to engage in a cultural revolution or revolutionary propaganda is of decisive importance in the national democratic revolution. They can assist in building up the proletarian revolutionary leadership and the national democratic orientation. They can isolate the enemy diehards in such institutions as the various branches

and levels of government, the reactionary parties and organizations, the mass media, business chambers, schools, churches, yellow trade unions, bogus peasant associations, and the whole gamut of the imperialist and feudal culture that are now opposing the main current of the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 and are seeking to uphold the present reactionary system.

The student youth who take the initiative of forming their propaganda teams should be confident that many others are doing the same. If they are not yet members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, they shall certainly be approached by the Party for recruitment or for cooperation on the basis of what they have already contributed to the national democratic revolution. The student youth should feel confident that there are cadres of the Communist Party of the Philippines at every strategic point in the whole country and among them are former students who have remoulded their thinking and are now in the crucible of the revolutionary armed struggle. They must realize at this early stage that to propel a revolutionary mass movement there must be a revolutionary party at the core to serve as the standard-bearer of the revolutionary theory.

The people's democratic revolution is protracted. The student youth should be persistent, hard-working, austere, patient and alert, shedding off their petty bourgeois individualism, impetuosity or excessive caution. So long as they persist in revolutionary struggle, they shall become tempered and many of them shall become proletarian revolutionary cadres.

To you the student youth, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army address three quotations from Chairman Mao concerning the youth:

The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigor and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you.

* * *

How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice. If he is willing to do so and actually does so, he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary. If today he integrates himself with the masses of workers and peasants, then today he is a revolutionary; if tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns round to oppress the common people, then he becomes a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary.

* * *

The intellectuals often tend to be subjective and individualistic, impractical in their thinking and irresolute in action until they have thrown themselves heart and soul into mass revolutionary struggles or made up their minds to serve the interests of the masses and become one with them.

* * *

Workers, peasants, students and progressive intellectuals, unite!

Down with U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Down with the fascist acts of the Marcos puppet reactionary regime!

Be resolute, fear no sacrifice, surmount every difficulty to win victory!

Dare to struggle, dare to win!

Fear neither hardship nor death!

Long live the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31!

Victory will belong to the Filipino people!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the New People's Army!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao. Tsetung Thought!

AMADO GUERRERO
Chairman
Communist Party of the Philippines

DANTE
Commander-in-Chief
New People's Army

February 8, 1970

ON THE FEBRUARY 12 DEMONSTRATION

The February 12 demonstration at Plaza Miranda shows beyond doubt that the revolutionary mass movement has already grown to such an extent that it cannot be trifled with. It is the fruit of a long period of consistent revolutionary efforts, especially of revolutionary propaganda during the last decade. The revolutionary mass movement is now thriving on objective conditions that are extremely favorable for advancing the national democratic revolution.

The February 12 demonstration at Plaza Miranda, attended by 100,000 people despite clever counter-revolutionary efforts to sabotage it, has strengthened the revolutionary spirit of the broad masses of the Filipino people. It has stirred simultaneous demonstrations in almost all major cities, provincial capitals and other places in the country. It is fired by the selfless sacrifice of four student martyrs, thousands of gravely injured people and hundreds of others arrested en masse by the fascist brutes under the orders of the Marcos fascist puppet clique acting on behalf of U.S. imperialism and feudalism.

The February 12 demonstration proves that the Filipino people are courageous in the face of enemy

intimidation and deception. It brilliantly shows the struggle for national democracy is surging forward ever more vigorously under the powerful illumination of the universal ideology of the proletariat Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Never before has there been such a demonstration as huge as the February 12 demonstration in the entire history of the revolutionary mass movement, not even in the 1946-50 period.

Marcos "Nationalists" and Lava Revisionist Renegades

That the February 12 demonstration was almost completely sabotaged by counter-revolutionaries should deserve the keenest perception and study. The Marcos "nationalists" and the Lava revisionist renegades worked in concert with each other in a vicious attempt to scuttle the demonstration by using the tactic of raising the red banner only to attack it.

In a calculated attempt to minimize the responsibility of Marcos as a top running dog or as a big fascist puppet of U.S. imperialism and as the chief political agent of the local exploiting classes, the Lava revisionist renegades took the initiative of peddling through the MPKP spokesman as early as February 4 the erroneous line that "Marcos is only a small, although significant part" of "the neo-colonial-bourgeois political system" (whatever that means) and to complain about a "purely anti-Marcos line." Taking the pretense of being more left than the Left, the Lava revisionist renegades actually tried to maneuver mass organizations into the idealist and rightist position of flying away from the concrete

dialectics of the struggle, of glossing over the fascist brutality and puppetry of Marcos under the guise of being concerned with bigger issues beyond the current issue. The reactionary line of the Lava revisionist renegades ran counter to the correct line that Marcos is a fascist puppet of U.S. imperialism and chief representative of such local exploiting classes as the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord class. In broadening the issues, we should never belittle the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 (and the criminal responsibility of Marcos) so long as we base ourselves on the mass mobilization ignited by them.

In a counter-revolutionary maneuver, the Marcos "nationalists" echoed the Marcos line of intimidation by spreading fear among the people that if the militant mass movement were intensified Marcos might be forced to seek further support from U.S. imperialism or a CIA coup might occur. And the Lava revisionist renegades, always boastful of their connections in the innermost sanctums of the state and now so hopeful of manna from the Marcos reactionary regime, converged with the Marcos "nationalists" on the line of intimidation against the people. The rightist essence of their "Left" phraseology is to prettify Marcos as one who neither belongs to the Left nor to the Right, as one who is not at all the principal rightist hatchetman of U.S. imperialism and domestic feudalism today and as one who does not enjoy the support of the CIA. The Marcos "nationalists" and the Lava revisionist renegades would like to exculpate Marcos from the murder of four student heroes and two other people, the maiming

of several thousands and the arrest of hundreds of people. What a treachery to the revolutionary movement! There was even the insidious and slanderous attempt by these counter-revolutionaries to picture the revolutionary mass movement as a plaything of the CIA if it continued to take its militant course.

What was the result of the erroneous line of intimidation and deception of the Marcos "nationalists" and the Lava revisionist renegades? It led to a "dialogue", empty concessions from Marcos and a vile agreement to call off the February 12 demonstration. The Lava revisionist renegades celebrated their treason the morning of February 12 with a press release in the name of the bourgeois pacifist organization BRPF that "dialogues with President Marcos may be resorted to only as an occasion to further intensify the national democratic struggle." In another press release of the same morning, the Lava revisionist renegades through the MPKP spokesman announced that they were in a quandary as whether to join or not the February 12 demonstration in a vile attempt to confuse the masses. It was good that the genuine leaders of the revolutionary mass movement were able to counteract firmly the malicious efforts of the Marcos "nationalists" and the Lava revisionist renegades. They realized that the dialectics of revolutionary struggle is concrete and that any political struggle develops step by step. They were clear-headed enough to see that the more Marcos resorts to violence the more will the people resist. Only the Marcos "nationalists" and the Lava revisionists will cower with their philosophy of survival in an attempt to protect their lucrative

personal income and employment in the reactionary state.

What were the results of the vicious attempts of the state to suppress the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31? A bigger avalanche of mass protest, which was February 12. Now, Marcos the fascist puppet chieftain should realize that he can no longer intimidate or deceive the people. He can just imagine how he would fare if 100,000 people marched on Malacañang Palace or even if only 1,000 activists would choose to go to the countryside to fight his rightist regime. The more he tries to intimidate or deceive the people the more will he accelerate the downfall of the counter-revolutionary state of which he is now the commander-in-chief.

If the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos should come to the brink of being overthrown and the CIA should try to salvage him or put another puppet in his place, then the revolutionary mass movement will only step up its revolutionary struggle, especially in the countryside. How much nicer it would be if the U.S. imperialists and reactionaries in the Philippines can no longer boast of their regular elections! That would be a striking manifestation of how strong the revolutionary mass movement has become. Indeed, before an entire counter-revolutionary state as that of the Philippines falls, it could come to be steered by a series of tyrants and it will certainly do its worst with the aid of the imperialists. But this would not deter real revolutionaries from fighting continuously from one phase to another phase. It is stupid to blame revolutionaries for the rise of fascism and the supposed possibility of a rightist coup

just as it is stupid to blame the heroic revolutionary Vietnamese people for the series of rightist coups and the large-scale invasion of south Vietnam by U.S. imperialism. The Vietnamese people have continued to fight fiercely against the chain of puppet replacements for Ngo Dinh Diem made by the CIA.

The Swindle That Failed

What were those things promised by Marcos in exchange for calling off the February 12 demonstration? He promised thirteen nothings:

1. An inter-departmental committee will be constituted immediately to undertake a comprehensive review of American aid programs and foundations to find out if these are compatible or not to the nationalist aspirations of the Filipino people and whether these should be scrapped or not. Particular attention will be focused on American influence in the military, educational, economic and labor fields.

Our observation: Another committee of running dogs is another farce. A "review" by it is meaningless for the revolutionary mass movement. A comprehensive review of all these have already been made in the programmes of militant mass organizations and the Communist Party of the Philippines.

2. The relief of three pro-American cabinet members — Executive Secretary Alejandro Melchor, Finance Secretary Cesar Virata and Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile — shall be considered seriously.

Our observation: "Serious consideration" amounts to nothing. In the same tete-a-tete with the Movement for a Democratic Philippines, Marcos defended these well-known U.S. agents as "nationalists". What about Ople who has been a CIA agent since his Magsaysay days? And Marcos himself who bragged of CIA support in 1965.

3. The nationalist sector shall have a choice in all appointments to vital government departments and educational institutions particularly in education, labor, military, agriculture, economic planning bodies and the University of the Philippines.

The recall of the appointment of Alexander Sycip and Leonides Virata to the U.P. Board of Regents will be studied.

Our observation: What does Marcos mean by "nationalist sector"? Besides, offering government offices to bribe revolutionary activists is malicious. Puppetry to U.S. imperialism characterizes the highest appointees of Marcos.

4. Trade and cultural ties will be instituted with Eastern European countries immediately with the sending of officially accredited representatives. The possibility of securing loans or aid from said countries shall be explored. Official attitude toward Peking and Moscow shall be taken up immediately with the Foreign Policy Council.

Our observation: This is obviously the booty being dangled before the Lava revisionist running dogs of Soviet social-imperialism for their cooperation with the Marcos fascist puppet regime. U.S. imperialism has already instructed the Marcos fascist puppet clique

to accommodate Soviet social-imperialism in line with the global counter-revolutionary alliance of opposing the people, communism and China. This is no concession. Relations with Soviet social-imperialism or the so-called "community of socialist states" referred to by the Lava revisionist renegades will only add to the intensification of the exploitation of the Filipino people. The Soviet Union is no longer a socialist country; it has become capitalist, social-fascist and social-imperialist. Soviet social-imperialist "loans" and "aid" are no different from U.S. imperialist "loans" and "aid", as proven in the cases of India, Indonesia and so many others.

5. Court charges against the staff members of the *Dumaguete Times* will be recommended for dropping. Majority of the cases filed for the Jan. 26 and 30 demonstrations will likewise be dropped. The President will take a "bend backward" attitude towards cases that cannot be compromised in the interest of peace and order.

Our observation: There is no prima facie evidence against the staff members of *Dumaguete Times*. The charges against them should have been dropped a long time ago at the fiscal's office. With regard to those charged in connection with the demonstrations, the reactionary state has no right to make charges invoking the name of the people if it cannot even pinpoint the murderers of six people and all the perpetrators of the maiming and illegal detention of demonstrators.

6. The President will order an investigation of military and police authorities responsible for

the death of four students and two non-students and the maiming of hundreds in the Jan. 26 and 30 demonstrations.

In the case of Manuel Alabado, U.S. Tobacco Corporation union official, the President will order the prosecution of Tarlac provincial commander Col. Tomas Diaz.

Our observation: "Investigations" and "prosecutions" of military and police authorities have always ended up in their exculpation and commendation in cases where they commit the crime at the bidding of Marcos himself. Is it easily forgotten that Marcos commended and promoted his military accomplices in the murder of the four students and two other people, maiming of thousands and mass arrests of hundreds of people?

7. The military harassment, surveillance and wire-tapping of the U.P., P.C.C., Lyceum, the headquarters of the K.M., S.D.K., M.P.K.P. and other nationalist groups will be stopped immediately.

Our observation: So many times has Marcos previously made orders for the military to stop its harassment, surveillance and wire-tapping of the headquarters of organizations and homes of individuals.

8. Material assistance will be extended to the families of the victims of the January 30 rally.

Our observation: It is callous for Marcos to put on the bargaining table the question of extending material assistance to the families of the victims of his fascist brutality.

9. President Marcos will proclaim a Jan. 30 Educational Fund Campaign to last 60 days to enable youth-peasant-labor groups represented to raise funds for the advancement of nationalism. *Our observation:* So Marcos wants to seize the leadership over the revolutionary mass movement by issuing a proclamation to guide it in an educational and fund campaign. The target of the revolutionary mass movement becomes the principal motive force after one dialogue. That is a big joke. He arrogantly underestimates the revolutionary masses.

10. A thorough assessment of the Central Luzon problems will be made. The Monkees will be disbanded. Pampanga Gov. Francisco Nepomuceno and Angeles City Mayor Eugenio Suarez will be requested to go abroad so that armed elements and private armies which are not members of the AFP services in their areas can be disarmed and arrested.

The Home Defense Forces will be reassessed for possible scrapping and the dissolution of the Special Forces and their reintegration to regular services shall be effected.

Our observation: How many times have Marcos and his military henchmen "disbanded" the "Monkees"? This beats the cat with nine lives. Only the New People's Army, through its policy of annihilation can do this.

Marcos has the temerity to say that the AFP is the best among the devils and it wants to lord over Angeles City in the absence of Nepomuceno and Suarez.

Even as Marcos promises to reassess the Home Defense Forces for possible "scrapping" and "dissolution", Brig. Gen. Garcia is supposed to have "scrapped" and "dissolved" them by press release. After all, scrapping and dissolution in the dictionary of Marcos and his military henchmen are synonymous to relabeling or reintegration into the same counter-revolutionary armed forces.

11. The administration will consider an increase in minimum wage both to industrial and agricultural workers. It will undertake a thorough probe of the *sacada* problem in Negros with the immediate dispatch of 15 impartial investigators. It will also consider a profit-sharing plan involving private industries.

Our observation: Real wages have rapidly fallen under the rightist regime of Marcos. Mere consideration of wage adjustment at this stage is meaningless unless the workers themselves hold general strikes which will certainly come again into conflict with the military.

So many times in press releases, Marcos and people have investigated the *sacada* problem and they wish once more to launch an "investigating" expedition.

"Profit-sharing" is a device being propagandized by pseudo-nationalists to cover up foreign monopoly control of Philippine corporations. It is also a device for capturing the meager savings of workers and dissuading them from exercising their democratic right to strike.

12. Government hospitals and medical services particularly the PGH and Dr. Jose Reyes

Memorial Hospital shall enjoy priority status over other government programs.

The Medicare program shall be implemented and a broader coverage will be proposed to include workers in the private sector.

Our observation: These things were promised many times before to other organizations and in other demonstrations.

13. The administration shall give top priority to the demands and problems of state colleges and universities.

Our observation: These things were promised so many times before to other organizations in other demonstrations.

The Lessons That We Have Learned

The Marcos "nationalists" and the Lava revisionist renegades apologize for the Marcos reactionary regime that it should not at all be blamed for the "accumulation" of wrongs left by "history". The quickest riposte to this bit of counter-revolutionary idealism is that the Marcos reactionary regime is not only trying to perpetuate the imperialist and feudal oppression of the broad masses of the people but in his role as a fascist puppet is also trying to use every possible cruel means to intensify it. Certainly, Marcos all by himself cannot change the accumulation of historical wrongs without the support of the people but what he has been doing precisely is to aggravate the oppression of the people.

One important lesson that has been gained by revolutionary militants in the course of preparing

for and executing the February 12 demonstration is to maintain initiative and independence in a united front of various organizations and also not to engage in a "united front" with the Lava revisionist renegades and Marcos "nationalists". It is impossible to have a united front with these counter-revolutionary scoundrels who will only take every opportunity to sabotage the revolutionary mass movement. After transforming the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism into an instrument of Marcos "nationalism" and modern revisionism, the Marcos "nationalists" and the Lava revisionist renegades are now maneuvering to sabotage further the revolutionary mass movement outside the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism. The Lava revisionist renegades have been particularly clever in sneaking into the ranks of militant organizations while at the same time slandering the militant mass demonstrations of January 26 and 30-31 as actions going "along a disastrous adventurist line".

It should always be kept in mind by all proletarian revolutionary cadres that a firm, clear and correct political line is necessary to undo our doubts, fears and vacillations and frustrate the most clever saboteurs who try to creep into the revolutionary mass movement. Those who have been misled by the Marcos "nationalists" and Lava revisionist renegades should rectify their errors. They should not be misled by any attempt of the Lava revisionist renegades to cover up their ugly tracks even if they go to the extent of attacking the Marcos "nationalists" because the former have bigger pretensions as revolutionaries although they are in fact counter-revolutionaries and

they always make it a point to attack real revolutionaries.

To underscore the heroism of the masses in militant demonstrations, the leading activists should cease to make too much protestations about their pacifist intentions and to broadcast that they could be infiltrated by "provocateurs". The central fact in the January 26 and 30-31 demonstrations was that the masses were frontally and criminally attacked by the fascist henchmen of Marcos and that the masses in turn counter-attacked in courageous self-defense. The leading activists and the masses should not flinch from pointing the accusing finger at the enemy in the most forthright manner.

The masses have correctly taken up the battle-cry, "Makibaka, huwag matakot!" (Fight, don't be cowed!) This is certainly far better and more inspiring than the bourgeois-pacifist top tune "We shall overcome" of the local revisionist renegades. There would have been no February 12 if there had been no January 26 and 30-31.

—*Ang Bayan*

ON THE FEBRUARY 18 PUBLIC MEETING

New Awakening Rises Higher

The February 18 Plaza Miranda public meeting, now widely called a people's congress, has proven that the new awakening of the Filipino people against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and fascism is rising higher and can no longer be brought down by the reactionaries without being inflicted with more powerful blows.

Mass participation was even larger and even more vigorous than the February 12 public meeting. Tens of thousands of people from all walks of life thronged the plaza and filled the streets radiating from it. The public meeting was definitely larger than any held by the reactionaries of whatever party or organization.

The people who came were in outrage and shouted their determination to smash U.S. imperialism and the local exploiting classes — all on whose behalf the Marcos fascist puppet regime is resorting to the use of murder both openly and secretly. All throughout the public meeting, the speakers and mass parti-

cipants vigorously demanded the overthrow of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and fascism.

A dramatic presentation re-enacted the U.S. conquest of the Philippines, the local mimicry of decadent imperialist culture and the brutality of the puppet politicians. It gave focus to the heroic resistance made by the students against the reactionary troops and police in what is now known as the Battle of Mendiola.

Many people also came with numerous placards denouncing Japanese imperialism and Soviet social imperialism as partners of U.S. imperialism. The local revisionist renegades wanting to sneak into the mass action shuddered at the comprehensive scope of the protest. Previously, they had gloated over the fact that the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos had been singling out the "Maoists" as his enemy and making assurances that he would cooperate with the revisionist counter-revolutionaries.

From Plaza Miranda, a wave of people marched in the direction of Malacañang Palace. Completely outwitted, practically all the fascist brutes — from the city police to the crack troops of the reactionaries — deployed themselves in the vicinity of the fascist puppet chieftain's fortification. Brilliantly the people marched wave upon wave towards the U.S. embassy to express their just indignation against U.S. imperialism, the No. 1 enemy of the Filipino people and master of the Marcos fascist puppet regime.

For the first time, the outer and inner gates of the U.S. embassy were broken by demonstrators charging with sticks, stones and home-made bombs

consequently, the demonstrators were able to make their way into the embassy grounds and buildings to smash whatever they could as a forceful expression of the people's protest against the transgression of their sovereignty and territorial integrity by U.S. imperialism.

The fascist puppets converged on Roxas Blvd. to defend their master. All major services of the reactionary armed forces and the metropolitan police came with all their available forces. Immediately, a fretful U.S. military officer in civilian clothes took command over the puppet troops and police.

But once more they were outwitted when the mass of demonstrators broke up into several groups and attacked such alien establishments as Caltex, Esso, Philamlife and other imperialist enterprises. They carefully avoided doing harm to petty bourgeois and middle bourgeois establishments, with the exception of a gossip center owned by a paid lack of the Marcos fascist puppet regime who has been virulently attacking the national democratic movement. Nevertheless, there were plainclothesmen and hooligans directed by the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos and his notorious co-puppet Villegas to indiscriminately attack private vehicles and small establishments in a futile attempt to smear the high prestige of the demonstrators.

All through the night as the fascist brutes arrested and beat up people at random, the number of those resisting them swelled. The resistance of the people of Manila spread as far as the student quarters of Sampaloc, with that portion of Claro M. Recto Avenue bounded by Legarda St. and Quezon

Blvd. as the focus. The patriotic struggle against the fascist brutes continued until the wee hours of the following day. People threw every possible disposable object at them from windows and roof tops.

The Puppets Apologize to Their Imperialist Master

The Marcos fascist puppet regime, through an old running dog of U.S. imperialism, had obsequiously prepared an abject note of apology even before the U.S. ambassador and CIA agent Byroade presented his note of protest scolding the local puppets for their "dereliction of duty". At the bidding of their imperialist master, all the local reactionaries deplored the patriotic mass action as "riotous vandalism". The truly deplorable puppetry of these reactionaries became obvious when the people recalled that the U.S. government had not even cared to make a reply to three diplomatic letters of the Philippine reactionary government concerning the murder of Filipinos by U.S. personnel on three separate occasions.

Insinuating themselves in a meeting of the Movement for a Democratic Philippines, the counter-revolutionary revisionists masterminded by the black Lava gang raised the question of whether to condemn or not the patriotic attack against the U.S. embassy. The kind of question raised by these scoundrels exposed once more their utterly reactionary character. It also came to light that a small pack of these counter-revolutionary pretenders had joined the Plaza Miranda public meeting only to try vainly to discourage the people from marching to the U.S. embassy.

With all vehemence that they could command, the enemies of the national democratic movement condemned the revolutionary violence employed by the demonstrators as something veering from the submissive peace that they wished. The reactionaries completely obscured the counter-revolutionary violence unleashed by them against the people. The cruder propagandists among them complained most about the militant assault on the U.S. embassy. The more clever among them attempted to discredit the main current of the public meeting and subsequent demonstration by complaining about the peripheral actions of those plainclothesmen and hooligans ordered by both Marcos and Villegas to attack private vehicles and small establishments.

The big hullabaloo raised by the reactionaries about the well-placed blows against U.S. imperialism dealt by the demonstrators was actually meant to obscure the fact that scores of patriotic demonstrators were brutally treated by the reactionary troops and police in the vicinity of the U.S. embassy and Malacañang Palace. No greater harm could be made by these fascist brutes only because the demonstrators had learned how to resist and outwit them.

The broad masses of the people, including positive elements in the metropolitan newspapers, wholeheartedly welcomed the patriotic attack against the U.S. embassy. In answer to the reactionary comments that it was uncalled for, they angrily retorted that the demonstrations had cost U.S. imperialism only a few dollars worth of glass and furniture. Even if the U.S. embassy had been leveled to the ground, the amount of destruction is nothing compared to a

day's profit or bloodsucking by U.S. monopolies on the oppressed and exploited Filipino people.

For the last seven decades, U.S. imperialism has continued to enjoy the fruits of conquest which entailed the murder of at least 250,000 Filipinos in the Filipino-American War. Until now, U.S. military base personnel continue to murder Filipinos and go scot-free with the full protection of their government.

More powerful blows against U.S. imperialism and its local puppet die-hards are bound to come. The symbolic attack against the U.S. embassy are but appropriate part of general preparations for more sanguinary struggles to resist and oust U.S. imperialism. Even as the puppet reactionaries threaten to unleash campaigns of suppression, the Filipino people are bracing themselves for a more sustained and more determined revolutionary struggle.

Fascist Puppet Chieftain Marcos Widens Field of Combat

Refusing to learn the lesson that more counter-revolutionary violence begets more revolutionary violence, the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos called to Camp Aguinaldo provincial governors and city mayors and instructed them to organize "strike forces" against the people. Little does he seem to realize that he can no longer intimidate the people who are becoming increasingly angry at him for intensifying their exploitation at the bidding of U.S. imperialism and the local ruling classes.

Many, if not most, of the students now fighting him in the streets of Manila will themselves go

very soon to their respective home provinces to explain the issue of imperialism, feudalism and fascism and express them in the most concrete terms that they will learn from the masses themselves. As of now, people in the provinces have already started to manifest their indignation against Marcos as the chief political representative of the entire rotten system. As armed force is being prepared against them by the local tyrants, they should consider as a good opportunity for exposing in a sharper way the tyranny being suffered by the people and for proving the necessity of people's war in the countryside. As the field of combat widens, the Marcos fascist puppet regime and its imperialist masters as in Vietnam will find their financial and manpower resources more depleted.

The Marcos fascist puppet regime cannot always fool the people. It cannot indefinitely shoulder the expenses for "loyalty" rallies and for a bigger military machine. It will do so only by aggravating the inflation that has already beset the nation and by exposing further the malevolence of his puppetry to U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism itself is now disastrously over-extended all over the world and is suffering grave political and economic crises. In the long run, the foolish effort of the Marcos fascist puppet regime to save itself with more vicious means will only result in its more rapid downfall.

At the moment, the counter-revolutionary dual tactics being employed by the Marcos fascist puppet regime only reveal the desperate situation into which it has plunged itself. At one turn, it tries to sound ferocious in boasting about 50,000 fascist brutes and

yet even at this early stage militant demonstrators have already shown greater number and unprecedented militance. At another turn, it tries to sound sweet and cajoling and yet it is ruthlessly exposed as hypocritical by the objective course of events and by the powerful analysis made by the Communist Party of the Philippines, now employing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical weapon.

The Marcos fascist puppet regime wishes to silence the revolutionary mass movement by murdering its leaders and activists. But it can no longer do so without attacking the people and committing serious political errors. The Communist Party of the Philippines is now deeply embedded among the broad masses of the people.

—*Ang Bayan*

ON THE FEBRUARY 26 RESISTANCE

Bankruptcy of the Entire Reactionary State

The bankruptcy of the three branches of the reactionary government was laid bare on February 26. First, Philippine fascist puppet chieftain Marcos and Manila fascist puppet chieftain Villegas, personifying both the Nacionalista and Liberal parties, conspired to make use of their executive powers over the military and police to quell what was planned by the Movement for a Democratic Philippines as the third session of the people's congress. Second, the joint Senate-House committee allowed a paid agent of the Marcos fascist puppet regime to hog the limelight in casting slander against the activists and organizations participating in all previous demonstrations. Third, the Supreme Court which always takes pride in its seeming aloofness and black-robed pomposity once more displayed its ugly nature as a callous apparatus of the state. The reactionary state has resorted to the use of all its apparatuses for coercion, the army, the police, the prisons and the courts, to suppress the raging national democratic movement.

At so early a stage in the cultural revolution for the people's democratic revolution, all branches of the

government have become exposed to the people as instruments of national and class oppression. Indeed, it is starkly clear that revolution is the best form of education. Without revolution, there would only be mis-education and the perpetuation of lies. National and class oppression would go on so long as wrong ideas and false hopes would still pervade society. Truth which cannot be had in the classrooms is now flaming out from the crucible of the revolutionary mass struggle.

Despite the decision of the Supreme Court upholding the privilege of Villegas to use his police power to prevent people from assembling, thousands upon thousands of unarmed people still courageously assembled at Plaza Miranda on February 26 and were able to demonstrate that the real minority of reactionaries in Philippine society are riding roughshod over the real majority of the people. Encouraged by the stupid decision of the Supreme Court, over 1,000 Manila policemen and another more than 1,000 Metrocom and armed forces men came in full combat gear and chased people out of Plaza Miranda and beat them up. Those who were indiscriminately harmed by the police included people who were merely crossing the public plaza. By its own acts, the reactionary state has shown that it is merely usurping the name of the people to oppress and harm the people. The only reason why the real minority of oppressors and exploiters in Philippine society has been able to boast of a "silent majority" is because previously there was yet no revolutionary struggle of such intensity as the present to show who truly com-

pose the majority and who truly compose the minority.

The real minority is composed of the exploiting classes whose die-hards do not even make one per cent of the population. The real majority is composed of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the patriotic businessmen who together make more than 90 per cent of the population. It is in the absence of revolutionary struggle that the real minority can usurp the name of the real majority by employing deception and violence. The real minority hates revolution because the reactionary government, parties, organizations, schools and other paraphernalia would be debunked as nothing but tools of oppression and exploitation. Revolution brings out the real majority and isolates the real minority.

After challenging and exposing the brutishness of the police at Plaza Miranda, the people proceeded in a series of waves to the Sunken Garden. The reverse of what Marcos and Villegas expected occurred there. The demonstrators sharpened their determination there and clarified who are the friends and who are the enemies of the Philippine revolution. They took special note of the fact that the reactionaries were trying to discredit the national democratic movement by infiltrating provocateurs into the demonstration in order to wreck petty bourgeois and middle bourgeois establishments and also evoke anti-Chinese chauvinism.

From the Sunken Garden, all the ten thousand demonstrators marched to the U.S. embassy. From other points of the city, other demonstrators came to reinforce them. The police, Metrocom, PC and air force men were there in full force. Defiantly, the

demonstrators threw stones, sticks and home-made bombs over the heads of the fascist puppets guarding the U.S. embassy.

A running battle ensued between the patriotic demonstrators and the fascist puppets. A main force of five thousand demonstrators stood calmly in front of the U.S. embassy as the bulk of the puppet defenders of U.S. imperialism cowered and became tied down across the long fence of the U.S. embassy. At the same time, the rest of the demonstrators in compact groups ran around in circles as fast as they could lob a home-made bomb at the U.S. embassy. Not a single militant was caught in the process. At the same time, demonstration marshalls saw to it that the hired goons of Marcos and Villegas would not inflict as much damage on small establishments as before. Thus, several of these goons were caught and pummeled with blows by the demonstrators.

The Lie of Liberal Democracy

Upon the instructions of the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos through a hot line, the city fascist puppet chieftain Villegas gave orders to go all out once more against the demonstrators. This was after the fascist brutes estimated that the demonstrators had run out of ammunition. But then at the same time the demonstrators had decided to move out in groups and in various directions.

Under their theory of "hot pursuit", the fascist brutes gave chase to the demonstrators who seemed to be vanishing into thin air in the Quiapo and Sampaloc areas where student dormitories abound. Caught

in a quandary, the puppet fools resorted to the braggadocio of throwing tear gas bombs at mere spectators and into the windows of student dormitories and other private residences. When the people simply rushed out of the area or were smoked out of their homes, the reactionary troops and police assumed them to be demonstrators, gave chase and mercilessly beat them up. As more people got hurt with truncheons, rifle butts and tear gas bombs, resistance and anger spread fast in the neighborhood as on February 18.

Tearing to shreds all pretensions of the reactionary state to academic freedom, the reactionary troops and police smashed their way into the Philippine College of Commerce over the objections of the college president, arrested and beat up everyone on sight inside the campus and ransacked every room. Faculty members and students were forced at gun point to sit down at the college quadrangle, were beaten up some more and were taunted by police and constabulary men. The uniformed rascals also went around picking up things to pocket and planting what they would consider as evidence of "subversive" activities.

The events of February 26 unfolded the irretrievable rottenness of the entire reactionary state. At the same time, they bore out the revolutionary courage of the people in the face of adversity. As a negative teacher, the reactionary state showed that when it speaks of democracy and constitutional rights it actually speaks of the privilege of the people's enemies to oppress the people. This truth is borne out especially in time of crisis for a decadent political system.

On February 27, the fascist puppet chieftain Marcos pompously declaimed about liberal democracy. He said that the reactionary state was in no danger of a revolutionary overthrow but at the same time he threatened to employ more force against those who dare to demonstrate against his fascist puppet regime. He even boasted of having under his employ conservatives and radicals, as proof of his "liberal democracy". This could be nothing but a bigger lie than "liberal democracy" in this period when the Filipino people are profusely shedding blood for the new democratic revolution.

Deftly making use of Villegas who is under his blackmail, Marcos is masterminding an anti-communist hysteria calculated to silence the people. He is now adopting the tactic of espousing "liberal democracy" and of blaming everyone else (Osmeña, CIA, CSM, Jesuits, etc.) for a possible palace revolution or assassination plot against him to smokescreen his insane plan of assassinating those he frenziedly attacked as "Maoists" on the day following the massacre of four students and two others. The practice of assassination has characterized the Marcos fascist puppet regime, especially in the provinces. It would be foolish for one to fail to see the sinister reasons behind the well-publicized Marcos fear of assassination and insistent references to the principle of self-preservation. It is nothing but a flimsy excuse for the assassination of others, in the face of the growing mass protest movement against his fascist puppet regime.

—Ang Bayan

ON THE MARCH 3 PEOPLE'S MARCH

It is now clear that the issues against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are widely understood and grasped by the Filipino people. A strong proof of this was the People's March which was launched last March 3.

The March 3 People's March earned the cheers, sympathy and support of the city residents as it started from the boundary of Manila and Quezon City passing through the districts of Sampaloc, Sta. Cruz, Tondo and Binondo where the masses of workers and poor people in the city dwell. Like an on-rushing wave, the ranks of the marchers grew bigger and larger numbering more than 20,000 when it reached its converging point at Plaza Lawton. Afterwards it proceeded to the U.S. embassy and besieged this hated symbol of U.S. imperialism in the country.

This is a hard blow to the reactionary enemies who have been desperately smearing the militant demonstrators and organizations in the city by spreading the lie that mass actions and demonstrations do not enjoy the support of the masses of the people.

The 23-kilometer march which lasted for six hours shook the whole city. Angry slogans "Down



with U.S. imperialism!", "Down with Feudalism!", "Down with the fascist puppet Marcos!" and "Long live the Filipino people!" thundered everywhere. The ever-rising enthusiasm of the marchers was further animated by their spirited chant: "Makibaka, huwag matakot!" (Fight, don't be cowed!)

In mortal fear of the angry criticisms of the workers, students and intellectuals, the Marcos fascist puppet regime panicked like a mad dog. Hurriedly, the reactionary state sent thousands of reactionary armed troops, police, Metrocom and special forces to suppress mercilessly the demonstrators. As before, guns, truncheons and tear gas bombs were used to disperse the marchers. Many were beaten and maimed. Many were unjustly arrested and jailed. During this fierce attack by the fascist beasts unleashed by the reactionary state, a student again died fighting — Enrique Sta. Brigida — adding one more to the list of heroes who have sacrificed their lives in the city and in the countryside to continue through to the end the struggle for national democracy. The people once more witnessed how the Marcos fascist puppet regime acting on behalf of U.S. imperialism and feudalism would ruthlessly suppress the democratic rights of the demonstrators.

However, the bloody suppression of the March 3 People's March failed to intimidate the masses of workers, student and youth who joined the historic mass action. It only goaded them more to wage a resolute struggle for national democracy. With revolutionary courage, they fought back the fascist pup-

pet military troops with stones, bottles, placard handles and home-made bombs.

While this revolutionary and courageous struggle in the city has inspired the armed struggle waged in the countryside by the New People's Army under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, it has also shown how armed struggle in the countryside would enliven with news of victories the revolutionary mass actions and struggle in the city.

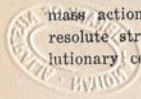
The Meaning of the People's March

The March 3 People's March is another wave in the high tide of mass actions and demonstrations in the past months of January and February. It is a part of the national democratic cultural revolution which is now increasingly raging all over the country.

This cultural revolution clearly explains the national democratic character of the present stage of the Philippine revolution. It shows that its main targets are U.S. imperialism, local feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and that its motive forces are the workers, peasants and the revolutionary section of the petty bourgeoisie.

This cultural revolution sharply points out that the only road towards the triumph of the national democratic revolution is armed struggle under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party of the Philippines. The cultural revolution is a basic preparation for nationwide advance of the people's war in the countryside.

The People's March has brought closer and made more urgent to the broad masses of the people the



necessity of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It is now widely understood by the broad masses of the people that the ruthless exploitation of U.S. imperialism and its local reactionary allies is the root cause of poverty and oppression of the Filipino nation. Now they can correctly interpret the present devaluation of the peso, high prices of commodities, unemployment, widespread hunger and suffering, graft and corruption in the government and decadent culture. It is also widely understood that only through armed struggle can the people bring about the downfall of the enemies of national democracy.

The People's March is a clarion call for more widespread and more intensified mass actions, especially among the toiling people. The strike called by tens of thousands of drivers in Manila and suburbs paralyzed transportation in the metropolitan area. That these strikers coordinated with the demonstrating youth and students is a sign of a rapidly growing unity among the people, especially the proletariat and the student youth. There is no doubt that the March 3 People's March gave testimony to such a patriotic unity. There is now a very strong indication that a storm of workers' strikes would shake the cities in the near future side by side with the intensified armed struggle of peasant fighters in the countryside.

Enemy Tactics of Deception

At present, the enemy is cudgelling its brain to think out ways to destroy or weaken the movement for national democracy. The policy of deception is the other face of the same coin of the fascist sup-

pression of the people. It is important in the struggle for national democracy to recognize the various tactics of deception, to expose and oppose them.

Heading the list of the targets of slander and intrigue of the reactionary state and the pseudo-revolutionaries are the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and other revolutionary mass organizations. An example of this is the fake letter published in the *Philippine Collegian* of U.P. and carrying the patently forged signature of the commander-in-chief of the New People's Army. It is stated in the fake letter that it is dangerous for the students to continue their demonstrations against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism because it might end up in a coup d'etat like what happened in Indonesia or that it might pave the way for a more ruthless puppet of U.S. imperialism. This is a shameless attempt to cover up the condemnable puppetry of the reactionary Marcos administration to U.S. imperialism and to wash its hands of the blood of those it has murdered in the city and in the countryside.

This trick of branding genuine revolutionaries as enemies of the people can no longer deceive the masses who now recognize who their friends are and who their enemies are. More and more people now accept and grasp the correct line and leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines for a victorious national democratic revolution.

Another counter-revolutionary intrigue which is aimed to whip up hatred against staunch supporters of the people's democratic revolution is the racist anti-Chinese line peddled by CIA agents like Bagat-

sing, scabs like Oca and Hernandez and others. Through a put-up and fake student organization, the reactionary state has attempted many times to mislead the masses of the Filipino people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism by espousing a so-called "anti-Chinese imperialism" battlecry. Yet the anti-Chinese racists are actually agents of both the CIA and the Chiang bandit gang.

The Filipino revolutionaries appreciate and recognize the fact that the People's Republic of China is the iron bastion of the international revolutionary movement and the staunchest ally of the peoples of the world in struggle against U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. The Red-baiting tactic of the die-hard anti-communists becomes ridiculous now that the masses of the people themselves are fighting their real class enemies.

The reactionary state has been getting the help of the counter-revolutionary revisionist Lava clique to discredit and sabotage true revolutionary organizations. By hoisting its banner of "peaceful approach," the revisionist Lava clique has betrayed the masses of the people by closing its eyes to the murder, torture, illegal arrest and other forms of persecution used by the Marcos fascist puppet regime.

An undeniable example of the despicable counter-revolutionary trait of the counter-revolutionary revisionist Lava clique is the slander levelled by the Lava-controlled Malayang Pagkakaisa ng Kabataang Pilipino (MPKP) against the participants of the March 3 People's March. While the demonstrators fought back in self-defense against the fascist military troops

guarding the U.S. embassy, the extremely small band of revisionist traitors separated itself from the masses of demonstrators, sat it out there in front of the embassy unmindful of the bloody suppression of the People's March and enjoyed the protection of the police and Metrocom no less. The MPKP also issued a statement to the press denouncing the revolutionary violence resorted to by the workers and students in their defense against counter-revolutionary violence. This group even boasted that they had nothing to do with the U.S. embassy struggle.

Not satisfied in accusing the demonstrators as "vandals", the reactionary government fielded its hired goons and agents to infiltrate the ranks of the demonstrators. These goons and agents were instructed to stone and destroy small private establishments making it appear that the demonstrators were responsible for these acts of destruction. The flushing out of a plainclothes Metrocom agent who lobbed a tear gas bomb amidst the demonstrators was a clear proof of this dirty tactic of the reactionary military to paint a bad picture of demonstrations.

It is argued by the enemies of national democracy that mass actions and demonstrations are causing the crisis in the economy. The truth, however, is that the growing discontent of the masses of the people in the countryside and in the cities is caused by the very servitude of the Marcos reactionary regime to U.S. imperialism and feudalism.

Through its hired publicists, the reactionary state is desperately trying to describe the demonstrations as the making of a "noisy minority". The series of people's marches have belied this. Everybody

knows how the masses of city residents have appreciated, joined or supported the demonstrations. No counter-revolutionary propaganda can deny the fact that the national democratic revolution will achieve victory because more than 90 per cent of the masses — the workers, the peasants and progressive intellectuals — are on the side of the revolution.

The vilification campaign and tactics of deception of the enemy against the national democratic movement will never cease, and the more they will be intensified as the revolution advances. Indeed, to be attacked by the enemy is a good thing.

Broaden the Revolutionary Front

While we lay bare and fight the counter-revolutionary schemes of the enemy of the national democratic revolution, it is necessary to expand the revolutionary front. The present excellent revolutionary situation offers the best opportunity to unite under the banner of national democratic revolution all the classes oppressed and exploited by U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The past mass actions and demonstrations which have been mainly participated in by the youth and students have shaken the whole nation and have brought fear among the ruling classes. It must be recognized that these patriotic actions constitute a forward step towards a more intense struggle of the broad masses of working people for national democracy. Every revolutionary must devote his full attention and efforts to firmly integrating the activities of the youth and students to the workers' movement in the city and the peasant movement in the countryside.

The fast rising revolutionary movement can no longer be stopped. The broad masses of the people are now certain of victory because there is now the correct leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines which is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

In the months to come, there will occur more intense and more widespread mass actions that will surely shake the regime of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The mighty crushing blows that this movement will deal the enemy will certainly open wider the road of the national democratic revolution.

—*Ang Bayan*

ON THE MARCH 17 POOR PEOPLE'S MARCH

Hundreds of thousands of people once more thronged the streets of Manila and suburbs on March 17 during the Poor People's March. It culminated the series of mass actions, in what is now called the First Quarter Storm of 1970 launched by the masses of workers, peasants, student youth and progressive intellectuals in the cities and countryside to demonstrate their persistent struggle against the evils of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The March 17 Poor People's March was another declaration of support made by the masses in the city for the people's democratic revolution, particularly for the armed struggle now being resolutely waged by the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army.

The March 17 Poor People's March completely isolated and excluded the black bourgeois gang of the Lava's, the Philippine agents of modern revisionism. Many of those previously hoodwinked by this counter-revolutionary tool of U.S. imperialism saw through the political bankruptcy of the revisionist ringleaders and adopted the slogans raised by the revolutionary masses.

The March

The March 17 Poor People's March started before noon with the four groups of marchers coming from four separate points: Quezon City, Makati, Caloocan and Tondo. Wave upon wave, the marchers converged at the university belt in Sampaloc area. Already numbering tens of thousands, they were to be met and joined by thousands more of cheering students coming from the many colleges and universities in the area. From Sampaloc, the marchers swelled through the main streets and avenues of Manila on its way to Plaza Moriones in Tondo to conduct the public trial for U.S. imperialism, feudalism, the Marcos fascist puppet regime and other big enemies of the Filipino masses.

Hundreds of thousands filled the sidewalks as city residents poured out of their houses to applaud or join the march. Everywhere still more people from sidestreets hurried to reach up with the gigantic march. The people cheered and shouted words of support and encouragement. They, especially the poor people of Sta. Cruz and Tondo, manifested their support by handing out to the marchers food and refreshment, cigarettes and cash contributions. The marchers became even more enthusiastic in holding high their banners and placards. Newcomers reinforced the march and made it even more vigorous and militant.

Workers came out of the factories to cheer the marchers and express their support. Thousands of them left their chores and joined the march. The busy people in stores and markets paused from their work to watch and cheer the massive march. The

March 17 Poor People's March once more exposed to lie that national democratic mass actions do not enjoy the support and sympathy of the masses of the people.

The intense summer heat and the blistering 30 kilometer meandering trek to Plaza Moriones never broke the revolutionary spirit of the marchers. Hunger and thirst and fatigue never made them desert the ranks of the march.

Thousands of leaflets and manifestoes explaining the issues of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism were distributed to the people along the way. Grasping the correct line of people's democratic revolution, the marchers carried lofty banners and placards proclaiming: "Long live people's war!", "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun", "People's war is the answer to martial law" and "Long live the agrarian revolution". Through their placards and banners, the marchers denounced and condemned U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. All throughout the long march they sang revolutionary songs and chanted the now famous chant: "Makibaka, huwag matakot!" ("Fight, don't be cowed!"). The Poor People's March as part of the growing cultural revolution was clearly aimed to arouse and mobilize the masses further for a people's democratic revolution.

The People's Court

The public trial for U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism was the highlight of the March 17 Poor People's March. The big criminals exploiting and oppressing the Filipino people were

named and tried. Effigies of the criminals were displayed on the stage at Plaza Moriones. Various speakers representing the participating organizations and groups in the march took turns in stating and proving the colossal crimes of the people's enemies.

Pointed out as among the biggest crimes committed by U.S. imperialism against the Filipino people were:

- 1) The devaluation of the peso and the practice of international usury through the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, U.S. private banks and other imperialist banks;
- 2) Economic plunder of the Philippines and super-profit remittances by the U.S. monopolies;
- 3) Masterminding the fascist suppression of the Filipino people and the manipulation of the Marcos puppet regime, the military and police against the patriotic mass movement; and
- 4) Transgression of Philippine sovereignty and territory and criminal acts inside and outside of U.S. military bases in the country.

The Marcos fascist puppet regime was held responsible for the following crimes:

- 1) Rising prices due to puppetry to U.S. imperialism;
- 2) Complicity in the oppression and exploitation of the workers, peasants, students and other patriotic elements of the population by U.S. imperialists, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists;
- 3) Colossal graft and corruption;
- 4) Fascistic acts of his regime like massacres, assassinations and other coercive activities suppressing

people's democratic rights in both city and country side; and

5) Fraud and terrorism in the last elections.

The masses of workers, peasants and student youth attending the public trial shouted their judgment and condemnation of U.S. imperialism and the Marcos fascist puppet regime.

The Manila fascist puppet chieftain was also put on trial for his complicity with U.S. imperialism and the fascist puppet Marcos regime in the brutal suppression of mass actions and demonstrations in the city and for the murder of seven young demonstrators. Genuine labor leaders took turns in assailing fake labor leaders like Ople, Oca and others and pointing out their crimes against the Filipino working class. The clerico-fascists, the Anti-Communist League and the local Kuomintang reactionaries were likewise exposed and denounced. The reactionary courts, Congress and the reactionary mass media were also tried and condemned as instruments of U.S. imperialism and domestic feudalism.

Peasant leaders also denounced the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique for its crimes against the peasants in Central Luzon and against the revolution. The Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique was exposed for its counter-revolutionary acts of class collaboration, capitulationism and class betrayal like begging of amnesty from the Marcos fascist puppet regime, collaboration with landlords to oppress the peasants and extortion activities among the masses.

After the repudiation of the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique, the thousands of people attending the trial publicly acclaimed the New People's Army

as the true army of the people against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. A fiery speaker was cheered the longest when he courageously said: "As we have the people's march, the people's congress and the people's tribunal, we have the people's army, too, the New People's Army. Long live the New People's Army!"

This expression of support for the New People's Army, which is under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, is to be expected from the masses of demonstrators and marchers in view of the fact that they clearly recognize the truth of Chairman Mao's statement: "Without a people's army, the people have nothing." The people's army is the instrument for executing the people's judgment.

Once More Fascist Violence

Before, during and after March 17, the local reactionaries led by their fascist puppet chieftain tried to make use of their power to counteract the Poor People's March.

Through the reactionary mass media, the Marcos fascist puppet regime spread the lie that the marchers would commit acts of vandalism and destruction to property. At the same time, it gave orders to the Manila puppet chieftain Villegas not to issue any rally permit.

Villegas at first refused to grant the permit for the march on the flimsy ground that he did not know personally the person who applied for the permit. But knowing that the broad masses of the people would push through with the march even without the per-

mit, Villegas issued it at the eleventh hour after a much dilly-dallying.

Having failed miserably to stop the Poor People's March, the Marcos fascist puppet regime resorted to violent means. At the start of the march, police, hired goons and plainclothes military infiltrators lobbed tear gas bombs at the ranks of the marchers. Obviously, it was an attempt to disrupt and disperse the marchers from proceeding to Plaza Moriones. At Plaza Moriones before the start of the public trial, secret agents of the reactionary government hurled a tear gas bomb in the direction of the stage. They missed their target and instead the bomb exploded near a group of children. This resulted in serious injuries to the children and discomfort to the entire neighborhood in the vicinity. The demonstrators alerted themselves and caught one hired goon in the act of lobbing a home-made bomb at the assembled marchers.

A battle between the marchers and the fascist military brutes came when the march proceeded to the U.S. embassy. Thousands of military troops sealed the bridges leading to the U.S. embassy. But the marchers overpowered them and broke through the cordon. Near the U.S. embassy, the brutes hurled their tear gas bombs at the marchers. The marchers retaliated by throwing their own home-made bombs at the enemy. The police and military troops soon attacked the marchers with their truncheons and guns. Many marchers were injured but they fought courageously with their placard handles, sticks, stones, bottles and home-made bombs. Utterly confused, the fascist brutes fired their guns at the people, hitting

one seriously and injuring several others. The battle lasted for some hours until the marchers dispersed. From then on, the police and the military troops beat up and arrested the remaining marchers who were not able to slip through the cordon of the reinforcing troops and who were helpless as they were unarmed.

The fascist brutality inflicted by the Marcos fascist puppet regime on the participants of the March 17 Poor People's March will long remain in the minds of the people. It shows how so utterly afraid the Marcos fascist puppet regime is of mass criticism that it would resort to brutality and murder.

The Prairie Fire

The revolutionary struggle of the masses of the Filipino people against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism is vigorously developing throughout the country. Never before have the major cities and provincial centers witnessed a storm of massive rallies, demonstrations and strikes as in the months of January, February and March. By the end of February alone, the masses in the countryside have launched a succession of more than 40 national democratic mass actions of unprecedented strength.

Even before the historic January 26 and 30 massive demonstrations, students, teachers and progressive intellectuals in numerous colleges and universities in places outside of Manila were already holding protest strikes against the reactionary educational system and against the national crisis bred by the Marcos puppet regime. The storm of rallies, demonstrations and

strikes in Manila greatly stirred the masses of the people in the countryside to action. Open mass struggles soon caught fire among the peasants especially in such provinces as Negros and Laguna which are under extreme landlord oppression. Not to be muffled by the deliberate silence of the reactionary mass media were the indignant voices of the workers in many cities and provincial centers who struck and staged demonstrations to demand increase in wages to cope up with the decreasing value of the peso brought about by devaluation.

Following the March 3 People's March and the March 17 Poor People's March, the masses of workers, peasants and student youth in a significant number of provincial cities and capitals persisted in holding their own people's marches. Aside from tackling local issues and problems, the people in the countryside joined the attack against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Through their manifestoes and banners they expressed their support for the national democratic struggle.

The revolutionary mass actions in the countryside were likewise brutally suppressed by the Marcos fascist puppet regime. In Baguio, Cebu and Davao many demonstrators and youth activists were beaten, arrested and charged in court. Through the local bureaucrat capitalists, the PC provincial command and local police, the Marcos puppet regime unleashed fascist violence upon the masses in the countryside. The provincial "strike forces" was purposely organized to terrorize and cow them. However, despite all these, the struggle of the masses in the provinces became more widespread.

Undeniably, the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people in the city and countryside has been inspired by the heroic armed struggle of the New People's Army under the guidance of the Communist Party of the Philippines in Northern and Central Luzon. The victorious and successful military operations of the New People's Army in inflicting deadly blows to enemy troops have greatly encouraged the masses of workers, peasants, student youth and progressive intellectuals all throughout the country to step up their fight against their exploiters and oppressors.

—*Ang Bayan*

AND THE JANUARY 30 INSURRECTION

By JOSE F. LACABA

(*Philippines Free Press* — February 7, 1970)

January 26 seemed explosive enough—but it was a whimper compared with the horrendous bang of January 30. The papers called January 26 a riot, January 30 was something else. "This is no longer a riot," said a police officer. "This is an insurrection." And the President called it a revolt — "a revolt by local Maoist Communists."

January 26 was a Monday. On Tuesday the students met to plan a series of new rallies denouncing police brutality, and the President conferred with police officials. On Wednesday the President had a talk with some student leaders in Malacañang. On Thursday four groups of demonstrators, one of them led by U.P. President S. P. Lopez himself, staged simultaneous demonstrations at Malacañang, Congress, and Maharnilad. On Friday several other student groups held a sit-in outside the Malacañang gates — and just as their manifestation was about to end, all hell broke loose.

Tuesday, about 120 leaders, representing 36 schools and at least a dozen national youth organizations, gathered at the Far Eastern University. NUSP President Edgar Jopson of the Ateneo presided over the three-hour meeting, during which a resolution was passed demanding the resignation of certain officials of law enforcement agencies, and Friday was set as the starting date of the series of rallies. While the students were conferring at the FEU, the President was in a huddle with law enforcement officials in Malacañang. He told them to be "more tolerant to the future leaders of the country," and ordered them to drop the charges against the students arrested on January 26.

Wednesday, Mayor Villegas announced that the Manila police would stay away from future demonstrations to avoid trouble, but they would stand by, "within beck and call if violence erupts." The NUSP and the National Students' League rejected an invitation to meet with the President in Malacañang, saying they preferred to have the talks on Friday. Another group of student leaders went there anyway and heard the President say: "I personally do not want to have anything to do with the Constitutional Convention." The Senate and the House created a committee to investigate the "root causes of demonstrations in general." The Manila police filed complaints of alarm and scandal against 18 students caught in the battle of Burgos Drive. "The whole world is in ferment and youth is on the march," said Brigadier General Vicente Raval of the PC. "It is essential that, in our country, we take the greatest care in dealing with the problem." He proposed the im-

mediate acquisition of "non-lethal equipment" for the police and urged that they be re-trained in "the highly sensitive science of dealing with demonstrators."

Thursday, there were four groups of demonstrators. Students from the Philippine Normal College and members of the College Editors Guild of the Philippines held separate rallies. Students from the University of the East gathered first at Malacañang, then moved on to Maharnilad, where trouble was avoided when a policeman whose jeep was stoned simply drove away without a fight. When the UE students left Malacañang, the UP professors, led by B. P. Lopez, arrived and were angrily reprimanded by the President: "You yourselves are vague and confused about the issues you have raised against the government." The President challenged any Communist in the group to a debate, and when a student leader accused him of using the army and the Special Forces in the elections, he asked: "Are you a Liberal?" Meanwhile, police reporters agreed to wear distinctive uniforms when covering demonstrations, to avoid being stoned by students and clobbered by cops.

And then it was Friday, January 30.

Again, there were simultaneous demonstrations. To Congress went members of the KM, the SDK, the MPKP, and other militant groups. The NUSP and the NSL marched to Malacañang.

At about three in the afternoon, Jopson, Portia Ilagan of the NSL, and other student leaders went into Malacañang for a meeting with the President.

Sometime past five, the rally at Congress came to an end, and the demonstrators marched on to Malacañang, arriving there at about six.

What specific event precipitated the battle that spread out to other parts of the city, and lasted till dawn the next day, may never be known. The students who came from Congress claim that, as they were approaching J. P. Laurel Street, they heard something that sounded like firecrackers going off. When they got to Malacañang, the crowd was getting to be unruly. It was growing dark, and the lamps on the Malacañang gate had not been turned on. There was a shout of "*Sindihaan ang ilaw! Sindihaan ang ilaw!*" Malacañang obliged, the lights went on, and then *crash!* a rock blasted out one of the lamps. One by one, the lights were put out by stones or sticks.

A commotion was now going on at the Mendiola gate of the Palace. A fire-truck inside the Palace grounds advanced and trained its hoses on the student rebels. The students retreated, and a brief period of lull followed. At about seven, a truck from the Malilla Fire Department, responding to an alarm, came up from Sta. Mesa, its sirens dead, and slowed down in front of St. Jude Church. The firemen probably intended to blast away at the students, but water must really be scarce. Nothing but an ineffectual, sputtering spurt came out of their water cannon. The students charged, the truck backed off — but not fast enough. The firemen who were not quick to flee got beaten up.

The rebels now had a captured firetruck at their disposal. They drove it toward the Mendiola gate and used it as a battering ram of sorts until the locks gave way, the chains broke, and the gate clanked open. Into the breach surged the more daring demonstrators. They had apparently come prepared for

the assault. They lobbed molotovs and pill-boxes into the Palace grounds; the flames spread down the road when the molotovs crashed to the ground, the nails and broken pieces of glass scattered when the pill-boxes exploded.

Once inside the gate, the rebels stoned the buildings and set fire to the truck and to a government car that happened to be parked nearby. Before they could wreak more havoc, however, the Presidential Guard Battalion came out in force. They fired into the air and, when the rebs held their ground, fired tear gas bombs at them. The rebs retreated; the few who were slow on their feet, or were blinded by the tear gas, got caught in the Palace grounds and were beaten up with rifle butts and billy clubs and good old-fashioned fists and feet.

About this time, reinforcements from the Constabulary arrived, later to be joined by the army, the navy, and the Metrocom. The pattern of the January 26 battle was repeated; the military would attack, the students would retreat; the students would counter-attack, the military would draw back. At about nine the soldiers had gained control of Mendiola and J. P. Laurel. The students were holding Tuberias, Legarda, and Claro M. Recto; some had retreated down Arlegue and into Quiapo, where looters took advantage of the situation in the Lacson Underpass, breaking display windows and grabbing jewelry and shoes.

On Tuberias, when I got there at about nine o'clock, the students were turning away all vehicles. The soldiers were at the corner of Tuberias and Mendiola, and steadily advancing. The students held the ground, hurling rocks, until they heard the sound of

rifles being cocked. Then they scattered, some jumping over high walls into the yards of houses, others being voluntarily let in by apartment inhabitants. I fell in with a small group that took shelter at the mouth of a dark alley. A boy of about 12, in slippers, obviously a resident of the place, said there was a way out if we wanted to take a chance. He guided us down the long dark winding alley, down narrow catwalks, past walls smelling of urine, past accessorias with crumbling facades, until we came out, to our surprise, on Claro M. Recto.

At the end of Recto, where it hits Legarda, the students were massed, tense, turbulent, flinging rocks and insults at the men in uniform — they looked like Constabulary troopers — guarding the bridge that leads to Mendiola. In the center of the cross formed by Recto, Mendiola, and Legarda was a burning jeep, its flames a bright yellow curtain separating the combatants. From the left side of Legarda came more shouts; there were other demonstrators there, and the troopers had to guard the bridge against two armies of students, one attacking from the front, the other attacking from the side.

It was at this point, with the students closing in from Recto and Legarda, that the troopers started firing — rat-tat-tat-tat-tat, the sound of a Thompson submachine gun — into the ground. Dust and tiny pebbles exploded from the cement and, where I stood, two rows behind the front lines, I felt a sudden sharp stinging pain in my chest. I'm hit, I thought, when I saw spots of blood on my shirt front; but since I didn't fall, I gingerly unbuttoned my shirt. Imbedded right below my right nipple was an itty-bitty

piece of cement. I carefully pulled it out and was examining it like a jeweler scrutinizing some precious gem from the moon when, before my eyes, there passed a student, supported by his comrades, one of his hands — the right, I think — now nothing more than a mess of blood and burning flesh, the fingers dangling like dead worms attached to his wrist only by a few threads of broken bones.

I was standing there in horror when another student, limping, fell into my arms. I recognized him to be one of the students who had come with us through the alley from Tuberias. He had one wound on his right leg, below the knee, and another on the outer ankle bone. A bystander watching from the sidewalk helped me carry him up Claro M. Recto, where we found a white car — a Taunus, I think — whose owner was good enough to take us to the UR Memorial Hospital. There they treated my very minor wound, but they could do nothing, they said, for the boy who had been shot in the leg. We then took a taxi — the owner of the car had gone back to the battle scene, looking for some fraternity brods — and brought our ward to the Orthopedic Hospital, where, at that very moment, a bad luck would have it, a small fire was raging on one of the upper floors. The fire did something to the X-rays, and the interns had to put the wounded boy's leg in a cast, unable to check if a bullet was in his system.

The doctors at the Orthopedic Hospital agreed to let the wounded student stay for the night, until his friends or relatives could be contacted; and the bystander who had helped me carry the boy now invited me to his apartment house in Sampaloc for coffee and

conversation. It was about midnight. When we were near his place, we saw that Legarda was still in tumult. So we forgot all about the coffee and off to the battlefield we went again.

The demonstrators had captured an army truck near the market, near a PNB branch, and a noisy debate on what to do with it was going on. Some wanted to push the truck into the line of Metrocom and army men down the road, but its wheels had been punctured and this proved to be a difficult task. Others wanted to burn the truck down, and indeed someone threw a lighted match into the sheets of paper that had been dumped inside the truck. Another demonstrator, however, quickly jumped onto the truck and stomped out the fire; the houses were too close, he said, "*h'wag na nating idamay 'yong mga tao.*"

While the debate continued, two more army trucks beamed their headlight on the demonstrators and started moving forward, followed by the soldiers. The students started throwing stones. Some toughies in the area who had come out to join the demonstrators used slingshots, but kept swearing under their breath because they had no stock of homemade arrows. "Metrocom!" went the shout. "*Sumuko na kamo! Bato ni!*" The soldiers kept advancing, and then they started firing with Thompsons into the ground. We all scattered, except for one boy who did not even flinch and called to everybody to return. "*Balik kayo, balik!*" he cried. "*Hindi magpapaputok nang deretso yan!*" I don't know what happened to him, because when another round of firing started, I found myself in another dark alley, with a new group of companions.

When I got out again, the army truck was gone and the soldiers were back at the corner of Recto and Legarda. A long lull followed, about 30 minutes. Then the soldiers started to advance again, someone hurled a molotov cocktail at them, then charged, cocking their guns and following us right into dark alleys where, as before, the demonstrators found doors being opened to them, or people at second-floor windows warning them with gestures about the presence of soldiers in alleys the demonstrators would enter. I somehow got separated from all my companions and found myself all alone under a *kulahan*, sitting on damp cement. The resident of an apartment house across the alley saw me and discreetly turned off his lights.

Quiet once more. I emerged from my hiding place and walked out into a street from which I could see the church on Earnshaw. There was a small group of students clustered at the door of an accessoria, talking animatedly, and I joined them. I was listening to them relate their experiences when, at the corner of Earnshaw and this street we were in, a squad of Metrocom men appeared. Everybody fled except myself, two students, and the occupants of the accessoria, who worriedly told us to get in if we didn't want to get hurt. In that dark, dingy, cramped accessoria, the two students and I stayed for a whole hour, seated on the steps of very narrow stairs, gulping down glasses and glasses of water, smoking, talking in whispers — "*Rebolusyon na ito, brod,*" they said — until the coast was clear.

It was three o'clock in the morning when we came out. Later that morning, the papers said that

four students, some of them non-demonstrators, had been killed: Feliciano Roldan of FEU, Ricardo Alcantara of UP, Fernando Catabay of MLQ, and Bernardo Tausa of Mapa High School. Almost 300 demonstrators and bystanders were arrested; most of them were detained at Camp Crame.

That night, the President appeared on television to inform the nation of the "premeditated attack on the government, an act of rebellion and subversion," which the military had successfully repulsed. "The mob that attempted to burn Malacañang," he said, "was not a mob of students, nor were they simply arsonists." They waved red banners, carried the flag with red portion up, called the streets they occupied "liberated areas," and shouted "Dante for President!" Therefore, said the President, "these were men dedicated to an evil purpose, and that is to destroy Malacañang Palace and/or take it over." The plan to take over Malacañang, he went on, was hatched by either one or both of two groups — "one of them Communist-inspired and the other one not Communist-inspired." Both groups were under surveillance.

To his nation, the President had a message: Rest assured that the situation is under control. Rest assured that we will maintain peace and order. Malacañang Palace is well guarded, but more than this, the country and our government is well guarded. There is no takeover by any group of the military or of the civilian government. In the matter of the preparation of the plans of reaction against any attempt to take over this government, the action that will be taken will be well-studied, deliberate, cautious, and legal,

and there will be no attempt to curtail constitutional freedom."

To the "insurrectionary elements," he gave warning: "Any attempt at the forcible overthrow of the government will be put down immediately. I will not tolerate nor will I allow Communists to take over."

The same day, the nation learned that the retirement date of General Raval of the PC, which was supposed to be on February 1, had been postponed to April 1. The entire Armed Forces of the Philippines were on red alert.



"Poor People's March" passing through
Claro M. Recto Avenue.



Part of the 50,000-strong
 May 26 demonstration in-
 front of the Congress building.

Below: Manila riot police
 attack demonstrators with
 batons: police brutality,
 the suppression of demo-
 cratic rights.

Student-worker de-
 monstrators are cornered after
 the riot.

PC Metrocom soldiers
 surround unconscious limp
 bodies of demonstrators.





Well-armed military with gas-masks and in military attire disperse a picket line in front of the U.S. Embassy.

Above: Manila police raid the Philippine Colonial Commerce building and arrest all demonstrators inside including co-leader Dr. Nemesio Zamora.

The February 18 leaflet shows the pictures of four demonstrators killed during the January 30-31 demonstration.

Below: The unconscious Enrique Sta. Brigida is carried by press laborers after the mauling he received from uniformed men believed to be policemen.

AVENGE OUR HEROES /



ZAMORA



STA. BRIGIDA



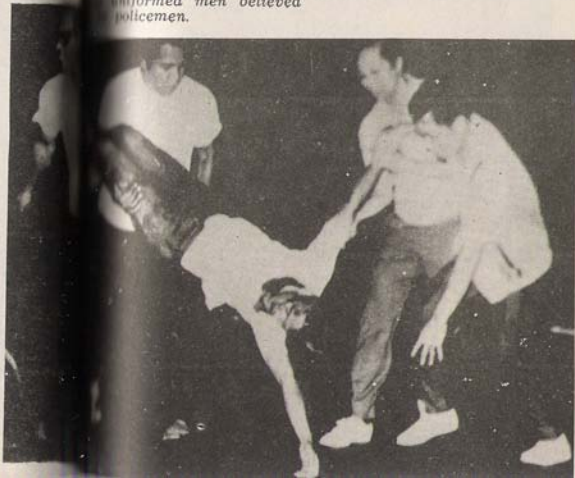
ZAMORA



STA. BRIGIDA

MARCH AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM
FEUDALISM & BUREAUCRATIC CAPITALISM
REPRESENTED BY MARCO FILIALISM /

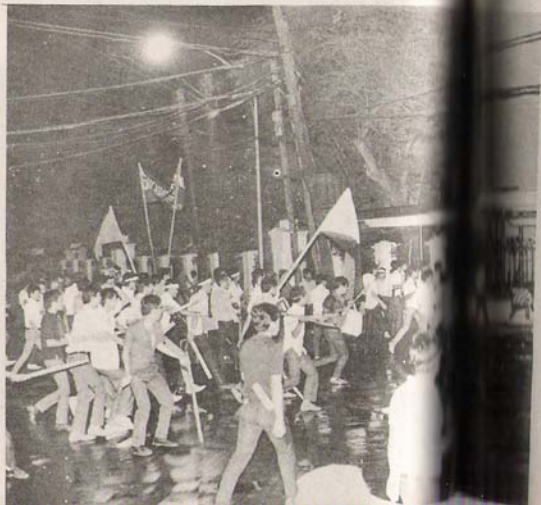
By the National Student Movement
The National Student Movement



RIGHT: *The January 30-31 demonstration: the attack on Malacañang starts.*

BELOW: *The Philippine flag is overturned: the demonstrators declare war against President Marcos.*

RIGHT, BELOW: *Students use police outpost to open the gates of Malacañang Palace.*



BELOW: The storm at Malacañang mounts, demonstrators use stones, sticks, slingshots, molotov cocktails and pill boxes.

RIGHT: A government car is burned while a Metrocom soldier runs in fear.

RIGHT, BELOW: A Manila fire truck used against demonstrators is in turn burned by demonstrators.



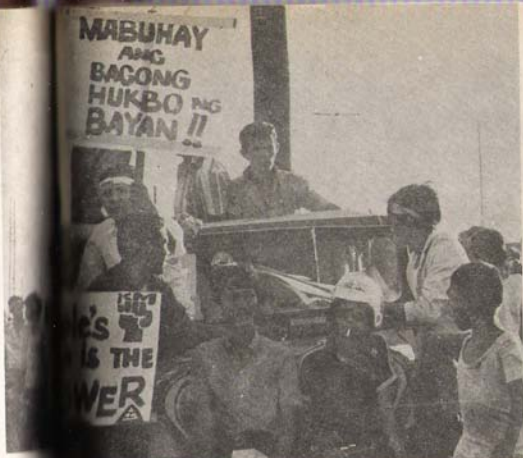


LEFT: A famous placard: Marcos portrait with label "Chief of Monkees."


RIGHT: A placard hailing the New People's Army. A threat of people's war is made.

LEFT, BELOW: An anti-Marcos poster: Marcos is pictured as Hitler.

RIGHT, BELOW: The first People's March: the Dante placard is popularized.



WANTED=



**PATAY O BUHAY
DEAD OR ALIVE**

MGA KRIMEL:

- 1- PANGKINANG NINA ALICANDRA, CATAGAY, SOLONA, TRUCA, NINCA, MILWA AT STA BRUNCA.
- 2- PANGKINANG NINAY-IBIG IMPERIALISMO KANG
- 1- BURKUNDA - KAYPULISTA
- 4- BURKUNDA - KOMPADOR
- 6- BURKUNDA - ASKAPERO
- 8- PUNO NG MGA BERDOSO NG MASA GWA NG MGA "MAGNANONG", SPECIAL FORCES, BARANGAY DEFENSE UNITS, BARRIO HOME DEFENSE FORCES.

GANTINGILA:
PANGKINANG NG AMPANGSANG!
DEMOKRATIKONG REBOLUSYON!





ABOVE: Part of the massive participation in the demonstrations.

BELOW: Since the actions of January 26 and the death of January 30-31, mass actions have become more massive and more intense.



THE PEOPLE'S MARCH

By JOSE F. LACABA

(*Philippines Free Press*—March 14, 1970)

People's March, they called it, this latest brainchild of the Movement for a Democratic Philippines, an act of protest conceived in outrage and fear—outrage over the police raid on the Philippine College of Commerce, fear that the raid was the presage of a wild witch hunt to come.

The march began at two o'clock in the afternoon of March 3, Tuesday. The day before, the jeepney drivers of Greater Manila had gone on strike to demand an increase in fares and an end to tong collection by policemen. By the time the march was ready to start, the drivers of taxis and buses had been persuaded, by word, fist, rock, or fire, to join the jeepney drivers' strike. Virtually all public vehicles had disappeared from the streets of the city before noon, and quite a number of those participating in the People's March had to walk, such was their devotion to their cause, from home, school, or place of work just to go to the starting point of the march. I personally know one student who, in the

heat of the noonday sun, walked all the way from Sta. Ana to the Manila-Quezon City boundary; from there he walked the entire 23 kilometers of the People's March, and then, late in the night, after being driven from the U.S. Embassy, walked some more to get home. He was not the only one who did a hell of a lot of walking that day.

The People's March alone took at least six hours, with only three brief periods of rest — and, take it from someone who walked with the marchers, it was no picnic. The hot sun assaulted your eyes, the sweat poured down your back, cramps possessed your legs, and your throat cried out for water every step of the way. The cynics who sneer at students for joining demonstrations and say that all they want is to enjoy a holiday, being too lazy to study their lessons, should try joining the next People's March. It would be good for their cynical souls, not to mention their onion-skinned soles.

They may also be surprised to learn that the demonstrators do enjoy popular support.

It has become fashionable to put down the demonstrations as the work of a tiny minority of noisy radicals who spout high-sounding slogans that are meaningless to the man in the street, and who by their senseless acts of vandalism against even innocent property owners have only alienated the public whose support they most need. There is a great deal of talk about the Silent Majority, those who want nothing more than peace and quiet, and perhaps a few reforms in the government, but to be obtained in as decorous a manner as possible. This is bullshit.

The comfortable people who talk of the Silent Majority in air-conditioned coffeehouses have picked up the phrase from American newsmagazines without understanding what it really means. In the United States, the term refers to the middle- and the working-class Americans who, being beneficiaries of the System, have no complaint against the government, and are therefore resentful of the neglected and oppressed minorities — the blacks, the chicanos, the students — who go out in the streets to protest against the System that neglects and oppresses them. The Silent Majority in the United States, it is clear, are silent from contentment; they bear no grievances against the Establishment, being themselves pillars of the Establishment.

But *our* Silent Majority, consisting of legions of the unemployed and the underemployed, of peasants and workers who do not get their just share of society's goods, are silent out of fear, resignation, or despair. Our Silent Majority are the equivalent of the suffering minorities in the States, and their silence is not a sign that they have no grievance against the System which goes by the name of a democratic government, against the Establishment made up of the members of our cozy oligarchy. When the newspaper columnists speak of "the public," they do not refer to this Silent Majority of the poor and the oppressed who make up 90% of our population, they refer to the few who can read newspapers, watch television, and ride around in cars or taxis. But when the radicals address themselves to "the people," it is this 90% they want to reach, not the

shopkeepers and car owners who are so easily made furious by the sound of shattered glass.

This is not to condone window smashing and car burning, but blame must be laid where the blame belongs. Destruction of private property is deplorable, and the radicals themselves would be the first to stop it, if the private property involved is in no way connected with their fight against imperialism, feudalism, and fascism. The trouble is, as the radicals have pointed out, they cannot stop the agents provocateurs from infiltrating their ranks. They have taken steps to discipline some students with anarchist tendencies and the hot-blooded among the lumpen-proletariat who take part in demonstrations, but what can they do against the government agent whom they do not know? That there are people linked in some way with the government who try to discredit their movement can no longer be dismissed as the product of heated imaginations. Malacañang photographers mix with newsmen to gather evidence against the students; COSEC stooges demonstrate with placards bearing the pictures of Mao and Che; and reporters on the police beat can testify that some policemen in civvies mingle with the demonstrators, not just to spy on them, which would at least be understandable, but to lead them to trouble, or to break up their gathering, as that tear-gas-wielding Metrocom sergeant tried to do on the night of the People's March.

Suppression and inept attempts to discredit the demonstrators may gladden the bourgeois who moan about the price of plate glass but can put up with anything that does not interfere with his livelihood.

They cannot stop the demonstrations. The students who make up the vanguard of these demonstrations may be a minority now, but the noise they are making, even the violent actions they are taking, are beginning to inspire and embolden our Silent Majority. The laborer in the factory and the tenant in the hacienda who have been silent for so long, accepting the fact of oppression with hardly a murmur, are gathering courage, are shaking off their legacy of resignation and despair.

This Silent Majority may not understand the high-sounding slogans, they may be unable to tell the difference between feudalism and fascism, but when they hear the students shouting, "*Mabuhay ang mag-asaka! Mabuhay ang manggagawa! Mabuhay ang mahihirap!*", they know it is for them the students are fighting, it is their rights the students are upholding; and when they see that, in fighting for them, in upholding their rights, the students are willing to face bludgeons and bullets, somehow they are filled with hope, and it will not be long before they too go out into the streets to join in the fight. Then, the Silent Majority will no longer be silent, and the noisy minority will no longer be a minority.

Already, more and more organizations of peasants, workers, and the various professions, including even (believe it or not) a KM Fans Club, are taking part in the activities of the radical Left. If there are not more of them, it may not be from lack of willingness but because of the exigencies of living, or the residues of fear. Yet, as the evidence of the People's March suggests, many of those who do not dare not, or cannot join are willing enough to give

encouragement and support, to cheer on their brothers who are fighting in their name.

The marchers assembled at the Manila-Quezon City rotunda between noon and two o'clock. At two, they started to line up on Mayon Street, group by group, four abreast. There were probably less than two thousand at this time, but their number would swell as the march progressed, would triple and spill out to sidewalks and traffic islands, until there was no point in marching four abreast.

The original group that left Mayon Street at two carried the streamers of the Kilusan ng Kabataang Makati, the Nationalist Corps Executive Board of San Beda, the Katipunan ng mga Kabataang Demokratiko, the Samahan ng Demokratikong Kabataan, the Araneta University Foundation, the Student Cultural Association of Araneta University, the Masbate Youth Movement for Justice and Reforms, the AKSIUN, the Malayang Pagkakaisa ng Kabataang Pilipino. Members of the Kabataang Makabayan were everywhere, but their streamer and their placards would join the march only at the University of Santo Tomas.

At the head of this mass was a white-haired old man carrying a curious placard. "Immoral movies," it read, "fruit of imperialism, fascism, and feudalism." He clearly didn't belong, but the youngsters merely smiled and let him be — for the moment. They probably didn't want to antagonize him so early in the day. Later they would succeed in maneuvering him into the middle of the procession, where his message got lost in the thicket of placards and streamers bearing the more familiar slogans:

"*Ibagsak!!! ang imperyalismo at piyudalismo!*"

"*Ipaglaban ang pambansang demokrasya!*"

"*Makibaka! Huwag matakot!*"

"*People's war is the answer to martial law.*"

"*CSM, CCMM, Jesuits — clerico-fascists.*"

Other organizations would bring in their streamers and placards at various points throughout the march. The more visible names were the Darul Islam Union, the Youth for a Democratic Society (MIT), the Philippine Merchant Marine Academy, the FEU Pismore, the Malayang Samahan ng Kabataang Pilipino, the Alliance of Manila Universities and Colleges, the Samahang Makabayan ng Pandacan, the NAFLU, the Pagkakaisa ng Magbubukid sa Pilipinas, the Student Cultural Association of the University of the East, the Kilusang Tagapagtaguyod ng Pambansang Demokrasya, the Socialist Party of the Philippines.

From Mayon Street, the marchers, preceded by a jeep with two loudspeakers on its roof, turned left into Dapitan, where a representative of a squatter group took the mike to denounce the destruction of their shanties on the Araneta-Tuason lot in Quezon City. They turned left again into Governor Forbes, passed by the UST Hospital, where nurses and patients were gathered at the windows, and crossed España before turning right into Earnshaw. At the corner of Lepanto, they were met by the sight of black drapes below the windows of the Philippine College of Commerce, and a sign that read: "Death of academic freedom." They turned right into Azarraga, led now by a group from PCC who bore a cardboard coffin marked *Demokrasya* on one side and *Academic Freedom* on the other. They turned right

into Avenida, gave the traffic outpost at the corner of Doroteo Jose a few noisy thumps, and turned left into Tayuman to go to Tondo. They now went through Juan Luna, Sande, Moriones, Quesada, Morga, and Asuncion, and came out on Azcarraga. Down Azcarraga they marched, no sign of fatigue in their determined steps, until they were once again on Avenida. Here they rested for a few minutes, slumped on road and sidewalk, and then they marched across MacArthur Birdge, from which one thunderous pillbox was dropped, and proceeded to the Post Office building, where darkness overtook them.

Along the way they sang their songs, national anthem alternating with the Internationale, and they chanted their slogans, and they made up new tongue-in-cheek slogans to the tune of commercials and popular songs. "*Sigaw ng bayan!*" the leader of one group would cry out, and the members of his group would shout back: "*Hinagsikan!*" Later this would undergo a little modification. "*Sigaw ng bayan!*" went the cry, and the answer would be: "*Tubig!*" There was the familiar "*Makibaka! H'wag matakot!*" and its new variation, urging the spectators to participate in the march: "*Makisama! H'wag manood!*"

The improvised slogans and songs were many.

"*Sumama na kamo! Estudyante ini!*" the marchers called to their watchers.

"*Aso, pusa! Kalabaw! Marcos, tuta!*" they chanted.

To the tune of *Paruparong Bukid*, they sang towards the end of the march: "*Madilim na naman, ay!*"

To the tune of the Pepsi-Mirinda Heart Crown commercial: "*G'yera na naman! G'yera na naman!*"

To the tune of the Tide commercial: "*Bugbugin ang pulis kahit na walang dala!*"

The marchers were in high spirits, and the obvious sympathy of the crowd cheered them up. The people brought out water, bread, and cigarettes for the parliamentarians of the streets, dropped coins and even peso bills into the boxes in the hands of girls asking for "*konting kontribusyon*," and clapped and laughed when the beneficiaries of their good will yelled: "*Mabuhay ang mga nagbibigay ng tubig! Mabuhay ang mga nagbibigay ng tinapay! Mabuhay ang mga nagbibigay ng sigarilyo!*" Only an ogre with a heart of stone could not be touched by it all.

Before seven o'clock, the People's March was over, but the action was just about to begin.

Massed in front of the Post Office building, the marchers, all tired but elated, decided on their next step. The darkness had spread. On the steps of the Post Office stood a cheering throng, basking in the light of the television kleig lights. Somebody hauled down the flag, preparatory to the singing of the national anthem, and was urged by the crowd below to declare war: "*Ang pula, itaas! Sa pula, sa pula!*" The flag was quickly hoisted up, but the cry down in the streets, down on the plaza, was insistent, and the flag was brought down again. As the demonstrators tried to put the red side up, however, the rope broke. Somebody made a foolhardy, and futile, attempt to scale the flagpole, which must have been twenty feet high; finding the pole too slippery, and climbing it too dangerous, he gave up the at-

tempt and instead tied the flag near the base of the pole. Then the national anthem was sung by the demonstrators, in their usual manner, the last line uttered with vehemence: "*Ang mamatay nang dahil sa iyo!*"

Everybody's attention shifted now to the street, where the jeep with the loud-speakers was parked. Crispin Aranda of PCC took the mike to narrate the story of the police raid on his school campus. He was followed on the jeep by a young man who was introduced as a jeepney driver; he looked like someone I had seen before, and as far as I knew he was no more a jeepney driver than I am a bus conductor, but he did make the important point that one reason drivers were earning less was the increase in prices of gasoline, tires, and spare parts, all commodities produced by American cartels. Another speaker was a student firebrand who used to shout: "*Mabuhay ang mga bagong Bonifacio — at iya'y alam na ninyang kung sino!*", but now was brave or foolish enough to name names. "*Mabuhay si Dante!*" he cried, and the acclamation he received was terrific; but I fear for his life. Finally, Ramon Sanchez of PCC, his voice hoarse because he had stayed by the mike throughout the march, asked the assembly what it wanted to do where it wanted to go. The answer was almost unanimous: "*Sa Embassy!*"

So began another march on The Embassy.

At a quarter to eight, the bulk of the marchers was spread out over the street that cuts through the Luneta. The vanguard had already turned the corner of T. M. Kalaw, headed for the U.S. Embassy. The cry rang in the night: "*Makibaka! H'wag ma-*

takot!" Suddenly, from in front of the Hilton came an earsplitting bang — molotov or pillbox, it was hard to tell. The bulk of the demonstrators retreated, and the vanguard found itself on T. M. Kalaw, isolated from the rest.

It seems that some Metrocom men in a jeep had been seen across the Hilton, and some impulsive young men at the head of the procession had begun to stone the uniformed enemy, unable to wait to get to The Embassy before starting the attack. Nobody, however, could say if the explosion had been caused by the Metrocom men themselves, or by the demonstrators. It was, at any rate, an unwise move, because it cut the march in two. The boys at the head of the march had to wait for the body of demonstrators to gather enough courage to follow them.

At 8:13, the siege of The Embassy was over. The Guardia Civil was out in force, and except for a small group waving MPKP banners, who staged a sit-in on a traffic island across The Embassy, the demonstrators had all scamped away. There were scattered explosions farther down Roxas Boulevard and somewhere down United Nations Avenue. The Metrocom and the Manila police, fresh and energetic, since they had not walked 23 kilometers, now began their mopping-up operations.

I was too tired to run and find out where the demonstrators were going, so I stayed at the corner of Roxas and Kalaw, pulled out my notebook, and started scribbling away like a true reporter. This teen-ager, Frankie, who had been shot in the leg on the night of January 30, and whom I had taken to a hospital, was well again, well enough to join

the People's March, and he now stayed by my side, seeking protection in my privileged status as a member of the powerful press. Together, we followed a squad of policemen walking down the Luneta, towards Taft, in search and in pursuit of demonstrators. From Kalaw and the entire Ermita area came the sounds of shots, separate shots, obviously from revolvers.

Two Mapalad Liner buses, filled with crash-helmeted cops, passed by Agrifina. On Agrifina Circle itself, a uniformed policeman and a plump man in civvies carefully knotted the string around a small box. "Probably tear gas," whispered a *Herald* photographer. Somewhere in this vicinity, two demonstrators I knew, a boy and a girl, sat down on a bench and pretended to be innocent promenaders. The cops accosted them anyway, ordering the girl to open her bag; she did, and waved her sanitary napkins in a policeman's startled face. "*Umuwi kayo!*" the cop barked.

My sidekick and I fell in with the *Herald* photographer and decided to hitch a ride in his Austin Moke. The Moke was parked at the mouth of Ayala Street, along with seven jeeps filled with plainclothesmen carrying truncheons, flash lights, and policed carbines. These seven jeeps, I was told, comprised the advance assault party that was about to leave for Mendiola. They must have expected trouble to erupt once more on what, to the students, is already a historic spot, the place where six from their ranks met their death.

The jeeps, however, went into Taft, past police barricades set up at the corner of United Nations

past more barricades at the corner of Orosa, near Hilton, and finally ended up on the right side of Ermita church, where waited seven more police jeeps. "Regroup! Regroup!" cried one plainclothesman.

Having regrouped, they proceeded to the Bocobo-Arkansas corner, only a few meters away from Padre Faura. They flashed their lights into apartment windows, knocked on apartment doors, peered underneath hedges and bushes. I followed one large group of plainclothesmen into a dark yard walked in by rusty GI sheets. The yard was a mini-jungle crawling with vines and cluttered with small trees, various prickly bushes, and weeds. At the other end of the place was a stone wall round which plainclothesmen and TV spotlights were gathered, flushing out hiding demonstrators. In the middle of the yard was a very low shanty, a dreary tin-and-cardboard affair, squatting beneath the overhanging branches of a scraggly tree. Under the tree, in near-total darkness illuminated only by the distant lights of the TV crew, was a scene straight out of the Marquis de Sade's riot control manual.

All I could see were the silhouettes of four figures — one a crumpled heap in the bushes at the foot of the scraggly tree, three huge ones standing over him like witches around a cauldron. The witches carried sticks, and the sticks were in perpetual motion. I could hear the sound of the sticks crashing through leaves and twigs, landing on human flesh. The dull whacking sounds were unmistakable, and once or twice another sound intervened — *tok!* — the sound of a stick on kneecap or skull.

"*H'wag po, h'wag po!*" came the whimper and the cries from the ground. "*Hindi po ako lalaban! Suko na po ako! Tama na po! Masakit po! Hindi po ako lalaban!*"

And above him, barks, grunts, growls: "*Sige, magdemonstration kayo bukas! Tayo! Tayo! Hindi pala lalaban ha! Magdemonstration kayo bukas, tingnan ko!*"

I stood there paralyzed by a mess of emotions — rage, outrage, frustration, fear, and hate — and through my mind went murderous thoughts. Temples throbbing, hands shaking, I turned away from the scene, went around the shanty, walked towards the TV lights. At my back, the thrashing had stopped, but the moans continued. "*Nakuha mo ba ang pangalan noong isang 'yon?*" the guy carrying the TV camera asked me, pointing to the shadows underneath the scraggly tree. I wanted to strangle him.

When we walked back, the three plainclothesmen had dropped their victim into the clearing on the other side of the shanty. He was a young man with a little moustache, and he was covered all over with dust and grass.

"*Makabayan ka, ano?*" said one big guy with a truncheon. "*Ano, ba't hindi ka tumayo d'yan?*"

"*Masakit po! Tuhod ko po ang pinalo. Hindi po ako makatayo.*"

"*Aarte-arte pa ito,*" growled the guy with the truncheon. "*Tayo sabi!*" And he swung at the young man's legs with his truncheon.

The young man stayed on his back, writhing. The plainclothesmen backed away from the fallen

form. Then, and only then, did the TV lights focus on the victim. A reporter with a notebook knelt on the ground and asked: "*Ano'ng pangalan mo, boy?*" The boy blurted out a name that sounded like Augusto Quezon. A plainclothesman waved away the reporter and stood over the young man. "*Ano, talaga bang hindi ka tatayo?*"

Augusto Quezon with supreme effort made it to his feet — and immediately crumpled like a cloth doll. I wasn't even aware of what I was doing, but before he hit the ground I was at his side, offering my shoulder to his limp arm. We wobbled in that clearing, the two of us, surrounded by hostile eyes. What, I asked, was I going to do with him? "*Dalhin mo sa ospital,*" came the gruff reply.

I dragged the young man out to the street. "*Ano nangyari d'yan?*" a plainclothesman standing guard outside asked. "*Napalo ho,*" I said. "*Oy, oy,*" came the quick rejoinder behind me, "*hindi napalo yan — nadapa!*"

My sidekick, Frankie, whom I had instructed to stay in the Austin Moke, came rushing to help me carry Augusto Quezon. The transportation strike was not over yet; there were no other vehicles around, except the police jeeps and the Austin Moke. Into the Austin Moke went Augusto Quezon, but the Herald driver said they had to follow the police jeeps if they were to get any news: they could not make a detour to a hospital. I cursed the Herald under my breath, and if it makes any difference I also cursed this magazine I work for, for not providing the reporters with transportation. I was cursing the

whole world under my breath, including and especially myself, for lacking the guts to curse out loud.

Finally, someone who sounded like an officer ordered me to put Augusto Quezon into the lead jeep. The convoy of jeeps, with the *Herald's* Austin Moke at the tail end, then left Bocobo, turned right into Padre Faura, turned left into Dakota; at the corner of Herran, the lead jeep stopped, and way in the back of the convoy I could see a limp form being carried out of the lead jeep and dumped on the sidewalk. The convoy then retraced its steps, back to Bocobo, where the plainclothesmen entered a restaurant to flush out demonstrators who had taken shelter there. All the lights were on here, so the truncheons could do no work. The demonstrators were told to go home.

With Frankie, I walked back to Dakota to look for Augusto Quezon. He was no longer on the sidewalk. A bystander said a white car had passed by and taken him in. We walked down Herran to go to the PGH. Augusto Quezon was no longer in the emergency ward, but his name was listed down on the doctors' sheet. The entry after his name read "Mauled by truncheon."

Augusto Quezon was lucky. Enrique Sta. Brigida, Jr., of Lyceum was "mauled by truncheon," too, and did not survive.

*Now days are dragon-ridden, the nightmare
Rides upon sleep: a drunken soldierly
Can leave the mother, murdered at her door,
To crawl in her own blood, and go scot-free;
The night can sweat with terror....*

MODERATES AND RADICALS

By RODOLFO G. TUPAS

(*The Manila Times* — February 5, 1970)

It was incredible. President Ferdinand Marcos was hardly out of the first month of his unprecedented second term when pandemonium broke loose in the streets: students — the very students who made him win in last year's mock elections — clashed with the police and government troops.

It was as if Pandora's box had been flung open again. The crack of the police rookies' clubs on young skulls signalled the start of the war between the students and the police on Jan. 26 but nobody seems definite as to what caused the Jan. 30 demonstration to erupt into a miniature revolution.

The Jan. 30 convulsion that shook the nation left four students dead in the streets.

The turbulence before Congress and Malacañang caught the nation's attention but many are still in the dark over the why, who, where, and what of student demonstrations.

But, however vague the country's idea about the most massive of student uprisings, most Filipino pa-

rents and adults were shocked and horrified to see on TV teenagers and undergraduates being bludgeoned unmercifully by rookie policemen and members of the anti-riot squad which was supposed to have been trained in the ungentle art of suppressing riots.

If Jan. 26 is remembered for the rain of truncheon blows, Jan. 30 will be remembered as the night the fired-up students, waving a red flag, "captured" a fire truck and used it to ram through Malacañang's Gate 4 in a manner reminiscent of the storming of the Bastille.

A survey of student leaders who participated in the two demonstrations showed that the students were not led and directed by one mastermind organization.

All the demonstrating student leaders were activists but, remarkably, a new, if somewhat strange alliance, has been formed, whose ideological spectrum ranges from moderates to the radicals, from the convent-bred to the militants.

The moderates are led by Atenean Edgar Jopson, president of the National Union of Students of the Philippines (NUSP); Portia Ilagan of the Philippine Normal College, acting president of one wing of the National Student League; and Benjamin Maynigo, secretary general of the Young Christian Social Movement.

These are the active reformists who believe they are left of center but who are viewed by the leftwing groups as conservatives.

However, the NUSP and NSL, themselves have their "progressives," or the more aggressive or more free-thinking elements who have found it easier to

conduct dialogues with the leftists. They are led by Chito Sta. Romana of La Salle and Fernando Barican of UP. It is this group that has developed some kind of working relationship with the left-wing sector of the studentry. It has also been responsible for making the issue of "rising fascism" a common ground between the moderates and the revolutionary group.

Sta. Romana of the NUS, a senior A.B. economics student, explained: "Students are more united now. Before you would never find the NUSP, NSL, or KM in the same rally, so high was the feeling of antagonism among rival groups. But now that the ranks are closer, we have been trying to emphasize the issues that would unite us more."

Needless force is part of the "rising fascism" issue that has united the moderates and the radicals. Although both persuasions disagree on various aspects of "imperialism" and "feudalism," they are terms that are no longer taboo in the campus.

The Kabataang Makabayan (KM), which is headed by Nilo Tayag, remains the radical hard-core of the student movement. It has now found allies in the Student Power Assembly of the Philippines (SPAP), headed by Reuben Seguritan; the Movement for a Democratic Philippines (MDP), which coordinated the Jan. 30 rally; the Student Cultural Association of UP (SCAUP), whose president is Luzvimindo David; the Hamahang Demokratikong Kabataan (SDK); and the Student Reform Movement, which engineered last year's demonstrations in Lyceum, FEU, UST, and UE.

The student groups massed before Congress on Jan. 26 for two different purposes. The NUS-NSL-VCS combine staged a rally for a non-partisan Consti-

tutional Convention. The left-wing student groups, who were first asked to coordinate with the NUSP, marched to Congress to protest the deteriorating state of the nation, the rise of "fascism," and the perpetuation of "imperialism" and "feudalism."

The left-wing students do not believe that a constitution can truly embody the aspirations of the people unless Philippine society first undergoes basic structural changes.

In the words of the KM's Monico Atienza: "It is only through the transformation of the basic power relations in our society that a truly democratic society can come into being."

The leftists fear that the Nacionalistas and Liberals will use the Constitutional Convention merely "to ventilate their own issues."

The moderates believe that a more responsive Constitution could be evolved but they concede it will be a "long struggle."

Barican is afraid that "President Marcos has lost his credibility" with the students although he and Sta. Romana still believe that on short-term demands, like the release of funds or the disbanding of certain groups, it is possible to see eye to eye with the President.

But as Sta. Romana insists, "in terms of abolishing feudalism or others of the like, you cannot negotiate with President Marcos."

The radical left rules out any dialogue or attempts of reconciliation with the President. The President is no longer on their wave length, as far as the radicals are concerned.

The left-wing leadership believes in the inevitability of violence and, if present conditions persist, in the inevitability of a revolution.

KM spokesman Atienza explained: "We believe in going to the people, in politicizing the people. Once they have been politicized, they will know what to do."

Whether moderate or radical, the students are increasingly feeling alienated from the system. This is one of the principal reasons why student activism, once confined to the University of the Philippines, has mushroomed in other places. It has spread to Lyceum, Philippine College of Commerce, Manuel L. Quezon law school, University of the East, Far Eastern University, Feati, Jose Rizal College, and even to sectarian schools.

Because the System is suffocating or does not measure up to its own slogans, NSL's Portia Ilagan has noted the "growing impatience" of the studentry.

The activist groups have become magnets for the students who feel estranged from the System and have developed the itch to condemn the abuses of power by rocking the Establishment.

THE APPEAL OF THE ACTIVISTS

By RODOLFO G. TUPAS

(*The Manila Times* — February 6, 1970)

Despite all the pleas to keep calm and sober, our people, particularly those in the Greater Manila area, have been agitated and are intensely curious about the thinking and composition of today's campus rebels.

It is the student activists who feel most disenfranchised and who are no longer satisfied with merely going through exams, attending proms, marching in their ROTC uniforms, or cheering their basketball idols play. These students want to get things moving, some fast, others much faster. This divergence of opinions has separated the mere reformists from the outright radicals.

But, hitherto passive student organizations have definitely gone beyond "student welfare" as their goal and have moved into the simple arena of protest politics.

NUS' Chito Sta. Romana explained: "There is now a growing feeling that the students should take adequate preparations because with the downfall of

the Liberals, the students have automatically assumed the role of the fiscalizer.

"The student protestors speak in negative terms, speak of intangible targets. They know more about what they do not want than what they do want. We don't like the police, we don't like the President's actions.

"The reason President Marcos is the target is he is the head of a captive state, a state of the powerful elite. So it seems that real clamor now is not really just to change Marcos, because even if you put up another guy, the state will remain a captive state. If there is a way, the state should be more broad-based. It should be a representative state, for the people, of the people, and by the people."

If students of Sta. Romana's persuasion sound vague about the alternatives, the left-wing activists are more positive about their aims.

KM's Monico Atienza pointed out that Kabataang Makabayan is for a national democracy or a change in the power relations in society in favor of the people.

"The KM is made up of 12,000 members all over the country with a following in factories and in rural areas of around 30,000 people. Our activists go to the rural areas, to the factories, to coordinate their national democratic functions with the peasant and the workers and other sectors of the population. The KM is basically an organization that demands the overthrow of the imperialist and feudal powers in the Philippines."

A polarization of issues has separated the students into moderates and radicals, but both groups harbor outright nihilists, devout Catholics, rabid Marx-

ists, vocal Maoists, romantic admirers of "Che" Guevarra and "Commander Dante", and a small minority of our version of the hippies.

About the hippies, a female KM member said: "They are very few and they have not only been isolated but repudiated as well."

It is true that many left-wing students unabashedly admire Bernabe Buscayno alias Commander Dante, the 26-year-old leader of the New People's Army in Central Luzon. A letter of his which was published late last year in the UP Collegian enhanced his image before a number of students.

It is for this reason that many students shouted in the Jan. 30 rally, "Mabuhay si Dante," "Marcos resign" and "Dante for President."

The radicals think of Dante as the new Bonifacio.

But in the campuses, in the center of the political spectrum, may still be found the unaffiliated or uncommitted who merely respond to particular issues because it is the thing to do. These are the students the leftwing leaders and the government are wooing at the moment.

Some student activists feel that Malacañang would like to see the ranks of the students divided so that it could win this group over.

How do the groups view violence?

"We cannot in conscience condone violence. But we must view it in the proper perspective," says NUSU president Edgar Jopson. "As the mirror in our time and the society we live in, the bitter lesson we have learned is this: that we have no choice but to change the society that has made this senseless violence possible; so much so that we should not lay the

blame on any single party for the blood that has already been spilled for we all share in this common fault in having allowed society to go on as it is.

"Now that we know better, this society has to change and there are only two ways to achieve this change — by peaceful revolution or by violent revolution. For our part, we have chosen to take the peaceful revolution through the Constitutional Convention of 1971."

Portia Ilagan, leader of one wing in the National Students League, declared that the NSL "chooses the path of non-violence in seeking changes in the government. When all peaceful means have been exhausted, we may be willing to get into violence."

The young leader added, "Let us give the President a chance. He seems to be sincere now."

The rebel members in the NSL, like Nelson Navarro and Ericson Baculinao, who support the group of Jelly Nacino, disagree with Portia and are more inclined to share the views of the leftist leaders.

Navarro expressed this view: "Considering the possibility of a revolution in the Philippines, I think that we have laid our cards on the table... Now if the Marcos administration were to suddenly realize that it has to admit the injustice of its cause and capitulate to the just dictates of reason, then it is possible we will have a peaceful transition. We will have a just society by passing laws and praying every Sunday. However, history teaches us, and this cannot be evaded, that there has been no ruling class in society that has voluntarily — of its own will — transferred its powers and privileges and surrendered its oppressive machinery to the people at large, so I think that if the ruling clique led by the Marcos ad-

ministration does not want violence, then I think it should peacefully surrender to the inevitability that a special change has to take effect, that the masses must be liberated from oppression."

Atienza, the spokesman for the KM, added: "We believe that all the progressive sectors in our society should recognize the necessity of getting organized so that they will be able to fight off the fascistic tendencies of the government... because as one writer said, 'we who wish to lay the foundation of kindness cannot ourselves be kind.'"

"Considering the present situation, I think a revolution is inevitable, and as Mr. Navarro said, there is no instance in history where the ruling class willingly transferred its power to the oppressed."

Atienza explained that KM members are not Maoists, but "since their outlook as revolutionaries should be comprehensive, they should study everything that can be of help in their struggle for the transformation of Philippine society."

It is worth noting that the radicals and the progressives both recognize that student power is valid only as far as it is an extension of the people's power. As KM's Atienza put it: "We consider the students as a minority and transitory stratum in society. After they have graduated, they join the establishment — or the Huks... or any other organization. So that you cannot speak of permanency as far as the students are concerned."

The activists' view on the concept of student power should force leaders to reassess the present situation if they hope to act intelligently. Surely society, as it is now, is vulnerable to student militancy.

A NEO-COLONY IN CRISIS

The rapidly deteriorating plight of the masses of Filipino people proves the utter bankruptcy of neo-colonial politics epitomized by the reactionary, pseudo-nationalist policies of the fascist puppet Marcos. Marcos' sham nationalism is evident in his refusal and failure to institute genuine nationalist industrialization and thoroughgoing land reform, his continuing servility to the refurbished foreign policy of the United States, his docility to American and Japanese imperialist investments in the country and his intensified militarist and fascist suppression of genuine national democratic organizations and activists.

The serious economic crisis that presently plagues the Philippines eloquently speaks of the bankruptcy of an economy manipulated by U.S. monopoly capitalists, Japanese imperialists and Kuomintang reactionary capitalists in close collaboration with the local landlords, compradors and bureaucrat capitalists. The deepening crisis and worsening poverty of our people will only give them more reasons to rise up and break the monopoly of political power concentrated in the hands of exploiters and oppressors.

It should be clear by now that no amount of revolutionary phrase-mongering and improvisations

can thoroughly satisfy the basic needs of the Filipino people short of a national democratic revolution aimed at U.S. imperialist, feudalist and bureaucrat capitalist power.

As the Seventh Congress of the Philippines opens today, Kabataang Makabayan presents to the Filipino people the real state of the nation. In the interest of exposing to the people the conditions in the country so that they may act to change them, the KM joins today's demonstration in unity with progressive and national democratic organizations and individuals.

Neo-colonial Politics

The re-election of fascist puppet Marcos was largely attributed by the bourgeois press to his courtship with nationalism. Seeing his own bankruptcy and puppetry in his presidential opponent, he exploited the logic of "the lesser between the two evils" by flaunting his avowed "nationalism". His sinister motive, however, was to capture the votes of the intelligentsia and other progressive groups disenchanted with his reactionary policies. If the fascist puppet Marcos ever used the word nationalism, it is only because he had to make political compromise.

Despite its pretension to nationalism, the reactionary Marcos administration has not departed from the colonial foreign policies of the government. Instead, it has strengthened and deepened its commitments to the neo-colonial schemes of the imperialist United States and Japan and social-imperialist Soviet Union in Asia.

Nowhere could this reactionary and anti-nationalist position of the fascist puppet Marcos administration be amply demonstrated than when the Philippines sent the Philcag contingent to South Vietnam. Now that the Philcag has been exposed as a mercenary force, its withdrawal is only a face-saving device on the part of the Marcos puppet administration. Moreover, even in its attempt to put an image of charting an independent foreign policy, the Marcos administration is only supplementing the United States' policy of feigned withdrawal from its aggressive war against the Vietnamese people.

Unfazed by the embarrassing revelations of the Symington Report, the fascist puppet Marcos once more demonstrated his unswerving puppetry to U.S. imperialism when he convened the client-states of the United States and Great Britain in Asia through the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) by using the convenient excuse of reviving diplomatic ties with "Malaysia". However the ASEAN tries to camouflage its *de facto* military alliance character behind the label of a regional economic grouping, it is expressly a collective security arrangement in Asia. One of its expressed aims is to "secure peace and order in Asia in the face of communist threat in Southeast Asia".

One significant feature of the ASEAN is that its membership is limited to nations which are former colonies or protectorates of imperialist Great Britain and the United States. The aim of these imperialist powers is to buttress their position in the area in the face of their token withdrawal in

an effort to pacify the rapidly growing national liberation movements in the area.

Another feature of the "broadening" of our foreign relations is the plan to open trade relations with pseudo-socialist countries, specifically the Soviet Union. Actually, this is in consonance with the U.S.-Soviet policy of dividing the world between themselves. As proven by the Soviet aggression against the Czechoslovak people, the Soviet Union has been transformed into a neo-capitalist state that exploits and oppresses not only the Soviet people but also the peoples of its colonies in the same fashion as the United States does.

In the face of the steady erosion of the people's confidence in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal order, many sectors have voiced out the opinion that the remaining hope for social and political reforms is a new constitution to be promulgated by the 1971 Constitutional Convention. These same sectors have come out with an appeal for a non-partisan Constitutional Convention now embodied in the Pelaez bill. This bill seeks to prohibit political parties from directly or indirectly intervening in and supporting candidates and delegates to the Convention.

The appeal for a non-partisan Constitutional Convention appears to be a popular issue because of widespread dissatisfaction with the Nacionalista and Liberal parties. Any move that would tend to diminish the privileges of the two dominant parties is therefore welcomed by unentrenched political agglomerations. But even if we assume the strict implementation of the said bill if passed into law, the employment of school teachers and college students as

poll inspectors is a flimsy guarantee for clean and honest elections against terrorism and massive vote-buying as witnessed in the November 1969 elections. Likewise, the proposed regulation of election propaganda and expenses of candidates by the Comelec cannot make the elections truly democratic if the concentration of political and economic power is retained in the hands of the ruling class.

The idea itself of effecting genuine democratic change through the Constitutional Convention is highly untenable because it is highly probable that powerful, moneyed interest groups will dominate the Convention. Assuming further that a progressive Constitution is formulated by the Convention, the preservation of the basic power and social relations will necessarily militate against the full implementation of such a Constitution. Genuine democratic change can only occur if the masses themselves, by their own initiative, implement the basic reforms that the Constitutional Convention seeks to achieve.

The Resurgence of Fascism

The resurging fascism at present that emphatically characterizes the Marcos administration strengthens further the assertion that the present state is a mere instrument of suppression and violence used by the ruling class in imposing its dictatorship over the masses.

Frightful of the growing national democratic movement and the emboldened tempo of the people's struggle in the countryside, the fascist puppet Marcos as a true agent of imperialist, feudal, bureaucrat-capitalist and comprador interests in the Philippines,

found in the military a convenient tool to quell and suppress progressive organizations of workers, peasants and youth.

Armed forces units, particularly the Philippine Constabulary, as the mainstay of imperialist, feudal and bureaucrat-capitalist political power in our country have perpetrated heinous crimes against the Filipino people under the Marcos administration. The reactionary armed forces perpetrate with impunity massacres, assassinations, harassments and threats against progressives and civilians in various parts of the country.

In May, 1967, the anti-people elements of the P.C. and Metrocom brutally murdered about 40 members of the Lapiang Malaya on the lame pretext that the latter were out to "overthrow the government". The truth, however, is that the LM, though to a certain extent misguided, voiced out the legitimate aspirations of some segments of the peasant masses. This raw militarism the reactionary Marcos administration unabashedly condoned.

The year that followed was another bloody year involving the armed marauders of the Marcos administration. At Corregidor, in the site of a military training camp, "special forces" thugs mercilessly butchered and maimed a number of Muslim trainees. We remember it now as the infamous "Jabidah" massacre.

On October 18, 1969, Capas, Tarlac was the scene of another massacre. P.C. men, armed with powerful weapons, dragged 13 civilians out of a jeep on suspicion that they were Huks. Without any question, the group was made to kneel down and the P.C.

hatchetmen gunned them down with automatic weapons. Only three survived this beastly ordeal.

During the last elections, P.C. and army units served the needs of both the Liberal and Nacionalista parties. Acting as bodyguards and acolytes of the political tycoons who are in alliance against the people, they engaged in terrorist and coercive activities that made the last elections the most fraudulent, farcical and terroristic in the history of Philippine elections.

On November 25, 1969, more than a month after the Capas Massacre, Max Llorente, legal counsel of the victims, was nearly assassinated by P.C. agents. One civilian was killed and several others wounded as the armed goons of the state made their headway to silence a progressive element.

Not quite satisfied with the massacres, assassinations and shooting sprees they perpetrate against the people, Hitler-worshippers in the reactionary armed forces indulge in other suppressive activities such as those committed against workers and youth who militantly assert their democratic rights.

At the strike of Northern Motors, Inc. workers, P.C. troopers in connivance with monopoly capitalists threatened the strikers with violent reprisals and arrested some of their leaders. The same happened in the strike at the New Frontier Supermarket where the P.C. served as escorts for scabs and as bodyguards of the management.

As true servitors of U.S. imperialism, local feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, the reactionary soldiers do not spare the youth. When militant youth and students demonstrated against the Moomey acquit-

tal last October, 1969, P.C. and Metrocom thugs joined the local police bullies in beating up demonstrators. Moreover, in every demonstration directed against U.S. imperialism in the Philippines, P.C., Metrocom and "special forces" serve as protectors of foreign oppressors and exploiters.

The predatory and counter-revolutionary character of the armed forces is further exposed with the creation of Home Defense Forces and Barrio Self Defense Units which are no different from the "civilian guards" of the 50's and the terrorist squads that prey on peasants, the "Monkees". The HDF, BSDU and "Monkees" were created to terrorize the peasant masses who make up the "fertile soil" for the revolutionary movement.

The beastly atrocities being perpetrated by the counter-revolutionary soldiers of the Marcos administration are only a portent of things to come. But one thing is sure. As the ruling class can not rule anymore in the old way, more violent repressions are bound to unfold. Yet, it is a truism that in any society, as the ruling class becomes more violent, the resistance of the oppressed is increased tenfold. The revolutionary movement emerges to destroy the inequities of the old order.

Economic Crisis Wrought by U.S. Imperialism

As a neo-colony in the world imperialist system, the Philippine economy reflects the growing crisis that is rocking the imperialist countries headed by the United States. The national economy is in the throes of a severe monetary crisis, high prices, huge internal and external debts, rising unemployment, an

unfavorable balance of trade and an unprecedented deficit in the government fund. All these economic difficulties spell a general slowdown of economic activity and increase the misery of the Filipino masses.

Backwardness and the impoverishment of the Filipino people are products of the continuing plunder of the Philippine market and natural resources by U.S. imperialists in collaboration with compradors and bureaucrat capitalists. In recent years, imperialist plunder of the Philippine economy has been accelerated with the institution of decontrol in 1962. The lifting of exchange controls allowed the massive repatriation of superprofits by U.S. imperialists.

For the period 1962-1968 remittances on direct investments reached an all time high of \$2,216.85 million; a large bulk going to the United States. Annual average of remittances within this period was \$316.69 million. Within the same period, disbursements on invisibles, which usually are dollar remittances, amounted to \$2,133.75 million giving an average of \$304.82 million. If we add these disbursement invisibles to remittances, an average of \$620 million may be said to have been drained from our economy each year of the 1962-1968 period.

The dollar shortage resulting from the massive remittances induced declines in manufacturing and "industrial" production which were dependent upon imports for raw materials and machinery. In addition, the dollar shortage caused a tight monetary situation with tight credit and high interest rates.

The heightened economic difficulties necessitated on the part of the fascist puppet Marcos the implementation of the so-called "impact" projects calculated

to insure his re-election. Thus the Marcos administration concentrated on the road-building program, the barrio fund, the rural health medical program and pre-fab schools at a tremendous cost to the national government.

This led to the largest deficit ever reached by the government in the post-war period. Judging from the data released by the Presidential Economic Staff, the deficit for 1969 will reach a figure close to one billion pesos. As of October 1969, total deficit reached ₱660 million which is 165 per cent higher than the ₱244 million deficit in October 1968. The government incurred its largest deficit when its income, bolstered by new tax measures, was at its highest and when its cash income of ₱4,137 million was ₱81.5 million higher than that of October last year. Of the total ₱660 million deficit, excessive government spending in two months before November accounted for ₱492 million.

As a result of massive government spending, money supply increased to the highest level it has reached so far. As of October 1969, money supply reached the ₱4.44 billion mark, which is 23.8 per cent higher than its level in October in 1968. Under the Central Bank Charter, a 15 per cent increase or decrease in money supply is abnormal and monetary authorities consider it a threat to the stability of the Philippine economy. Even the Central Bank considers the national government as the major cause of the increase in money supply.

The fascist puppet Marcos cannot deny that the annual rates of growth of the gross national product from 1966 to 1969 did not register any increase. Considering the growth rate goals of the Marcos admini-

stration for four years which were not achieved, the people cannot be deceived by another distortion of facts and juggling of figures to be made by Marcos in his State of the Nation Address today. And if we consider the prices of commodities and services in the country today (the growth rate figures were based on the GNP with 1955 as base), it is not an exaggeration to say that the economy has not only been static in the past four years but has produced less goods and services.

To cover its heavy spending, the government incurred large increase in external and internal debts. As of September 1969, the internal debt of the national government stood at ₱2.8 billion and the external debt at \$1.2 billion.

As a result of massive government spending which caused an unprecedented increase in money supply and the static growth rate in the economy responsible for the lack of goods and services, prices increased at a rate higher than the increase in wages. Prices of goods and consumer items (wholesale and retail) have increased and are increasing consistently in the provinces in Luzon and the Visayas at the same Manila levels.

The unemployment problem remained unsolved in the first term of the fascist puppet Marcos. As to the conservative records of the Bureau of Census and Statistics, the number of unemployed remained at the level of one million, not including the underemployed. President Marcos cannot obscure this fact by citing the number of those employed each year in the past four years because from year to year the labor force rises at an almost steady rate.

Culture and Education—Still Feudal and Colonial

The bankruptcy of the existing political and economic system in the country seeps through our culture and education. The prevailing culture which is basically feudal and colonial only further reinforces the supremacy of the present social setup characterized by feudal and imperialist exploitation.

Throughout our history we have witnessed the continued suppression of the development of a truly revolutionary culture that reflects the struggle of our people for a just and a prosperous society. Reactionary culture is being encouraged and even subsidized while the works of our progressive artists and writers are neglected.

The Cultural Center epitomizes the bankruptcy of the so-called cultural development under the Marcos administration. More scandalous than the circumstances surrounding its construction (i.e., the immoral waste of money amidst abject poverty) is the content of the cultural presentations in the Cultural Center which are alien to our people and only provide them with false hopes and aspirations to end their sufferings.

Underscoring the cultural decadence in our society is the clamping down of progressive works of art. While such blatantly reactionary propaganda movies as the "The Green Berets" and "The Most Dangerous Man in the World" were allowed public exhibition, the artistic and progressive "The East is Red" and other movies portraying the heroic struggles of other peoples are restricted if not totally banned.

The mass media are still under the grip of either aliens or Filipinos who owe loyalty to foreign govern-

ments or agencies. The active intrusion into our country of such imperialist propaganda institutions as the Associated Press, United Press International, USIS, Time-Life and Readers' Digest continue to poison the minds of our people and preserve an obfuscating curtain that perpetuates ignorance and intellectual subjugation.

Our educational system is basically colonial and reactionary. With its continued Americanization through such "educational" foundations as AFS, Ford, Rockefeller, Fulbright-Hayes, Colombo and similar CIA and State Department fronts and with an irrelevant curriculum that does not respond to the needs of our people, we can only expect our educational system to produce graduates indifferent to and alienated from the backward condition of our country.

The government under the Marcos administration has succeeded only in providing the people education that is colonial and feudal in orientation. The recurrent student strikes in private and public schools are clear manifestations that the youth are rejecting what is appropriately miseducation.

The development of science and technology in our country, if there has been any, is misdirected. Emphasis is placed on agricultural technology to tie down our economy to agriculture and continue to serve as raw-material source of U.S. industries.

The issues concerning the development of the national language continue to intrigue our people. No serious move has been done to really develop and propagate a national language that will serve to unite our oppressed masses and open the way for their better understanding of the roots of their sufferings.

Whatever grandiose claims President Marcos makes about the achievements of his administration in culture and education, the truth still remains that feudal and colonial culture and education still reign in our country.

POSITION PAPER OF KABATAANG MAKABAYAN
ON "THE TRUE STATE OF THE NATION" AT
THE OPENING OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF
THE PHILIPPINES, JANUARY 26, 1970.

MASSACRE AT MENDIOLA

It is most condemnable that the otherwise peaceful demonstration of January 30 had to end in the virtual massacre of demonstrators and the gross trampling of the constitutional rights of the Filipino people.

That the issue raised by the demonstration was the growing spectre of fascism under the present exploitative system makes this latest and most reprehensible attack on the rights of the people by the armed agents of the state doubly alarming and shocking. The Filipino people cannot help but protest at the realization that fascism under the Marcos administration has erupted into violent reality.

Organized massive attempts at suppressing the truth about the infamous massacre of helpless and defenseless students by the armed forces have been launched. The alarming propaganda machine of the state, powered by the hysteria that came in the wake of wanton state violence, has set into motion the forces that will surely lead to the attributions of guilt and responsibility to the unarmed demonstrators. A desperate bid to engulf the country with the red scare has been started to justify more violent and illegal

transgressions of civil rights by a government that is supposed to protect its citizens from injustice and despotism.

What happened in the terror-filled night of January 30 will go down in Philippine history as the day when the state lost its head in perpetuating the malignant shortcomings and abuses of the privileged classes that have captured its governmental prerogatives. It will also be remembered as the day when the oppressed and exploited citizens led by a concerned student body finally realized that there are no more legal processes left to achieve a peaceful transition from feudalism and colonial domination to a truly democratic society for the Filipino masses.

It cannot be denied that the student demonstration before Congress earlier in the afternoon of January 30 was conducted in the most peaceful manner possible for a record 50,000 student youth militants vehemently gathered to protest fascism in this country. As the mammoth gathering of students, peasants and workers marched on to the Manila City Hall and Malacañang, it gained strength from those in the crowds who were moved to join the march. As the march neared Gate 4 of Malacañang, stones and pieces of wood were rained on the demonstrators by agents behind the Palace walls.

This attempt to taunt and provoke the already angered demonstrators was aggravated later on by the use of tear gas and fire hoses upon the demonstrators. The demonstrators were left with no other recourse but to throw back the stones hurled at them and make a hasty retreat towards the alleys leading to the Azcarraga-Legarda area to be able to fight back. They were

however chased by the riot squads of the Special Forces, Metrocom and MPD towards the Azcarraga street. Here the crowds of demonstrators mixed with the residents of the heavily student-populated area as well as students emerging from the night classes of some universities.

In the meantime, the Special Forces and Metrocom forces were already being rapidly augmented in rapid succession by the MPD, QCPD, reserve units of the air force, the marines, the navy and by the dreaded Huk-killers of the Task Force Lawin which was rushed from the Central Plains.

Clearly, the demonstrators, the residents and pedestrians of the area were shocked and alarmed by this massive show of firepower backed up by the hysterical posture of the whole Philippine military establishment arrayed against a defenseless and unarmed group. The demonstrators could not get out of the area because it was sealed completely by the armed forces; the heroic efforts by demonstrators to destroy the encirclement were met by violent arrests and gunshots. The civilian residents of the area, a good number of them women and children, were roused from their homes when the anti-riot squads lobbed tear gas bombs in the vicinity.

This condemnable display and ruthless exercise of military power more than ever buttresses the claim of democratic dissenters that fascism exists in this country.

We stand foursquare in the assertion that this needless loss of human lives, this senseless maiming of hundreds of Filipinos and the destruction to property could not have happened without the arbitrary

and fascistic use of military power in the suppression of the citizens' constitutional right to free assembly. The entire might of the State was brought to bear upon helpless and unarmed citizens engaged in the exercise of the prerogatives of their citizenship.

January 30 will go down in Philippine history as the day when the Filipino people realized the truth, the ugly truth about fascism in their midst and all that it entails, the perpetuation of a corrupt and vicious social order dominated by U.S. imperialism and the feudalism of its local puppets.

The Filipino people have, at last, waken to the deception of parliamentary and legal processes and the futility of change unless they joined moral and physical forces together in the historic task of national democratic struggle.

MOVEMENT FOR A DEMOCRATIC PHILIPPINES

February 1, 1970

A STEP HIGHER

(Editorial of *Philippine Collegian* — January 28, 1970)

In less than a month, Filipino students have taken to the streets four times, the violence of confrontation politics swinging full circle from the tumultuous Dec. 29 anti-Agnew demonstration through the quiet UPSC protest rally and the sporadic clashes of the prolonged NSL demo to the bloody mammoth rally last Monday before Congress.

However, in both theoretical and practical terms, the historic January 26 demonstration has not only returned to a "starting point"; contrarily, it has taken us one full step higher and further in the tortuous road towards national democracy.

Unlike December 29, which was an example of State fascism sophisticated (see Jan. 5 *Collegian* editorial), January 26 showed that the opposing aspect of people's power had also sophisticated or qualitatively changed, creating a new and higher level of political confrontation, on different terms, under historical-ly new conditions.

In the first place, the two irreconcilable lines of student activism—one reformist and compromising, the

other revolutionary and uncompromising—were clearly exposed. The first was publicly discredited while the second was supported fully by the student masses, partially but on an unexpected scale by politicians, the press, and the spectator public.

The attempts of NUSP president Edgar Jopson to block nationalist speakers, then to sunder private from public schools, finally to wash his hands of the affair by "discontinuing" NUSP participation, were angrily disapproved by the vast student majority who stayed to fight. Such disapproval expressed concretely by student bravery culminated the division of students during the demonstration into a wishy-washy minority and an aggressive majority, as well as the final alienation of professional "student leaders" from their more honest, practical, and perceptive constituencies.

Similarly, the opportunist recognition by our politicians of the strength of nationalism for once superseded their understandable timidity, leading all without exception, from President Marcos down, to grudgingly concede the innocence of the demonstrators. The press, experiencing as it does the growing restrictions of fascism, was unusually sympathetic, while the general public by far—taxi drivers, TV and radio audiences, by-standers—most strongly experienced for the first time the practical meaning of the word fascism.

In the second place, the students stayed to fight for *four whole hours*—a conscious mass action unheard of from October 24 on. Dispersing and re-grouping, alternately retreating and advancing, working in groups nominally supervised from the UP jeep, the

students traded blow for blow with the outnumbered but still more heavily equipped policemen.

This does not mean, however, as the indiscriminate use of the word "riot" implies, that the students deliberately assumed an offensive and violent position. Provoked initially by agents-provocateur, the students had no recourse but self-defense against the bestially-transformed and hate-maddened riot squads. What took place was a shift from passive to active strategy, from the non-expression of demonstrators' collective power to its expression.

The concrete proof that these are the new terms on which students will take to the streets in the future is found in the serious discussion afterward of practical self-defense measures—shields, helmets, truncheons. Violence, once disbelieved, is now accepted, and having been understood as the basic characteristic of the State, has become not a cause for despair and retreat but a spur to incentive, initiative, and self-improvement directed at strengthening the ranks of student activism and equalizing future confrontations.

Finally, students are now engaged in practical post-demonstration activities consciously oriented as political propaganda and as means to consolidating further progressive Filipino social sectors. The students by now have realized the vital importance of the worker-peasant-student front, more so now since the tragedy of death long familiar to the worker-peasant struggle may have touched the students.

The discussion of self-defense techniques, the 32-school week-long boycott of classes, the scheduling of still another giant protest rally, the holding of inter-school teach-ins and photo exhibits, the increased ac-

tivity of nationalist groups and alliances despite sustained harassment, the incipient transfer of initiative at least in UP from the student leaders to the student masses through the recent "people's congress" at AN and the precedent set by the public convoking of a Council meeting—these moves are far removed from the court actions and limited publicity efforts that characterized the short-lived post-October 24 movement.

ASSORTED VULTURES AND OPPORTUNISTS

(Editorial of U.P. *Senior Newsletter*—Feb. 11, 1970)

The scent of death draws vultures from their lairs.

Blood was spilled as uniformed men charged into the ranks of young demonstrators, with their truncheons and guns killing at least four and wounding a hundred others.

In the ensuing confusion, there surfaced the opportunists. They swooped down upon a shocked populace determined to promote their selfish ends. Their moves were swift, calculated to deceive the people into believing they were securing the public good. But we discern the truth—they are opportunists, and enemies of the people.

Vulture Number One: The Fascists. The most powerful in this classification is Der Fuehrer himself, Ferdinand E. Marcos. After sending all combat-ready units of the AFP to butcher the students, he proceeded to make Fort Malacañang impregnable with thousands of soldiers, mounted artillery pieces and machineguns,

and all the other tricks he learned while he earned his 27 medals. The other members of the 3% elite evacuated from Forbes and other Makati villages, leaving their mansions to the tender care of hundreds of PO troops.

These plutocrats raised the Red scare to justify their panicky fortifications and repressive measures against the people who now live under a *de-facto* military regime. Through the mass media which they own, they seized upon the reigning confusion to alienate progressive elements by branding them as "Communist subversives."

But these McCarthyist tactics can no longer beguile our people. The masses know who the true enemies of democracy are. They know those who exploit them, who hoard all the wealth of the nation and deny the laboring classes of their rightful share, who conspire with American capitalists in keeping the Philippines an economic colony, who use the military to violently enforce their dominance over the masses. These are the oligarchs, the true subversives. They cannot forever trample upon the interest of the people, for genuine national democracy shall prevail.

Vulture Number Two: The Rabble-Rouser. The group to which this belongs is composed of men in the oligarchy who are not in good terms with Mr. Marcos. There are the politicians who received the shorter end of their petty wranglings for power and who now want Mr. Marcos discredited and out of office. But they do not also have the support of the people, for they only want to capture power for themselves and not really for the masses. Once in power,

they would continue the exploitation of the people and the suppression of civil rights.

So what does the rabble-rouser do? He agitates the students and tries to goad him to violence, even offering to supply them with firearms. He knows, however, that the pocket uprising he tries to incite will only be violently crushed by the State. Then shedding the crocodile tears, he will blame the unfortunate incident on the present occupant of the Palace, and offer himself as the alternative. Thus he gains political power and stops legitimate proletarian ascendancy.

But these opportunists, who are willing to sacrifice everybody but themselves, have also been exposed and discredited. The students can see through their deception, and they know they will only be led to disaster if they follow the rabble-rousers' importunings. They know that genuine change will not come if the students move alone; it will come only if the broad masses of the people themselves will it and undertake it. And they know that it will come, in time.

Vulture Number Three: The Pontius Pilate. The younger set of oligarch, this opportunist may be seen drifting among the students, feeling his way and moving in the direction of the blowing wind. His eyes are riveted at gaining leadership among the youth, that he may use the position to further his clannish interests and personal ambitions.

Thus, following the January 26 demonstration, the Pilates chimed in their feeble voices in the uproar against police brutality, but not against the larger issue of fascism. The massacre of January 30 made them show their true color. Washing their hands of

responsibility for the incident and casting aside their fellow students who were injured, they joined the witch-hunters in their chorus blaming "Communist infiltrators" for provoking the riot.

In this very campus, there have been those who conducted teach-ins and issued press releases immediately after the bloodbath, proclaiming themselves as doves of peace and branding the militant groups and their leaders as "subversives who want a violent revolution." How they came up with such attributed motives may be credited to their imagination. But the students discerned the opportunism behind their attempts to divide the studentry and discredit the nationalists. They were roundly shunned by the dormitory residents whom they harangued, and their allegations were torn apart. Once again, an enlightened studentry has rejected masquerading misleaders.

In our continuing struggle for change in our society, we will always be meeting these vultures, and they will try to wreck our efforts. But being clear as to our goals, knowing that we seek a true national democracy we will be able to unmask the pretenders and crush the opportunists. With people's power behind us, we cannot fail.

BE RESOLUTE! UNITE AND OPPOSE THE MURDER, MAIMING AND MASS ARREST OF FELLOW STUDENTS AND COUNTRYMEN!

The fascist puppet regime of Ferdinand E. Marcos knows no bounds. Not satisfied with the police brutality perpetrated by the Metrocom and the MPD last January 26, the full force of the state was unleashed on the militant demonstrators of January 30 to kill and maim them.

Washing his hands of the blood of the students murdered by the reactionary state at his orders, the very next day, Marcos threatened in a speech to unleash a more savage attack against those who justly and democratically oppose his puppet, corrupt and terroristic regime.

In a desperate and hysterical attempt to get the people sanction his fascistic acts he dreams up a ridiculous story labelling the demonstration as a plot by his enemies—"communists and non-communists"—to capture Malacanang.

Marcos is going berserk and so fearful of popular criticism that he imagines at every turn that his political opponents are out to destroy him. He has even

started to voice out the fear that his own vice-president is interested in his assassination or his political failure. But, of course, his favorite target are the "communists" who he claims adhere to Mao Tsetung Thought.

Sunk in a morass of contradictions, Marcos' statements and actions, aimed at discrediting and suppressing the people's struggle for national freedom and democracy, only serve to show the people his overriding concern to preserve the present oppressive and exploitative system that allows him and his kind unlimited opportunity to enrich themselves.

He hypocritically declares his grief over the death of the demonstrators after he has commended the murderers for their "resolute actions" in handling the demonstration.

While calling for national unity, he is actively seeking to divide the ranks of the people—pitting parents against their children, workers and peasants against students, students against students, and raising the communist bogeyman to further confuse the people.

Having been given the go-signal by his imperialist masters to enter into relations with the Russian "communists," Marcos now attempts to frighten the Filipino people into submission by saying that they will be gobbled up by the "Maoists" if they continue to oppose him.

He accuses national democrats who oppose his administration as "Maoists" and berates them for "wanting to surrender the country to a foreign power" when he himself is the running dog of Yankee imperialists

and the "right-hand man" of erstwhile imperialist chieftain, Johnson.

Marcos pretends to know Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought only to expose his utterly appalling ignorance. He accuses communists of trying to seize power on January 30. His real motive is to use this bogey to clamp down on the people's aspiration for national liberation and to intensify his militarization of the country. The theory of protracted people's war that applies to a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country like the Philippines does not permit that a mass action as that of January 30 would suffice to overthrow the present reactionary state. In trying to use witch-hunting tactics, Marcos underestimates the political consciousness of those who continually demonstrate against him. He harbors the futile hope that he can discourage the people from exposing the evils of the present neo-colonial state and his particular government by calling them "communists" and seizing the license to kill and maim them.

It is futile for the fascist puppet Marcos to make use of the issue of communism to divide the students or the students from other segments of the population. The issue is not yet communism. We are clearly fighting for a national democratic revolution.

Kabataang Makabayan is not a communist organization. It is a mass organization composed of young workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, and professionals committed to the attainment of national democracy in our society. Our members have the democratic right to study any ideology, including Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. (Andres Bonifacio, in his struggle against Spanish colonialism.

closely studied the *French Revolution*.) We are very much unlike Marcos who, if he had his own way, would forbid the discussion of ideas other than those that comprise the superstructure of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society ruled by such anti-national and anti-democratic forces as U.S. imperialism and the local exploiting classes as the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

The democracy that Marcos speaks of as existing in the Philippines is actually anti-democracy, the liberty of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism to exploit the broad masses of our people, especially the workers and peasants.

All the lies of Marcos will not cover up the fact that he is a running dog of U.S. imperialism; they will not cover up the fact that his fascist regime is responsible for the murder of scores of people who have dared to expose and oppose the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people at present.

The time has come to test the patriotism and revolutionary courage of students and other sectors of the population.

In the January 26 and 30-31 demonstrations, the fascist nature of the Marcos puppet regime was thoroughly exposed. That it has gone to the extent of murdering and maiming demonstrators, even under the lame pretext of protecting the President, clearly shows that the Marcos fascist puppet regime knows no bounds in suppressing people's democratic rights.

Lapiang Malaya, Jabidah, Capas, *Dumaguete Times*, Pantranco, Northern Motors, and now Mendiol... the list is getting longer. More and more, the people are learning the meaning of the present state.

Last January 30-31, the demonstrators learned, with the aid of the bullets and truncheons of the police and armed forces, that the reactionary state is but an instrument of coercion employed by the exploiting class to suppress and oppress the people.

The heroic fight of active self-defense that the 50,000 demonstrators put up shows that the people can no longer be cowed by the military might of the state. The death of our brothers in the struggle only serve to make us more determined in the fight for our national freedom and liberation.

We cannot allow the continued suppression of the people's democratic rights.

We cannot allow the maiming, murder, mass arrest and torture of our fellow students and countrymen to go unredressed.

KABATAANG MAKABAYAN

2 February 1970

INTENSIFY RESISTANCE AGAINST MARCOS FASCIST PUPPET REGIME

The massive and militant February 12 demonstration at Plaza Miranda has proved once again the revolutionary courage of the Filipino youth. Despite the rumors of naked fascist violence to be inflicted on the young workers and students, the correct line of arousing the people and putting up militant democratic resistance against fascist intimidations prevailed. Refusing to be intimidated by the fascist puppet Marcos and his coterie of pseudo-nationalist cabinet men, student, worker and youth groups rose as one in condemning the brutality of the Marcos fascist puppet regime during the January 26 and January 30-31 mass actions. The time is now past when state suppression of people's democratic rights can continue without being exposed and opposed by the Filipino youth.

Last January 30-31, the demonstrators learned, with the aid of bullets and truncheons of the police and armed forces of the state, that the reactionary state is but an instrument of coercion employed by the exploiting class to suppress and oppress the people. Six human lives were claimed by the Marcos fascist puppet regime and hundreds were mercilessly

clubbed, gassed, maimed and fired upon with high-powered guns in an effort to suppress the democratic revolutionary actions of the young workers and students. This naked show of fascist violence by the neo-colonial state all the more clearly underscores the need for the people to rise up in more vigorous and militant mass actions to expose the bankruptcy of the reactionary state and its puppetry to U.S. imperialism.

The fascist puppet regime of Marcos deserves the just condemnation of the Filipino people for perpetuating the worsening conditions in the country brought about by utter puppetry to U.S. imperialism coupled by overzealous fascism in suppressing the democratic rights of the people. In view of this, we must see through the pseudo-left-inspired tactic of shifting the people's revolutionary action against Marcos to "dissipated attacks against various forces." Let us not be misled by the right opportunist line that "Marcos is small, although significant, part of the political system." This counter-revolutionary line so maliciously being spread by certain pseudo-left "leaders" only results in obscuring the fact that the fascist puppet Marcos is the chief political agent of the local exploiting classes and U.S. imperialism in our country.

Events have shown that Marcos is rightist and bad enough to deserve the condemnation of the Filipino people. We should expose and oppose the sinister design of exculpating the blood debts of the fascist puppet Marcos to the Filipino people by branding the revolutionary actions of the youth against him as a "purely anti-Marcos line." We should be wary of the vile attempt of the pseudo-leftists who fall for Marcos "nationalist" line, lock, stock, and barrel to sabotage

the national democratic movement by beclouding the issue of puppetry and fascism of the Marcos regime.

Marcos stands today as the chief political agent of U.S. imperialism and domestic feudalism in our society. His interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the Filipino people. Marcos' "nationalism" of the Ople-Valencia variety is actually a devious concoction that aims to deceive the Filipino people and designed ultimately to maintain imperialist and feudal power in the Philippines.

The militant participation of 50,000 young workers and students in the post-Mendiola massacre rally of February 12 showed the Filipino people the uncompromising stand of the youth militants against the Marcos fascist puppet regime. It reflected only too clearly the growing political consciousness of the youth who refused to be disarmed by the sugar-coated rhetorics of the fascist puppet Marcos. No amount of intimidation coming from the reactionary fascist puppet state could quell the youth movement which recognizes that the only correct revolutionary line is militant and determined position vis-a-vis the Marcos fascist puppet regime.

It was no less than the heroic fight of active self-defense during the January 26 and January 30-31 mass actions that inspired the militant participants of the February 12 massive assembly. The mammoth demonstration was only the first step in turning the grief over the dead brothers in the national democratic struggle into militant revolutionary actions. Undaunted by the onslaughts of fascism and possessed with revolutionary courage, the youth has become more vigilant to put to a stalemate the threat of the

military might of the state which always attempts to silence all those committed to the advancement of people's democratic rights and the achievement of a just and prosperous society.

That the 50,000 young militants courageously participated in the February 12 anti-fascism rally, amid potential and actual suppression actions of the Marcos fascist puppet regime, only further underlines the beginning of more intensified revolutionary mass actions of the Filipino people against fascism, U.S. imperialism, and feudalism. The revolutionary collective actions of the youth against exploitation and oppression in our society in the past one and a half months have already signalised the dawn of bigger, more militant, and more vigorous struggles against the exploitative and oppressive ruling class headed by Marcos in our semi-feudal and semi-colonial society.

FILIPINO PEOPLE, UNITE! CARRY THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE THROUGH TO THE END!

DOWN WITH FASCISM!

DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM!

DOWN WITH FEUDALISM!

VICTORY TO THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL DEMOCRACY!

LONG LIVE THE FILIPINO PEOPLE!

KABATAANG MAKABAYAN
14 February 1970

MILITANCY VIS-A-VIS MILITARIZATION

(Editorial of *Breakthrough*—May, 1970)

Whether or not President Marcos declares martial law or suspends the writ of habeas corpus, he and his cabal of warlords are feverishly laying down their groundwork.

The President set himself on this inevitable course on the 30th day of January. No less than ten thousand soldiers and three thousand police were rushed in to save Malacañang from capture by demonstrators armed with slingshots and molotov bombs. "A communist plot," he announced the day after the massacre of four students.

That same night and the days following President Marcos was near panic. He considered declaring martial law. In February the President defined his terms: "Martial law means that the military becomes the entire government, unless I, as commander in chief, put on my uniform and I say, I am in command of the entire military. I assume all the powers of government." That is, *Le roi, c'est moi*. (I am the state.)

Propaganda Warfare

Presidential talk of martial law is not merely a school book definition of terms. These are threats backed by an ongoing propaganda warfare and military preparations. Consider the following items:

—No longer secret are the instructions he gave to his generals to take over the reins of government if he dies or gets incapacitated.

—The cabinet was reorganized primarily to implement the wishes of the American bankers for the devaluation of the peso scheme and to place two fascist civilians in key positions, Enrile as defense secretary and Melchor as executive secretary.

Outhawking FM

—The defense secretary is playing his assigned role with great enthusiasm. Among his major accomplishments the last three months are: opposing the abolition of the Home Defense Forces and the repeal of the anti-subversion law, intensifying the ideological and military training of the military forces, pushing the plan to militarize all the local police forces and outhawking the President in his speeches, to wit, . . . teach-ins, seminars and forums are "subversive activities of the students."

—Hired demonstrators, government employees and school children all over the country are being hauled from homes, offices and schools to stage loyalty rallies for the President. Barrio captains, town and provincial officials have been asked to make loyalty oaths to his excellency.

—Millions of leaflets in several dialects entitled "National Security and You" are being circulated all over the country describing student demonstrators as subversives and the concept of national democracy as communistic.

—Kanlaon Broadcasting System, a radio and TV network, was bought by a presidential crony and is now spreading the message according to President Ferdie.

—A hired commentator in the Philippine Broadcasting System, a government radio station, warned barrio captains to report students conducting teach-ins to the PC and CIS.

Siege Mentality

—The siege mentality of the President has infected even the judiciary. Judge Pamaran, hang judge of the Manila CFI, acquitted a hireling security guard who killed a demonstrator in defense of property. The security guard was defending the glass window panes of a store. Apparently the hang judge felt a window pane is more precious than human life. A quip-for-thought: "Scratch a judge and hear a raving fascist."

—To make the Chinese "communist threat" credible, the government is desperately trying to repair the curtain of ignorance drawn around the country which has been rent by the flow of facts about the People's Republic of China. Han Suyin was refused admission to attend the One Asia Assembly in April. Her well-received lectures last December on China

identified her in the eyes of the President's agents as an exponent of an "alien and subversive ideology."

The President has deported to Taiwan in cloak and dagger fashion the Yuyitung brothers, publishers of a Chinese newspaper. An intelligence report tagged them as "top Chicom agents... financing student demonstrations and teach-ins on Mao Tsetung's thought." In truth they were faulted for publishing the truth about China. They also courted the ire of the local Kuomintang Chinese for advocating the assimilation of the Chinese community. To a government that rules by means of lies, truth, naturally, is subversive.

If President Marcos and his advisers thought it was a clever move to cut short the academic year so students could run to the beaches, turn to summer loves and get sobered up by their parents' scolding, they have won a very brief respite. Students are back in their hometowns conducting teach-ins among friends, relatives and students.

Growing Unrest

Reports are coming in from all over the country on their activities. Baguio City had a huge demonstration during the SEATO conference. Several demonstrators were arrested. The President had to cancel a visit in Davao City to avoid a scheduled demo. Demonstrating students in Iloilo had their first battle with the police. In Ilocos, a team of students had to rush home when their host's house was sprayed with bullets. The editor of the UP *Collegian* and several UP students were detained by the PC while selling tickets for a fund-raising show in Pampanga.

In the meantime not even stopgap measures have been implemented. The adverse effects of the devaluation of the peso have not yet reached their low point. More workers will still be laid off this summer. In the textile industry alone tens of thousands will be out of jobs after the factories run out of imported raw materials. Workers will be out on picket lines demanding higher wages. Schools and universities will hike tuition fees, along with the general increase of prices all over the country.

President Marcos is not blind to the growing unrest which will reach a higher peak come June. It's not surprising if he thought of June when he said last month: "I don't care what all the pacifists say about allowing the military to get too strong. Ultimately there will be a military confrontation. The military must be ready."

Use of the Military

This argument is dangerous and provocative. President Marcos is saying that he admits of no other way of dealing with the deepening crisis except by calling the military to crush the restive masses. A self-fulfilling prophecy is thus set in motion. He is practically encouraging the people to revolt and the military to go for broke.

The president resorts to the well-worn demagogic trick of calling on God and country to support his anti-communist stance. Unlike Moses who was always in a state of fear and trembling of courting God's displeasure, the president claims with pride and certitude, "My principal guardian is God." Perhaps he

had in mind the Egyptian gods who kept the people of Israel in chains.

As a budding dictator, his style is not really bad. Sample: "When the state becomes irreversibly engaged in a decisive confrontation with a particular danger," he explains, "the military steps in as the final guardian of state safety and the protection of the people's welfare." That is, what is good for the ruling classes, or better still, for President Marcos, is good for the people. These statements are meant to prepare the minds of the people for martial law.

Military Rule — Suicidal

Yet members of the ruling class deny that the only answer to the nationwide unrest is a repeat performance of the January 30th massacre on a national scale. A military solution forecloses the institution of reforms and confirms the view held by the radicals that the present system cannot be changed from within. Furthermore, a military rule is hardly a defensive mechanism of democracy. It is a suicidal weapon. Democratic rights, processes and institutions are destroyed by the very means used by the so-called defenders of democracy. The fragile freedoms of the press, speech, public assembly and the liberal democratic mechanisms such as the separation of powers and checks and balances between the executive, legislative and judicial departments of government, will be swept away. Of course, these measures will be qualified as temporary. But, as in the military dictatorships of Greece and several countries in South America, such emergency measures are bound to be permanent.

Crush the Radicals

But President Marcos may be right. The best time to nip a revolution, if possible at all, is in the bud — when students have just begun demonstrating and going to the countryside. Why run the risk of facing a formidable enemy by waiting for the student-worker-peasant alliance to grow stronger until it poses a clear and present danger to the ruling class? If he does not crush the students now how can he stay afloat for the next four years? The 1971 Constitutional Convention will rock the ship of state, and 1974, the terminal year of parity may bring in hurricane.

The sacada worker, the slum dweller, the peasant in Pampanga, the jeepney-driver, the family with the pushcart scavenging for a living, the student facing a jobless future—all these and more who constitute the overwhelming majority in the country are waking up quickly to the reality of the oppressive and exploitative structures ruling their lives. "Imperialism, feudalism and fascism" are no mere slogans devoid of meaning. These are key-words cutting through the mystification of reality perpetuated by a semi-colonial and semi-feudal system. These are ideas gradually being grasped by the masses, unlike the rhetoric of anti-communism which keeps them ignorant, passive and easy to manipulate, but ideas that enlighten and mobilize them to take the initiative to change their world.

Diffuse Enemies

After some vacillation, the civilian President has virtually donned the uniform. His warrior instincts are now given free rein. Four years of oratory on

greatness have proved to be an inglorious flop. Twenty-seven war medals could not shine in the dismal role of catching smugglers, building roads and planting rice. Poverty-corruption *et al.* proved a drab and diffuse host of enemies. But for the military mind the enemy can be pinpointed. Goliath puts on the breastplate of anti-communism and raises the sword of martial law.

Martial law can be established without the fanfare of a declaration. Central Luzon has been in a *de facto* state of martial law for years now. A military regime, or better still, a police state sans legal formalities has its advantages. Except for families and friends of those in the blacklist, not many people will be alarmed if these suspects disappear or hired goons gun them down accidentally. Like the coming in of night, an open dictatorship can emerge rather quietly.

No Formal Declaration

Without a formal declaration of martial law, Congress can go about the usual business of carving out the pork barrel among themselves. Courts can dispense justice to the highest bidder. Business establishments may well applaud the return of law and order. To top it all, President Nixon will have an occasion to make a state visit and confer on President Marcos his 28th war medal.

It is difficult to imagine how the president can rescue himself from the inexorable road to fascism. The massive propaganda offensive against the militant nationalist movement can at best succeed for only a while in scaring people in the provinces from the

radical option. The actual conditions of the people cannot be falsified by the smoothest lie.

Self-made Prisons

Militarization of the country receives top priority in the president's program. He is increasingly becoming a prisoner of his own fears and by his own presidential guards. He cannot face a crowd anymore. His speech on Labor Day at Luneta was cancelled. He is increasingly being alienated from the people whom he had regaled, manipulated, terrorized and bribed to put him in power. His rhetoric is flat and his image makers have run out of symbols and lovely phrases. Even society matrons laugh derisively at the bemedalled hero who fears his own shadow. The spell of Imelda is gone.

Modest Reforms

Members of the ruling class should sympathize with the president's predicament because they have the same interests at stake. In the long run the neo-colonial and feudal structures will have to go. They should convince the president there is no point in rushing that day closer. The president should resign himself to the historic forces of revolution which are much larger than he. Be a time-server — be a modest reformer. Leave the masses to make their own history. After being subdued, domesticated and led by the nose for a lifetime they now want to stand up as free men. Prudence rather than heroism is the cue for the ruling classes. For in this era which has seen the puny people of Vietnam resist the colossal might

of the United States the only genuine hero are a people — not individuals and generals — a whole people fighting for their own liberation from the world-wide structures of imperialism, feudalism and fascism.

Cool Off

It is up to President Marcos and the ruling class to change their ways. They, not the students and the masses who have been awakened, should cool off. The task of every Filipino, be he a priest, politician or peasant, during these crucial days is to take the line expressed by a student: "We are called upon to militantly register opposition to the fascism of President Marcos, both as a national duty and as a duty to all Third World countries struggling against exploitation. Until we are forced to the wall and final battle begins, this is our task — the aggressive defense of constitutional rights and civil liberties."

What can the churches do? It may be too much to expect them to lead the revolution. The least they can do is not stand in its way.