

# On the Legal Democratic Mass Movement



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12

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editor







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## ***Foreword***

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*On the Legal Democratic Mass Movement* consists of the writing of Jose Maria Sison on the subject from 1969 to 2022. These are articles, speeches, interviews, press statements, messages and letters marking different occasions and events, including bourgeois elections, to intensify the struggle against the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship and after its fall the succeeding series of the US-supported pseudodemocratic regimes of Cory Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada, Gloria Macapagal and Benigno Aquino, Jr, followed by the fascist/terrorist Duterte regime and now the regime of Ferdinand Marcos, Jr. in order to encourage the advance of the legal democratic mass movement.

Among the most important contents of this book are the Manifesto of the Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front, “Unite to Overthrow the US-Marcos Dictatorship” and the call for international solidarity; the messages to various mass organizations; the message on the celebration of the centennial of the Philippine Revolution of 1896; “Foundation for the Sustained Development of the National Democratic Movement in the University of the Philippines;” “National Democratic Struggle and People’s Trial of US Imperialism and its Puppets”; “Historic Significance and Continuing Relevance of the First Quarter Storm of 1970;” and “On the Prospects of the Filipino people in Struggle for National and Social Liberation.

Notable are the author’s prefaces and forewords to his books as well as requested introductions or prefaces to outstanding books of comrades and friends or fellow poets.

The intention is to give readers a clear understanding of what constitutes the legal democratic mass movement and the role it plays in the national and social liberation of the Filipino people so as to encourage an ever growing number of the people to join the struggle.

# ***Fake Controversy Concocted to Obscure Fundamental Issues in Church***

***Ang Bayan, Vol. I, No. 4, September 15, 1969***

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Lately, the Catholic Church has been rocked by contradictions within the clergy and among the laity concerning the reactionary social character of the Church, its enormous holdings in big business corporations, the undue amount of foreign control, its traditional landed estates, its ministry chiefly for the exploiting classes, its educational service for the children of the well-to-do in so-called exclusive schools, its doctrinal irrelevance and the corruption of the clergy at all levels. Demonstrations, especially of the young who are already in the stage of losing their metaphysical outlook, have harped on the alien, big bourgeois and feudal practices of the Church.

But the Jesuits in their traditional cleverness have concocted a fake controversy obviously calculated to draw fire away from the more substantial controversies within the Church. Creating an artificial situation where a girl "misreported" to Rufino Cardinal Santos that the lectures of Fr. Jose Blanco, SJ, and Rolando Quintos were "communistic," the Jesuits brought to the metropolitan press how "unfair" Cardinal Santos had been for causing the distribution of an alleged document "branding" the Jesuit priest and his sidekick as "communists." A dull, empty and scholastic "controversy" dragged on in the bourgeois newspapers during the whole month of August concerning this.

No controversy ever existed. The two well-known reactionaries and anti-communists had merely exhorted their listeners in some obscure forum to imitate the "zeal" of communists so as to pursue their counterrevolutionary, anti-people and anti-communist ends.

Fr. Blanco has always boasted of being an expert in "psychological warfare" and of being a CIA agent who participated in the organization of KAMI units in Catholic schools in Indonesia which were used in the indiscriminate mass killings of democratic elements, whether men, women or children. Fr. Blanco and his sidekick obviously calculated that if they were known as "communists" and "controversial figures," they would become more interesting speakers in student forums.

Fr. Blanco and Quintos are extremely active anti-communists in the Philippine Anti-Communist League. They have been responsible for the issuance of fake leaflets misrepresenting a number of mass organizations in several occasions. They regularly make the rounds of Catholic and non-Catholic schools denouncing mass organizations and certain personalities as communists in what they call "brainwashing sessions." For their enlightenment, they should know that Padre Mariano Gil is a detestable figure in Philippine history for denouncing the Katipunan to the Spanish butchers.

The general outcome of mass protest actions last year demonstrates more clearly than ever that the revolutionary determination of the broad masses of the people can render ineffectual all the evil machinations of the US-Marcos regime to extend its tentacles of oppression and exploitation. Chairman Mao teaches us: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."

An examination of the counterrevolutionary tactics of the US-Marcos clique establishes the truth of this statement. Using patently dual tactics, the Marcos fascist puppet clique, with the full blessings of US imperialism, commits the blackest counterrevolutionary deeds and at the same time attempts to sweet-talk the people into complacency with false promises of "reform." In the field of counter-revolutionary propaganda, meanwhile, it strains to advance the laborious argument that the crimes and massacres it commits are the doing either of genuine revolutionaries or its political enemies. All these steps are taken in the vain hope that they will prevent the irrepressible advance of the national democratic movement and the revolutionary upsurge of the broad masses of the people.

Thus, early this year, reactionary hacks in the pay of the US-Marcos regime sought to mislead the masses by blaming the exploited jeepney drivers for the general strike that lasted from January 5 to 13, deliberately ignoring the fact that the rise in oil prices was dictated by the US imperialist oil cartel and slavishly implemented by the Marcos fascist puppet clique. Malacañang itself even went so far as to tag "pressure groups," particularly the Lopez business group, as responsible for financing the strikers and inciting them to violence.

What was obvious even at that time, however, was that the reactionary state led by the fascist puppet Marcos and controlled by US imperialism had already been oiled to suppress the strike by means of counterrevolutionary violence. In a vain effort to sabotage the rightful dissent of the masses, fully armed reactionary soldiers and army trucks were unleashed for transportation purposes. And in the January 13 worker-student march and rally that capped the strike, UIOG forces under the minor puppet Roquito Ablan, under directions from Marcos, tried to break up the demonstrators with the use of high-powered guns, in the process killing five persons and injuring hundreds of others.

The revolutionary upsurge of the masses continued despite the combined use of reactionary propaganda and counterrevolutionary violence, despite the willful murder of five people. Contrary to the divide-and-rule tactics of the fascist puppet Marcos, the jeepney drivers hand in hand with the militant youth consolidated their ranks. By February they had consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally, thereby girding themselves for more confrontations with the exploitative US imperialist oil cartel and the oppressive Marcos fascist clique. Shortly before, the workers, also hand in hand with the militant youth, had also done the same.

The murderous hand of the fascist puppet Marcos struck once again when, on May Day 1971, one woman worker and two students were felled by the bullets of fascist troops. The fact that the battle-gearred troops were positioned on the grounds, offices and rooftops of Congress, and were in addition backed up by a machine gun-rattling helicopter, speaks for itself.

The martyrdom of the three May Day patriots, however, only inspired broader and more intense mass actions. On June 11, youth, workers, intellectuals and professionals rallied to demand the release of a patriotic youth leader, Nilo Tayag. In Mindanao and throughout the country, demonstrations were held to protest the continued massacre of Muslims. Since August 24, pocket-size demonstrations as well as rallies commanding as many as 50,000 participants have been held throughout the country. The People's Long March Against Poverty and Fascism, the second to start from a point in the countryside and the first to converge in the city from two points in Luzon, took place October 20-24, ending up before a crowd of 30,000 in Plaza Miranda.

The ever increasing frequency of mass actions throughout the country is one concrete manifestation of the futility of all schemes of the Marcos fascist puppet clique to perpetuate itself in power and to protect the interests of US imperialism. As the US imperialist race after superprofits becomes more and more hectic due to its balance of payments problem, the need to suppress revolutionary mass movements becomes more and more urgent on

the part of the reactionaries. However, as the Manila-Rizal Regional Council of the Communist Party of the Philippines correctly assessed after the Caloocan massacre, the seriously aggravating economic conditions only serve to demonstrate the bankruptcy of the system, while the escalation of fascist terrorism in the urban areas provides more effective and sharper weapons in waging the national democratic cultural revolution among the masses.

Paper tigers do not vanish of themselves; they have to be torn up and set to fire. The events of the past year show that without determined implementation of the correct political line, economic hardships and acts of fascist terrorism will not entirely result in the advance of the national democratic cultural revolution.

As the Party accurately concluded as early as January of 1971, legal mass struggle in the city must persist even as the underground is strengthened “to provide a powerful support to mass activities and to counteract enemy schemes in the most appropriate ways.” The correctness of these measures was proven when, in the latter part of the year, the US-Marcos clique, hectically running the reactionary race toward military dictatorship, reached a new mark characterized by Hitlerite terrorist schemes. That up to now the enemy has not managed to take a single patch of the underground only goes to show that the underground has succeeded in concealing itself from the enemy and is now counteracting enemy schemes in the most appropriate ways, thereby making possible the persistence of legal mass struggle in the city.

# ***Unite to Overthrow the US-Marcos Dictatorship***

## **Manifesto of the Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front, April 24, 1973**

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### ***The present situation***

A full-blown fascist dictatorship has emerged for the first time in the Philippines upon the instigation of US imperialism. The least expression of popular demand for national freedom and democracy is now subject to the most brutal repression by the tyrannical regime.

Since Proclamation No. 1081 (formally declaring martial law), events have clearly proven that the US-Marcos dictatorship is determined to keep itself in power by naked armed force only to perpetuate and aggravate the rule of the evil triad of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The long-term scheme of this new tyranny, masquerading as a “new society,” is all written in the Marcos constitution. It is to maintain and promote the extraordinary privileges of US imperialism and its puppets in the Philippines.

There can be no end to the ever-intensifying oppression and exploitation of the people, unless the people themselves unite to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship. It is now clear that the Filipino people have no recourse but to wage the most resolute revolutionary struggle. Marcos’ high-handed proclamation and enforcement of his “new constitution” have closed every avenue for those who had hoped to end the fascist rule through parliamentary or legal means. Only the armed revolution of the broad masses of the people can defeat and eliminate the armed counterrevolution of the Marcos oligarchy.

### ***A rightist coup d’etat***

The US-Marcos dictatorship has come about through a rightist coup d’etat. The fascist dictator Marcos has taken advantage of his established reactionary position in order to eliminate whatever checks and limits there are to his powers, privileges and tenure within the ruling political system. He has manipulated the reactionary armed forces in order to suppress the basic democratic rights of the people, especially the freedom of the press, assembly and association, and do away with every possible opposition to his arbitrary rule. His ambition is to monopolize power and wealth and remain indefinitely at the helm of the comprador-landlord oligarchy.

Marcos is currently the keyman of the clique of big compradors and landlords that is most servile to US imperialism. In the face of the rising tide of the revolutionary mass movement demanding national freedom and democracy, US imperialism has found in Marcos’ autocratic ambition an instrument for maintaining and promoting its interests in the country. Thus, it has installed him as fascist dictator in a blatant conspiracy between imperialist master and puppet.

In the wake of the fake ratification of the Marcos constitution through the “citizens’ assemblies,” Marcos now stands as the absolute ruler without a definite line of succession by electoral process. He has proclaimed the dissolution of Congress, the suspension of the “interim national assembly,” the suspension of elections for the next seven years and the continuation of martial rule. There has never been a worse example of political tyranny since the Japanese fascist occupation of the Philippines which saw the wholesale dissolution of previously elected governing bodies by brute force.

The broad masses of the people recognize fully that Marcos’ “constitutional authoritarianism” is a cloak for fascist dictatorship. This is a horrible crime against the sovereign people, a vicious attack against democracy. However, the suppression of the basic democratic rights of the people has utterly isolated the US-Marcos dictatorship. What is most obvious to the people is a bankrupt government of terror and intimidation, resorting to massacres, assassinations, mass arrests, mass detention, torture, blackmail, extortion, “sonas” (midnight-to-dawn arrests and searches), and forced mass evacuations for making “free fire zones.”

The toiling masses of workers and peasants, the student youth, low-income intellectuals, professionals and businessmen are more than ever pressed down by the big bourgeoisie and the landlord class under conditions of fascist dictatorship. Any demand for relief or upliftment is subject to condemnation by the fascist clique as “subversion” and “rumormongering” and is considered a major crime. The fascist dictatorship keeps harping on “discipline” but its actual purpose is to instill fear among the people and demand submission to tyranny.

Under these intolerable conditions, the broad masses of the people are steadily rising up to resist the

US-Marcos dictatorship. Revolutionary armed struggle is now raging throughout the archipelago. The New People's Army and the national minorities of Mindanao together with the poor settlers have intensified their armed resistance. Many political groups have started to form their own guerrilla units or extend substantial support to the New People's Army.

### ***The dictatorship's economic scheme***

The economic scheme of the US-Marcos dictatorship involves essentially the preservation of the semicolonial and semifeudal economy. Such an economy serves as a source of cheap raw materials and cheap labor, a dumping ground of imported finished products and an investment field for the surplus capital of US imperialists and other capitalist countries, especially Japan. What is being passed off as a development program by the fascist dictatorship essentially provides extraordinary privileges and incentives to the imperialists and induces inflationary spending for "infrastructures" financed by onerous foreign loans under an ever-increasing tax burden. The peso continues to be debauched under the policy of "floating rate" dictated by US imperialism.

Through the Marcos constitution and a series of fascist flats, the US imperialists not only retain their "parity rights" but in fact enjoy more privileges. To enable them to continue controlling strategic sectors of the economy they can simply pretend to offer equity to Filipinos and manipulate "service contracts," "management contracts," credit and the like. Their assets of US\$2.0 billion to US\$3.0 billion continue to dominate the Philippine economy while they are allowed to exact superprofits from the blood and sweat of the toiling masses. The US imperialists are guaranteed the privilege of unlimited capital and profit remittances. Turning the country into an open field for economic plunder by foreign investors, the fascist dictatorship is also encouraging the Japanese capitalists to enlarge their local operations.

Only the big comprador and landlord classes chiefly the clique headed by Marcos, stand to gain from collaboration with the imperialists. As the head of the National Economic and Development Authority, the fascist dictator exercises complete control over the national patrimony and social wealth of the country. He now monopolizes the bounty of bureaucrat capitalism—the graft and corruption in the reactionary government. The build-up of troops and equipment in the reactionary armed forces is necessarily a main component of the "development program" of the US-Marcos dictatorship. Military expenditures are rising steeply in line with fascist counter-revolution.

All the fanfare about the Marcos "land reform program is meant to cover up the scheme to incur more public debt, foreign and local, to improve the transport and communications facilities of the imperialists and their local puppets and also to raise the value of the landlords' estates. Presidential Decree No. 27 is worse than the "land reform" measure of any previous puppet regime in the Philippines. It compels the landless tiller to pay an exorbitant price for a piece of land that he wants to own. It dictates a formula artificially raising the value of landlord holdings to a level much higher than the "current fair market value."

In the face of their worsening internal crisis, US imperialism and the entire world capitalist system are accelerating their extraction of superprofits from colonies and semicolonies like the Philippines. Thus, US imperialism and Japanese monopoly capitalism are increasing their direct investments and extending more onerous loans to the Philippines. Also, they are depressing the prices of most traditional Philippine exports and increasing the prices of manufactured imports. They have not hesitated to dictate on the reactionary government the continuous devaluation of the peso and the increase of taxes.

As a consequence, the cost of living is rising steeply and consistently. The income of the broad masses of the people is being depleted at an unprecedented rate. Those who are employed are subjected to worsening wage conditions. Theirs is a plight made more desperate by the suppression of their fundamental rights to freely organize and to strike. On the other hand, those who are unemployed and underemployed are rapidly increasing in number. Foreign monopoly capitalism is riding on feudal and semifeudal conditions. These conditions continue to restrict economic growth and enlarge the vast array of unemployed. These conditions are persistent as the fascist dictatorship deliberately retains and aggravates them in the service of US imperialism. The US-Marcos dictatorship offers no real solution to the economic ills of the country. On the contrary, it daily aggravates these economic ills. The toiling masses as well as all middle-income groups have no recourse but to participate in a revolutionary movement for better living conditions and economic emancipation.

### ***Unabated militarization***

Under the US-Marcos dictatorship, militarization continues unabated and is proceeding at an accelerated rate.

This is in line with the “Nixon doctrine” demanding that puppet reactionary governments carry in the main the burden of launching ferocious armed counterrevolution against the broad masses of the people in defense of US imperialist and local reactionary interests. While it is assured of an “umbrella” by US military bases, the Philippine reactionary government is dictated upon to build up its troops at its own expense and to pay for weapons and technical aid from US imperialism.

Marcos has consistently taken advantage of the “Nixon doctrine” in order to set up his own fascist dictatorial rule. His regime has shamelessly increased the military budget and announced a policy of setting up a “military-industrial complex.” It has collaborated fully with the Joint US Military Advisory Group (JUSMAG) in manipulating the reactionary armed forces, and with the Office of Public Safety of the US Agency for International Development (USAID) in manipulating the Philippine Constabulary and the local police forces. Within the ranks of the Marcos fascist gang are planted CIA agents who make sure that US military policy is implemented.

Under the pretext of engaging in “civic action” and introducing “military efficiency,” the reactionary armed forces have taken over more and more civilian functions. At the same time, the fascist dictator proffers secret military ranks to local officials. It is now clear that he is employing his military henchmen to rule the civilian bureaucracy. Taking over strategic functions in the reactionary government, the fascist military has involved itself in the worst forms of graft and corruption and has openly engaged in blackmail and extortion.

The military also has assumed control over certain businesses. The evil purpose is the aggrandizement of the private interests of Marcos the No. 1 bureaucrat capitalist. The military is being used for blackmail and extortion, either to enlarge the shareholdings of Marcos and his dummies in certain corporations or to grab shares of stocks and lands in instances where Marcos and his clique do not have any investment.

Living in constant fear of the people, the fascist dictator is frantically increasing troops and equipment and stepping up military operations. The main purpose is to repress the people, especially the toiling masses. The reactionary armed forces remain basically parasitic. More and more tax collections are diverted to military spending. While top military officers sit back to lap up what spoils they can get, it is the fresh conscripts who are made to risk their lives in the battlefield. Thus military trainees, including those of the ROTC and PMT, are being set up as cannon fodder against the just struggle of the Filipino masses to overthrow the dictatorship.

### ***Fascist education and culture***

The US-Marcos dictatorship is doing everything to spread an imperialist and fascist type of education and culture. It is requiring all schools at every level to ram down the throats of students the anti-national and anti-democratic Marcos constitution and the multifarious edicts of the fascist dictator. A massive propaganda campaign about the “new society,” “discipline,” and “fairness and justice” has been launched to brainwash the people into submission.

Schools, mass media, mass organizations, churches and various other institutions are under strict order to follow the dictates of the US-Marcos dictatorship. Every channel of communications is under censorship. And the Marcos press monopoly, while amassing profits at the expense of mass media closed down by armed force, fabricates the most obnoxious black propaganda against the anti-imperialist and democratic forces.

The scheme to reorganize and further orient the education system towards serving US imperialist policy is underway. This is done through the Department of Education and the Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education (PCSPE) which aim to convert schools into training grounds for skilled technical workers to assure US business monopoly firms of an abundant supply of cheap skilled Filipino labor.

Progressive and patriotic teachers and students have been forced out of the schools, oftentimes detained and humiliated. The curricula have been perverted. Both public and private schools are being subverted by imperialist interests through loans from the World Bank and the International Development Association, and through “advisors” from the US foundations.

Fearful of the students, teachers and employees on campus, the US-Marcos dictatorship has converted many schools into virtual concentration camps. Checkpoints and spies are a common sight in schools throughout the country. And in schools noted for student activism, searches, arrests and other forms of harassment are everyday occurrences.

### ***Servile foreign policy***

Foreign policy cannot but reflect domestic policy. The main policy of the fascist dictatorship is to serve US imperialism. In this regard, the Marcos fascist regime has tightened its relations with such other US imperialist

puppet dictatorships as those of Nguyen Van Thieu, Suharto, Lon Nol, Pak Jung Hi, and Chiang Kai-shek.

On every world issue, the Philippine reactionary government continues to cling to the coattails of its imperialist master. It belongs to such reactionary regional associations as the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Asian Pacific Council (ASPAC) and Southeast Asian Ministers Economic Council (SEAMAC) which are all devoted to promoting subservience to the superpowers.

In line with the “Nixon doctrine,” the fascist dictatorship has also eagerly endorsed Japanese militarism as the regional leader among US puppet states in Asia. The “Asian Forum” project of the US-Marcos dictatorship is calculated to help counteract the impending doom of US imperialism in Asia, especially Southeast Asia.

Because of the powerful pressure of the people, the world anti-imperialist movement and the general crisis of capitalism, the US-Marcos dictatorship has talked about broadening the country’s diplomatic and trade relations to include socialist countries. Until today, however, it uses every flimsy excuse to delay the establishment of such relations.

The fascist dictatorship is following US imperialism to its doom. The world crisis of imperialism, especially that of its main pillar, US imperialism, is taking its heavy toll on the Philippines.

### ***Program of revolutionary action***

A three-fold task now faces the Filipino people: unite to oppose and overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship; liberate themselves from US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism; and establish a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation.

The main form of struggle in carrying out this task is armed struggle. This struggle, founded on the alliance of the workers and peasants, is already being waged in the countryside. The people are advancing from victory to victory even as the dictatorship is unleashing its armed forces to “wipe out” the people’s armed detachments and is desperately using every conceivable method of suppression.

The broad masses must unite to ensure the total success of the people’s armed struggle, together with all other forms of resistance. All revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces opposed to the US-Marcos dictatorship must unite under a broad united front in order to overthrow this hated fascist regime.

Only a broad national united front of all democratic sectors of Philippine society can provide an impregnable shield for the people’s revolutionary armed struggle. Such a united front can deal deadly blows against the dictatorship and hasten its downfall.

Only a broad national united front can lay the foundations of a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation that will supplant the evil regime of the fascist puppet clique. Such a united front can set up a new political and social institutions that shall be the sinews of a truly just and democratic society.

It is the aim of the Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front to develop and form this broad national united front. We are putting forth the following ten-point program for revolutionary action as basis for unity of all forces opposed to the fascist dictatorship.

1. Unite all anti-imperialist and democratic forces in order to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship and work for the establishment of a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation;
2. Expose and oppose US imperialism as the mastermind behind the setting up of a fascist dictatorship, struggle for the nullification of all unequal treaties and arrangements with this imperialist power, and call for the nationalization of all its properties in the country;
3. Fight for the reestablishment of all the democratic rights of the people, such as freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, movement, religious belief, and the right to due process;
4. Gather all possible political and material support for the underground and the armed resistance against the US-Marcos dictatorship;
5. Support a genuine land reform program that can liberate the peasant masses from feudal and semifeudal exploitation and raise agricultural production through cooperation;
6. Work for the improvement of the people’s livelihood, guarantee the right to work and protect national capital against foreign monopoly capital;
7. Promote a national, scientific and mass culture and combat imperialist, feudal and fascist culture;
8. Support the national minorities, especially those in Mindanao and the mountain provinces in their struggle for self-determination and democracy;
9. Punish after public trial the ringleaders of the Marcos fascist gang for their crimes against the people and



confiscate all their ill-gotten wealth; and

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

In the name of all the Filipino martyrs who have sacrificed their lives on the altar of national freedom and democracy, we appeal to all our beloved compatriots to rally to the flag of the resistance against the US-Marcos dictatorship. Support the revolutionary armed struggle for national freedom and democracy. Wage unremitting propaganda in order to arouse everyone. Organize guerrilla units and support the underground. Contribute funds, military materiel, food and medicine.

Patriotic workers: Continue to wage political and economic struggle with ever greater vigor. Deprived of your basic political rights, including your right to strike, you are at the mercy of the fascist dictatorship and your exploitative employers. Your livelihood will sink deeper and deeper under the heavy weight of US imperialism and its puppets. Those of you who are ready to join the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside should do so.

Patriotic peasants: Smash the scheme of the US-Marcos dictatorship to deceive you with its bogus land reform program. Your emancipation from landlord tyranny depends on your own revolutionary struggle. Support the revolutionary armed struggle and let your best sons and daughters carry arms so that you will be emancipated and you will get your just share of land without having to pay a single centavo to the despotic and big landlords.

Patriotic teachers, students, journalists, professionals, businessmen and all those belonging to the middle social strata: Defy the enemy and raise your voices against it. If everyone of you speak up in his own place against the enemy, you will bring the truth to the entire country faster than the its vile propaganda. Whatever material support or special services you can give, give it without hesitation to those who bear arms. Certainly, many of you can also bear arms or perform definite tasks in the underground.

Patriotic political leaders and religious leaders: Arouse your constituencies and congregations to resolutely oppose the fascist dictatorship. In this way, you can participate in the just and noble struggle of the entire people.

Patriotic national minorities: Unite with all other Filipinos in overthrowing the US-Marcos dictatorship which has viciously deprived you of your ancestral lands and sent troops to quell your resistance. Fight with ever greater vigor.

Patriotic soldiers in the reactionary armed forces: Do not allow yourselves to become the tools of a power-mad dictator. Turn your guns against the people's oppressors. Join the revolutionary forces in the fold of the National Democratic Front.

Patriotic Filipinos abroad: Form your own anti-imperialist and antifascist groups and link up with the fraternal peoples in whose midst you are. Seek their aid and support for the Philippine revolutionary struggle for national freedom and democracy.

Beloved compatriots: Let us all unite and fight as one man against the US-Marcos dictatorship. Being just, the revolution will certainly triumph. Being unjust, the fascist counterrevolution will certainly fail. Let us shape our future with our own hands, with our own revolutionary efforts. Let us raise and resolutely carry forward the great red banner of the national democratic revolution.

Unite to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

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### ***Appeal for International Support for the Philippine Revolution***

To the freedom-loving people's of the world:

We come to you in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism to appeal for your political and material support for smashing the most oppressive and hated puppet regime ever to blight the history of our unhappy land, and for establishing a truly free and just society redeemed from foreign and feudal domination.

With US imperialism abetting and propping him, Ferdinand E. Marcos proclaimed martial law and set up a fascist dictatorship in the Philippines on September 21, 1972.

The fascist dictator Marcos has suppressed the people's democratic rights and intensified his reign of terror. Thousands of peasants and workers, leaders and members of democratic youth and other organizations, progressive teachers, writers and journalists, ranking political oppositionists and progressive nuns and priests have been

arrested. Newspaper and magazine offices and radio and television stations except those owned or controlled by the fascist dictator have been shut down.

Many of those roused from the sleep in the dead of night and carted off to the military detention camps are still imprisoned without formal charges.

By his numerous dictatorial proclamations and decrees issued since the imposition of martial law, the fascist puppet Marcos has served notice that he intends to rule with an iron hand for life, with the support of his master, US imperialism.

Since the turn of the century, the affairs of the country have been under the direction of the US imperialists, although in the last 27 years, they have been nominally in the hands of subservient Filipino bureaucrats.

In 1898, US imperialist forces snatched certain victory from the hands of the valiant Filipino revolutionaries and, conspiring with the outgoing Spanish colonizers and the local big landlords and compradors (big export-import capitalists) set about to make the Philippines a part of the imperialist domain.

Determined to free their land from foreign rule, Filipino patriots waged armed struggle against the new colonizers. In the ensuing war, the forces of US imperialism committed countless atrocities typified by the Samar massacre which was marked by a brutality comparable to that of the My Lai massacre in Vietnam.

The US troops killed not less than 1.5 million Filipino men, women and children of the then total population of seven million in the course of the war and in the ensuing "pacification" campaign. One American general even estimated the total Filipino death casualty at 600,000 in the main island of Luzon alone.

US imperialism subsequently consolidated its hold on the country. It thus secured a foothold in Asia for its expansionist aims in this part of the world.

Lying south of China's Taiwan province, east of Vietnam and north of Indonesia, the Philippine archipelago was the first country in Asia colonized by US imperialism. Taking advantage of the rich raw material resources and cheap labor in the country, US monopoly capitalists proceeded to plunder the nation's wealth. The Philippines became an outlet for US surplus capital and a dumping ground for US manufactures in Asia.

The US imperialists interlocked their interests with those of big landlords and compradors, fostering a colonial economy and preserving a feudal system of agricultural production.

The fusion of imperialist and feudal interests assured the United States of continued dominance over the affairs of the country even after it had granted nominal independence to the Philippines on July 4, 1946. These interests are protected to this day by a puppet army and a network of US military bases.

The Philippines is independent only in name. US imperialism continues to hold sway, in conspiracy with the local comprador-landlord oligarchy. This oligarchy has monopolized the key positions in the Philippine reactionary government and has bred bureaucrat capitalism.

A succession of puppet regimes allowed the US imperialists to dominate strategic areas of the economy and exact superprofits from their US\$2.0 billion to US\$3.0 billion assets in the Philippines. These holdings represent at least 60 percent of total US private investments in Southeast Asia. The areas of investment are dominated by US monopoly capitalist direct investments by utilizing to the maximum domestic (Philippine) credits to finance their operations. They not only have recovered their original investments and built up their assets but they have repatriated an annual average of US\$4.76 in profits for every dollar put in, according to official records of the Central Bank of the Philippines.

Through their conspiracy, US imperialism and its local puppets have intensified the oppression and exploitation of the masses of the people. They commit fascist violence on those who dare to protest and resist.

Since he assumed the presidency almost eight years ago, Marcos has suppressed the basic democratic rights of the people, especially those who oppose his rule. He has committed one massacre after another, thereby instituting a reign of terror unparalleled since "independence." The most brutal of these are the Lapiang Malaya massacre of 1967; the Corregidor massacre of 1968; the Tarlac massacres of 1966, 1969 and 1970; the May Day massacre of 1971; the first and second Plaza Miranda massacres of 1971; and the massacres of Muslim national minorities in Mindanao of 1971 and 1972.

It is against this backdrop that the Filipino people have been re-awakening to the historic cause of their bondage. Under conditions of extreme economic exploitation of the people, the reign of terror has only served to fan the flames of revolutionary struggle in both city and countryside. The people are increasingly demanding change.

The New People's Army and the armed contingents of the Mindanao national minorities have put up resolute armed resistance to the fascist troops of Marcos in the countryside. They have succeeded in annihilating a big number of these troops.

The people are bound further to expand and intensify armed resistance in the countryside. Meanwhile, the people in towns and cities have continued to agitate for the revolutionary overthrow of the US-Marcos clique. By proclaiming martial law and setting up a fascist dictatorship, the Marcos puppet clique has declared civil war against the Filipino people. It has served notice that it relies on the ruthless measures of armed counter-revolution in order to protect and enlarge imperialist and feudal interests and suppress the revolutionary movement of the broad masses of the people.

By decree, the fascist dictator Marcos has assured the continued plunder of the country by his US imperialist masters by guaranteeing the unlimited entry of their capital and repatriation of both capital and superprofits. True to his role as puppet of US imperialism, Marcos has even rescinded decisions of the Philippine Supreme Court which tended to diminish US economic domination in the country.

He has abrogated the old constitution and has proclaimed the "ratification" of a sham constitution under which he can rule for life through which US imperialism can enjoy more extensive privileges.

What is most palpable to the people today is a bankrupt government of intimidation, resorting to massacres, assassinations, mass detention, extortion, blackmail, zoning (midnight-to-dawn searches and arrests), and mass evacuation for making "free fire" zones.

Any demand from the people for relief and upliftment is subject to interpretation as "subversion" or "rumor-mongering" and is considered a major crime. The fascist regime preaches "discipline" but its actual purpose is to instill fear among the people and demand submission to tyranny.

With the presence of huge US military bases in the country, and the increasing participation of American servicemen in so-called counter-insurgency campaigns of the dictatorship, the Philippines is well on its way to becoming another Vietnam.

Under these intolerable conditions, the Filipino people have no recourse but to confront fascist counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary armed struggle. The spark has been lit and the flames of people's war are spreading throughout the country.

The revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces participating in this struggle are rallying to carry out the three-fold task of uniting to oppose the US-Marcos dictatorship and establish a truly democratic system of representation.

It is the aim of the Preparatory Commission of the National Democratic Front to develop and form a broad national united front among all patriotic and democratic forces. In this connection, the commission has put forth the following ten-point program for revolutionary action as basis of unity:

1. Unite all anti-imperialist and democratic forces in order to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship and work for the establishment of a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation;
2. Expose and oppose US imperialism as the mastermind behind the setting up of the fascist dictatorship, demand the nullification of all unequal treaties and arrangements with this imperialist power, and call for the nationalization of all its properties in the country;
3. Fight for the re-establishment of all the democratic rights of the people, such as freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, movement, religious belief, and the right to due process;
4. Gather all possible political and material support for the armed resistance and the underground against the US-Marcos dictatorship;
5. Support a genuine land reform program that can liberate the peasant masses from feudal and semifeudal exploitation and agricultural production through cooperation;
6. Improve the people's livelihood, guarantee the right to work and protect national capital against foreign monopoly capital;
7. Promote a national, scientific and mass culture and combat imperialist, feudal and fascist culture;
8. Support the national minorities, especially those in Mindanao and the mountain provinces in their struggle for self-determination and democracy;
9. Punish after public trial the ringleaders of the US-Marcos fascist gang for their crimes against the people and confiscate all their ill-gotten wealth; and

10. Unite with all peoples fighting imperialism and seek their support for the Philippine revolutionary struggle. Only by pursuing this program can the Filipino people bring about national salvation from centuries-old bondage.

In the name of the broad masses of the Filipino people, including all the Filipino martyrs who have sacrificed their lives on the altar of national freedom and democracy, we appeal to all the peoples of the world for internationalist solidarity with our cause. Condemn the US-Marcos dictatorship. Make common cause with us by extending us all possible political, material and moral support.

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

In turn, we reaffirm our revolutionary solidarity with all peoples against imperialism and all reaction. We pledge our lives to the struggle in the dawning of a new day of freedom and democracy for all.

Yours in revolutionary struggle,  
The Preparatory Commission

## ***35,000 Demonstrate in Manila on Five Years of Martial Law***

**From *Ang Bayan*, Vol. IX, No. 14, September 30, 1977**

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The biggest and boldest mass action in five years of martial law was staged in downtown Manila last September 23 to call for the downfall of the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship.

Some 35,000 workers, students, urban poor, church people, professionals and other oppressed masses valiantly confronted the fascists' truncheons and water cannons and fought back with stones and other handy weapons.

No amount of threat and outright brutality on the part of Marcos' mercenary forces could intimidate the aroused and organized masses who waged their struggle in guerrilla fashion, first on Rizal Avenue in Sta. Cruz district and later in different parts of the city.

The militant mass action was launched by the *Alsang Bayan para sa Kalayaan at Demokrasya* (People's Uprising for Freedom and Democracy) to mark the end of five years of martial law.

As usual, the PC Metrocom and the metropolitan police rioted when their arrogant posturings failed to shake the people's iron resolve. The fascists were a confused and panicky lot, however, when one large group of people after another materialized as if from nowhere to swell the demonstrators' ranks.

Sensing unrest earlier in the day, the Marcos fascist regime dismissed classes in the downtown colleges and universities supposedly because of "inclement weather." It meant to dissipate the gathering storm of people's protest.

Instead of going home, many of the students proceeded to prearranged gathering points and patiently awaited the moment to rise.

Metrocom troops and "barangay police" in civilian clothes tried to mix with the downtown crowds but could not determine where the mass action was to be held.

Suddenly, at 5 pm, a few hundred demonstrators assembled at the Luneta national park. The fascists sent a contingent to the park, not knowing that the people they were keeping under watch were just a diversionary force.

At exactly 6 pm, 5,000 demonstrators finally emerged from Rizal Avenue's sidewalks, broke through the ranks of Metrocom and "barangay" police and moved to the middle of the thoroughfare. They unfurled their red streamers, bared their placards, clapped in unison and filled the air with their fighting slogans: "Ibagsak ang batas militar! Marcos, Hitler, diktador, tuta!" (Down with martial law! Marcos, Hitler, dictator, running dog!).

Within minutes, a Metrocom firetruck opened up with its high pressure water cannon, the liquid dyed red to mark the demonstrators. Truncheons and shields at the ready, the Metrocom and police prepared to riot. The demonstrators did not run for cover. They took prone positions, stood their ground and maintained their ranks.

Just then, 10,000 more demonstrators moved from Rizal Avenue's sidewalks unto the street and pelted the firetruck from behind. The fascists manning the firetruck turned the vehicle around to assault the new group. Then the stones rained from the ranks of the first group of 5,000.

The beleaguered fascists were like ants in a hot frying pan, not knowing where to turn. Another Metrocom firetruck in the vicinity might have helped but it had earlier been disabled, its tires neatly slashed by the demonstrators.

When Metrocom and police reinforcements arrived, some of them from the Luneta, another 20,000 demonstrators moved from the sidewalks to the middle of the avenue.

The fascists launched their truncheon charge but could not disperse the resolute masses. The demonstrators made tactical withdrawals whenever the enemy assaulted but surged back to their previous positions when the enemy slackened. The 35,000 rallyists had the enemy surrounded.

The pitched battle lasted about 30 minutes, with the battle lines swaying back and forth. The demonstrators finally withdrew when fascist reinforcements arrived from the suburbs.

But they did not go home. In smaller groups, they staged lightning demonstrations at Plaza Bustillos in Sampaloc, Divisoria, Tayuman and elsewhere.

Scores were hurt in the confrontations. Some were demonstrators who braved the enemy's truncheons.

Others were Metrocom and police forces, including Lt. Col. Narciso Cabrera, assistant superintendent of the Western police district. Some of the demonstrators were arrested.

This was the biggest of 12 demonstrations staged in Manila since November 23, 1975. On that day, 3,000 assembled to condemn martial law. This was followed by bigger and better organized demonstrations.

The following day, the *Asang Bayan para sa Kalayaan at Demokrasya* printed and widely distributed a call to the Filipino people: Let's all unite! Let's all struggle.... The masses in their thousands are rallying to a unified, organized movement, a new Katipunan whose growth and burgeoning strength the Marcos government cannot stop....

The enemy is strong, yes. But we, too, are strong. There are millions of us. If we unite—if those who have strength contribute strength, if those who have intellect contribute intellect, if those with money contribute money—like the rain falling in torrents on a thousand raging rivers, we will sweep away all the filth of the 'new society.' We can stage demonstrations, bigger and stronger than ever. We can launch a strike that can paralyze the national economy. We can boycott. We can set up barricades. We can collect weapons. We can organize an Army. We can surround the clique leading martial law. And in our relentless ramming, the enemy will fall in the end.

The call closed with these words: We rally you to struggle. Let's all rise. Let's accept the arrogant challenge of the Marcos government. Let's hit the regime in the face with the truth that we are not beasts without principles, not spineless slaves. We are a united people who will not kneel before water cannons, truncheons, prison walls and even bullets. Let's wage revolution and bring closer the dawning of true prosperity, peace and freedom upon our mother Philippines.

In response to the call, thousands of workers, students and others staged another demonstration September 28 at the "university belt" and other areas in Manila. The fascists replied once more with their water cannon and clubs.

But the more the fascists tried to repress the people's rights, the bigger and more militant the resistance they gave rise to. As the revolutionary movement surges in Manila and other urban areas, so does the armed struggle in the countryside.

# ***On the Struggle in Metro Manila***

**Issued under the penname Patnubay Liwanag**

**September 24, 1983**

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The marches from several assembly points, the gigantic rally of half a million at Liwasang Bonifacio and the sound-off campaign (sound barrage) conducted by millions all over Metro Manila on the National Day of Sorrow last September 21 constitute a resounding victory for the Filipino people.

The great victory lies essentially in the enlightenment, organization and mobilization of the broad masses of the people along the national democratic line. The current upsurge of mass struggle for national independence and democracy against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique continues to surpass the peak of the First Quarter Storm of 1970. This great victory in the national capital region signals the rise of the national democratic movement to a new and higher stage all over the country.

This great rising of the people starting from the Aquino funeral marches spells the certain doom of the Marcos fascist regime in the near future.

Credit belongs to the revolutionary party of the proletariat for its perseverance along the national democratic line as well as to the broad united front of the militant workers, including the unemployed and underemployed; students; teachers; other professionals; businessmen; religious; and legal opposition leaders. Worthy of special mention are the democratic mass organizations, the legal opposition parties, the religious organizations and the broad-based movements.

The entire people are resisting the intolerable oppression and exploitation that they have long suffered under the Marcos autocracy. They fight courageously for democracy against the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique. They demand justice for Aquino and justice for all. They seek the resignation or ouster of the tyrant Marcos and the restoration of democratic rights.

The fascists have been utterly unsuccessful in peddling their lies, especially about the Aquino assassination for which they are orders and bribes. They are now increasingly using brute force and the anti-communist line to suppress all democratic forces. They are increasingly using bloody psywar tactics in an attempt to discredit and prohibit democratic mass actions. They continue to commit further acts of terror against the people.

As a side event at Mendiola was manipulated on the evening of August 31 in a futile attempt to deflect national attention away from the gigantic Aquino funeral and protest march attended by six million people, so was another side event at Mendiola manipulated on the evening of September 21 in another futile attempt to deflect national attention from the prior successful mass rally of half a million and the subsequent successful sound barrage of millions of people all over Metro Manila.

In the Aquino assassination, Marcos used his military minions and a lumpen or a gangster as a patsy. In the Mendiola incident of August 31 and the Mendiola massacre of September 21, Marcos again used his military minions and some lumpen elements to unleash violence. On August 31, a student was reported to have been killed. On September 21, nine people including students were killed by gun fire and truncheons and hundreds seriously injured. This time, Marcos even sacrificed a number of his uniformed minions and some state properties in a futile attempt to make his lies more credible.

By one more bloody act of intrigue, Marcos seeks to discredit all the gigantic mass actions against his tyrannical regime and falsely accuses all the organizers — the democratic mass organizations, the religious and the legal opposition parties. As usual, he makes the loudest attacks against communists to cover his attacks against all the democratic forces and to impress his imperialist master.

The Communist Party of the Philippines does not allow itself to be the whipping boy of any fascist puppet. It uses the correct revolutionary theory to guide its actions and adheres to high moral principles. The Party must remind Marcos that he is already so hopelessly isolated in our country as well as abroad. For him to pursue a rabid anti-communist line is to damn himself completely.

The line of the revolutionary party of the proletariat concerning the democratic mass movement in the urban areas needs to be stated again and again. This has to be clarified in the face of the bloody intrigues of the enemy. The principal and essential character of the democratic mass movement in urban areas is legal and defensive.

Only the fascist dictator can be so morally bankrupt as to put unarmed people into combat with fully armed and bloodthirsty fascists.

It is correct for the united front of legal opposition parties, religious organizations and democratic mass organizations to affirm and act according to the line that their mass actions are peaceful but militant, vigorous but nonviolent. They cannot be held responsible for Marcos' own murderous acts.

It is the fascist tyrant and his No. 1 executioner General Fabian Ver who have been masterminding the violent incidents in order to obscure their prior despicable crimes, especially the Aquino assassination; discredit the surging democratic mass movement; and repress the people further. The criminal tricks of the enemy are so puny and futile in the face of the gigantic mass actions of the people.

All antifascist or democratic forces, including communists, are determined to let the people in urban areas develop their democratic mass movement vigorously but peacefully and legally. They certainly do not wish to let the fascists massacre them in an unequal combat.

The appropriate place for armed struggle or armed confrontation with the enemy at this stage is outside of Metro Manila — in the countryside. Even there, the armed revolutionaries choose the time and place, and muster the strength superior to that of the enemy in launching tactical offensives. Thus, the New People's Army under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines has maintained initiative in combat and accumulated strength by seizing arms from the enemy.

It is absurd for anyone, including the tyrant Marcos, to make people believe that revolutionaries and unarmed people would seek unequal combat with armed fascists concentrated at Mendiola Street. It is obvious that armed fascist agents masquerading as demonstrators have twice misled spontaneous elements into a trap last August 31 and then September 21. In politico-military terms, what is worthwhile doing by revolutionaries through Party branches, defense committees and city partisan teams is to conduct an underground mass campaign of counter-surveillance against the enemy in order to distinguish the diehard fascists from those who are not, seek ways to persuade the latter to take the people's side and prepare for the proper time when the diehard fascists ought to be arrested and disarmed in their houses, in the streets and even in their barracks.

Because of the rising just anger of the people and the brutal measures of the enemy to suppress their democratic rights, it would not be surprising though if various armed groups that are noncommunist would disarm military and police personnel on any day when these are dispersed and not when concentrated against popular demonstrations.

The time for the people's armed uprising in Metro Manila will certainly come. At best, it will come when the people's army shall be on the strategic offensive and shall be advancing on the cities. The people's army is in the advanced stage of the strategic defensive and can soon graduate into the strategic stalemate.

In the meantime, the people in Metro Manila must be patient even as they wage peaceful but militant mass actions. Those who wish to engage in armed struggle immediately or soon will have to join the people's army in the countryside.

In view of the rapidly worsening political and economic crisis and the isolated, rigid and brutal posture of the US-Marcos clique, the people's war in the countryside is advancing rapidly. The middle forces in both urban and rural areas are joining or giving support to the revolutionary armed struggle as never before.



# ***Message to the People's Congress for Justice, Freedom and Democracy***

**November 5, 1983**

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I salute and congratulate all of you for holding this Congress for Justice, Freedom and Democracy. I am in full solidarity with you in the fight for national independence, democracy and justice against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

This Congress arises at a time that there is a high tide in the democratic mass movement. The Aquino funeral marches and protest actions since then are unprecedented in the entire history of the Philippines and have surpassed the peak of the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

These protest marches, rallies and other forms of mass actions are part of the people's struggle for democracy and freedom. These would not have been possible without the people's fierce desire for freedom and without the broad united front of antifascist political parties, democratic mass organizations, progressive religious organizations and the spontaneous masses.

Crying out for freedom, democracy and justice, workers, peasants, fishermen, national minorities, women, the unemployed and underemployed, students, teachers, other professionals, businessmen, religious and political leaders, have demonstrated their unity and militancy against tyranny.

The people have been stirred to action not only by the Aquino martyrdom which has its own farreaching significance but also by the accumulated sacrifices and suffering of countless other victims of fascist tyranny and brutality. The people have been moved to express themselves against the intolerable oppression and exploitation that they have long undergone.

The challenge before all of us is to sustain, consolidate and expand the militant democratic forces. I am confident that you will exert yourselves further in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the Filipino people to enable them to assert their own sovereignty and defend their democratic rights.

The Nationalist Alliance has put forward a program of action that is acceptable to the broadest possible alliance of democratic forces and that can raise the democratic struggle to a new level. The program deals with the most important issues in the fields of politics, economy, culture and foreign relations.

Of course, the key task is to fight for national freedom and democracy and to dismantle the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique. The fascist dictator and his clique have to be ousted or forced out in favor of a democratic transition government and eventually a democratic coalition government. The autocratic powers of the despot have to be dissolved and the people's sovereignty and all basic democratic rights upheld and restored on a new and higher basis.

Absolutely, there can be no reconciliation with tyranny. Aquino stood for reconciliation based on justice. He also stated that freedom is taken by the people and not granted to them. To miss these points is to reduce the meaning of reconciliation to capitulation to the very evil and to the very assassins that unjustly took away his life.

The Marcos fascist regime is to be firmly shown that it fools no one when it uses the term "normalization" as a code word for the perpetuation and further entrenchment of the autocratic powers of the dictator. This despotism fixed into the 1973 constitution as well as its puppetry to US imperialism are correctly the target of the entire people and the broadest alliance of democratic forces.

The fascist dictatorship will only be prolonged and its heinous crimes obscured if the democratic forces limit themselves to pleading for more concessions that do not undo the autocratic powers of the tyrant. Mere begging for concessions is liable to prettify and endorse the fascist dictatorship.

The decision of the legal opposition to demand the resignation of the entire Marcos clique through campaigns of civil disobedience is a wise one. The legal opposition, together with all democratic forces, can now concentrate on rallying the people to the just demands for national independence and democracy instead of merely for "clean and honest" elections under the fascist dispensation. So long as the Marcos clique remains in power, the entire electoral system will remain rigged and the regular Batasang Pambansa, no more than a rubber stamp to Marcos' super-legislative powers and brute force.

Time has run out on Mr. Marcos. The people demand no less than the end to his fascist autocracy. They have come to realize the futility of merely asking for such minor concessions as the proclamation of general amnesty,

the full restoration of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus and the right to bail, the abolition of nonjudicial orders of search and seizure, the repeal of the Anti-Subversion Law and other oppressive decrees, and the guarantees for clean and honest elections to loosen the autocrat's grip on the country and prepare the way for a peaceful transition to democracy.

Aquino was treacherously murdered precisely because the fascists feared that he would erode their power. But contrary to their expectations, the murder of Aquino as of all the other political victims will not just be forgotten as one of those "normal" things under the fascist dictatorship. Aquino's martyrdom has resulted in the extreme isolation of the fascist dictatorship.

We must not think though that the fascists have learned their lessons from the vigorous rising of the people. We must heighten our vigilance. The despot and his minions are busy scheming to cover up the facts and hatching heinous plots to disrupt the people's protest actions. They will further use despicable tactics as they did in the 1971-72 period in creating the pretext for martial law and the autocracy if the people do not sustain and heighten their vigilance.

The treacherous murder of Aquino in doubtless circumstances and before the eyes of the world marks a new stage in the desperation and degeneration of the Marcos fascist regime. The prominent leaders of the legal opposition are now under constant threat of assassination. And so are those who in one way or another are privy to some of the facts and circumstances surrounding the Aquino murder and subsequent cover-up. The fascists have brought to Metro Manila in so dramatic a manner their barbaric tactic in the countryside of murdering suspected supporters of the armed revolutionaries and then misrepresenting them as battle casualties or even as victims of the revolutionaries.

It is self-destructive for the autocratic regime to unleash more acts of terror and violence especially at a time that it is in dire financial straits and can hardly afford even the starvation wages it pays its own civil and military personnel. The fascist dictator should know that practically all government personnel boycotted their offices to join the ranks of the people and shout their grievances against his regime during the Aquino funeral march and the march-rally-noise barrage on the National Day of Sorrow last September 21.

The political and economic crisis of the ruling system has worsened to a point that the broad masses of the people are eager to fight for their liberation and sweep away the fascist dictatorship. In contrast to the arrogant posture and the brutal and violent ways of the autocrat and his fascist minions, the leadership of the various democratic forces are responsibly building up the organized strength of the people and developing the most effective ways of removing Marcos from power.

The people condemn Marcos for the economic disaster into which he has plunged the country. They suffer massive unemployment, soaring inflation, repeated drastic devaluations, an increasingly heavier tax burden, shortages of essential commodities and so on. Under fascist dictatorship, heavy foreign borrowings have only served to deepen and aggravated the backward, agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy. The days of easy foreign loans have come to an end. There are no more loans to be had for the graft-ridden and showy but nonproductive and anti-industrial projects that have come to mark the regime's development scheme.

For a number of years already, the fascist regime has been in dire economic and financial straits. The balance-of-payments, foreign trade and budgetary deficits have been rising and accumulating rapidly. Even before the latest drastic devaluation of the peso, the 1984 budget of the government was already an unmitigated picture of absurdity, with debt service slated at about 20 percent and the military at about 15 percent of expenditures.

Short of a revolutionary upheaval, only the US imperialists can immediately remove its puppet Marcos. The US imperialists, especially the Reagan ruling clique has been pleased with the rabid anti-communist and pro-imperialist policies of the Marcos regime. The Reagan ruling clique still wants to prolong Marcos' rule and extract immediate political, economic and military advantages for the US imperialists. But because of the deterioration of the Philippine economic and political situation, and the regime's notorious excesses, American public opinion as well as world public opinion sympathetic to the democratic cause of the Filipino people have driven US policy-makers to seek ways of reducing Marcos' power and of restoring an electoral process acceptable to the middle forces and the anti-Marcos big comprador landlords. Their purpose is to prevent the revolutionary masses from gaining sufficient armed strength to topple the Marcos fascist regime as well as to stave off the upsurge of support for the Filipino people's cause by the American and the world's peoples.

The US and the world capitalist crises are such that the Reagan administration cannot save the Marcos puppet

regime from the economic disaster into which this regime has plunged. The essential objective thrust of US economic policy is to shift the burden of the crisis of overproduction to underdeveloped countries like the Philippines. The fascist regime will continue to reel from the economic disaster due to its puppetry, profligacy and corruption.

It is timely for all democratic forces and the entire people to conduct campaigns of civil disobedience that include boycotts, widespread rallies, converging marches, noise barrages, etc. To make these mass actions significant and effective, mass education on the basis of the program of the Nationalist Alliance and on urgent issues must be vigorously carried out.

The fascist regime will try to quell the democratic mass movement through threats and acts of terror. But so long as you stand on just grounds, nonviolent but militant democratic struggle in the urban and other white areas is an indispensable part of the overall struggle for national independence and democracy. The unbridled brutality and rapacity of the fascist puppet dictatorship will only strengthen the revolutionary mass movement!

Fight for national freedom and democracy!

Dismantle the US-Marcos fascist regime!

Long live the memory of all revolutionary martyrs!

Carry forward the national democratic revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

***Message to the Movement of Attorneys  
for Brotherhood, Integrity, Nationalism  
and Independence (MABINI)***

Circa 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 1984

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It is with a deep sense of gratitude that I express my warmest greetings to the officers and members of the Movement of Attorneys for Brotherhood, Integrity and Nationalism, Inc. (MABINI) on its Fourth Anniversary.

As a political prisoner, I have personally benefited from MABINI. I have drawn inspiration and moral support from MABINI's work of upholding and defending the rights of political prisoners and other victims of fascist tyranny. But what I admire most are the efforts of MABINI to uphold and advance the national and democratic rights of the entire people against a tyranny spawned by US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Like all political prisoners and militants of the national democratic movement, I have the highest admiration for MABINI. It is an outstanding champion of the people's sovereignty and all civil and political rights against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

As such, it can only be composed of men and women who are selfless, resolute and conscientious in struggling not only against Marcos despotism but also US imperialism and the local reactionary class interests of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class that have spawned this evil.

To dare to struggle for national freedom and democracy is in itself a great achievement. It is the principled stand that you take and the correct arguments that you make which can outlast and triumph over the eunuchs in the captive civil courts and military commissions in the long run.

The historical gains from your courageous and tenacious efforts are not only to be seen in some vague future. By exposing the rottenness of the autocratic regime, its arbitrariness and atrocities in its own hypocritical courts, you are immediately arousing the people to wage an ever more militant struggle for national liberation and democracy.

There can be no justice in this country without the total dismantling of the fascist dictatorship and the realization of democracy. In all fundamental issues, the autocrat Marcos (the supreme executive, supreme legislator and supreme judge) gets his way by the power of the gun and with the complicity of his foreign master, US imperialism. Thus, the people must exert every effort to extirpate the tyranny and the evil forces behind it.

It is fine that MABINI is not only exposing the wicked character of the enemy within its own courts but also fighting it outside these courts and in many areas, including the streets. You have not limited yourselves to speaking out on legal issues. You have been taking part in the overall militant struggle of the people and making comprehensive demands.

I wish to urge you to continue raising the level of consciousness and militancy of your members, link MABINI ever more closely to the people and their struggle and expand your organization on a national scale even as you amplify your strength and influence through alliances with other lawyers' organizations.

There is the constant threat that the fascist dictatorship would crush MABINI or do harm to particular members. But, of course, this threat has merely served to strengthen your resolve to fight for the democratic rights of the people. And you are well aware of the hopeless situation of the US-Marcos regime as the political and economic crisis is rapidly worsening and both the legal democratic movement and the armed struggle are advancing at an accelerated rate.

Think and act like the great Apolinario Mabini, who joined the Philippine revolution and contributed his political and legal wisdom in the formulation of policies and laws as well as the operation of the revolutionary movement in its best moments.

Attacks by the enemy on MABINI can only be occasions for it to increase the number of lawyers in the ranks of the revolution movement and raise the level of revolutionary struggle. I suppose that the armed revolutionary movement will welcome more lawyers to its ranks. There is a lot of political and legal work to be done by lawyers in the underground and in the guerrilla fronts.

It is well known that revolutionaries get the help of lawyers in the formulation of revolutionary laws, in the retention of non-exploitative laws and in the development of a new legal and judicial system.

Since 1969, in the Philippine armed revolution, lawyers have been consulted in the formulation of laws and rules in procedure governing the arbitration of contradictions among the people as well as the people's courts trying major cases, anti-social crimes and contradictions between the people and the enemy.

As the armed revolution progresses, more lawyers are needed in the ranks of revolutionaries in order to develop a legal and judicial system that is socially and technically superior to that of the enemy. There will be more people in more areas governed by organs of democratic power. And there will be more cases for lawyer-cadres, lawyers and paralegal activists to handle.

Upon the total victory of the national democratic revolution, all patriotic and progressive lawyers will participate in the making of a new democratic constitution and revolutionary laws that will settle the struggle between the nation and the imperialists as well as between the exploited classes of workers, peasants and others on the one hand and the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords on the other. I am sure that lawyers of your kind will find fulfillment in this work.

Let us do away with the notion that lawyers are permanently conservative, sworn to stick to the laws of a certain state, no matter how reactionary and unjust. They can be in the front ranks of revolutionaries if they excel in using their knowledge of law to advance the revolutionary cause.

In this connection, I would like to cite one more great lawyer worthy of emulation. He was the great Lenin. He topped the bar examinations, without the benefit of a formal law education. He mastered Russian law at the same time that he mastered the Marxist theory of revolution.

He used his knowledge of Marxist theory and Russian law to guide the Bolsheviks in various forms of struggle against the reactionary state and eventually to write the political and legal masterpieces that went into the making of the first socialist state in the world.

I am sure that MABINI and all its members appreciate the significant role of lawyers in the conduct of the people's struggle in the legal sphere as well as in the making of revolution.

# ***The People's Alternative towards National Freedom and Democracy***

May 27 to 31, 1985

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I am exceedingly glad to be able to participate in this forum on the people's alternative towards national freedom and democracy, notwithstanding the fact that I am under maximum security conditions of detention by the fascist dictatorship. It is certainly gratifying that you have provided me with an excellent opportunity to assert and exercise my freedom to address a highly intelligent audience that is committed to the people's struggle for national freedom and democracy, and is determined to promote this struggle with such mighty weapon as the pen.

I hope that I can contribute a bit to the clarification of the people's alternative. I am delighted to know that you are eager to raise your ideological and political level so that as editors and writers you will be better able to apprise your student readers of the critical facts of our national life, guide them with the correct ideas and set them into motion in concert with the rest of the people.

## ***The people's alternative: the national democratic program***

In a semicolonial and semifeudal society such as Philippine society, the people's alternative cannot but be the national democratic program.

It is a program that seeks to continue and complete the revolutionary struggle for national freedom and democracy which started in 1896 but was frustrated by US imperialism through the Filipino-American War of 1899-1902.

As a result of the defeat of the old democratic revolution led by the liberal bourgeoisie, US imperialism has been able to rule the Philippines at first directly and then indirectly, and to retain feudalism as its local partner in evolving a semicolonial and semifeudal society.

Philippine society is in constant crisis, afflicted as it is by three grave illnesses: foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. This sick society had definitely reached its terminal stage when out of these grave illnesses a fascist dictatorship grew as a desperate attempt of the ruling system to suppress the people's irrepressible demand for national freedom and democracy. A new type of national democratic revolution is rapidly growing in strength and advancing. A nascent Philippine proletariat through its party is leading the people in this revolution under historical conditions of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. By people, we mean the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. They are rising against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and, in the process, accumulating the strength with which to defeat US imperialism and the joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

## ***The democratic coalition government and the new democratic republic***

The ultimate political objective of the people is to establish a democratic coalition government and a new democratic republic as instruments of national sovereignty and democracy.

These instruments will be founded on the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, who compose at least 90 percent of the people, in further alliance with the middle strata, who compose a small but important part of the people.

The sovereign will of the people will be upheld as paramount. They will fully enjoy basic democratic rights. Government will be truly representative of the people; and representation will be achieved through consensus, election and appointment.

There will be no monopoly of political power by any class, party, group or individual. All patriotic and progressive classes, sectors, parties, organizations and individuals will be encouraged to give full play to their initiative and participate in the making and implementation of decisions.

The most important democratic advance will be the elimination, in principle and in fact, of the US imperialists and the local reactionary classes' prerogative to oppress and exploit the people in the supposed pursuit of individual rights in the abstract.

In keeping with the classic advance from feudalism to modern democracy, the peasant majority will be emancipated politically and economically through genuine land reform and cooperativization. The main content of the

democratic revolution is the solution of the land problem.

As the main component of state power, the armed forces, will belong to the people, especially the toiling masses; will be free from the control of any foreign power or local exploiting class; and will not be dependent on alien sources of funds and support.

The territorial integrity of the country shall not be allowed to be violated by foreign military bases nor by any vessel or instrument of any foreign power. If the people have been capable of defeating US imperialism, there is no reason why they cannot defend and secure Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Towards the establishment of a democratic coalition government and a new democratic republic, a broad national united front is being developed by the people as they wage all forms of revolutionary struggles on all fronts against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

This united front is led by the proletariat through its revolutionary party; relies mainly on the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry; is participated in by the middle strata; and takes advantage of the contradictions within the reactionary classes for the purpose of isolating and destroying the enemy.

The legal democratic organizations and alliances and the local organs of democratic power are among the various instruments of the people. These are laying down and developing the basis for the democratic coalition government and the new democratic republic.

### ***Genuine land reform and national industrialization***

Genuine land reform plays a pivotal role in carrying forward and winning the national democratic revolution. The peasant majority are thereby liberated as they enthusiastically join the revolution.

The key to the growing success of the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the people's army, in the countryside and the entire country, is the integration of land reform with armed struggle and mass base building. At present, the armed revolutionaries are in the main engaged in the reduction of land rent, controlling interest rates, arranging fair prices and other related measures.

The ultimate step in the solution of the land problem is the free distribution of land to the landless tillers and the abolition of feudal and semifeudal exploitation. With the success of land reform, agriculture will serve as the main base for the rapid development of the economy.

The millions of owner-cultivators will raise food production for the entire people and raw material production for industry; engage in rising levels of cooperation; and constitute a large market for the products of industry.

National industrialization will be the leading factor of genuine economic development. Industries will be put up to process locally produced raw materials, including basic metals and chemicals, manufacture machine tools, precision instruments, agricultural machinery and so on. The backward, agrarian character of the economy will be radically changed and spurred through Filipino-controlled or owned industrialization.

The dependence of the Philippine economy on the production of raw materials for unequal exchange with finished products from abroad will be terminated. Enterprises which have been creating the illusion of industrialization by repacking or assembling basically finished components from abroad, either for the domestic market or for reexport, will give way to light industry integral to and bridging local agriculture and heavy industry. The US and other transnational corporations and banks will cease dictating Philippine economic policy through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Their extraordinary privileges in the extraction of superprofits and usurious interest rates will be ended.

The people's democratic government will nationalize the assets of antagonistic imperialist firms and fascist traitors; repudiate most foreign debt; and seek to recover all ill-gotten wealth stashed away abroad by the traitors.

The state will own or control the strategic enterprises and major sources of raw materials; practice economic planning in order to have a balanced, well-proportioned and orderly development of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture; and ensure an equitable sharing of income among the people.

Apart from state ownership of productive assets, joint ventures of the state and private sector, private corporations, industrial co-operatives, agricultural cooperatives, partnerships and individual enterprises will also be allowed. Filipino ownership will be the rule. However, certain limited areas of investment may be left open to foreign entities, provided these are helpful to Philippine economic and technological progress.

Normal trade and economic relations will be maintained with all countries. However, we must ensure that the economic sovereignty of the people and national economic development are enhanced rather than hampered by these external economic relations.

### ***A national, scientific and mass culture***

A national, scientific and mass culture will be fostered through the educational system, mass media and all other cultural institutions and means that reach the people both directly and indirectly, formally and informally.

The degrading, humiliating and decadent culture promoted by fascism, imperialism and feudalism will be repudiated and replaced with a new revolutionary culture by cultural workers among the people. The sources of antinational, antidemocratic and anticommunist propaganda will be repudiated through mass campaigns and other appropriate measures.

The national sovereignty, the national purpose and the characteristics and style of the people will be reflected in the various forms of cultural activity. The revolutionary tradition and cultural heritage of the nation will be cherished and will be made to serve the present needs of the nation. The national language will be promoted as the principal medium of information and education.

To promote the national culture is to make a distinctly Filipino contribution to world culture and to be ready to receive from abroad things and influences that serve the present needs of the nation. A healthy national culture resists unhealthy influences from abroad, especially the bourgeois decadence of imperialist culture.

The scientific outlook and method will be propagated. The Filipino intelligentsia and the people will be imbued with the scientific spirit and attitude and will thereby take advantage of the advances in the natural and social sciences throughout the world. The most useful will be adopted and applied concretely in the development of the country.

Proletarian revolutionary cadres will take the lead in various cultural and social fields. A large corps of natural scientists, engineers, technologists and skilled workers will be trained to push national industrialization, agricultural development and other endeavors requiring scientific and technical expertise.

The new culture will be made to serve the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants. It will promote national development and foster democracy.

The public school system will be continuously expanded at all levels to admit the children of workers and peasants in ever increasing numbers. Enough public funds will be made available to enable more students to enroll and adequately compensate teaching and nonteaching personnel.

Health work and facilities will be expanded and improved. Doctors, nurses and other medical personnel will be increased; motivated to serve their own people; and sufficiently compensated. Paramedic personnel will be trained on a wide scale to serve primary health needs at the level of the village and the urban neighborhood.

Proletarian revolutionary cadres and the intelligentsia in general will work together in serving the people. There will be cooperation of Marxists and non-Marxists on common patriotic and progressive grounds and there will be common enjoyment of the freedom of thought and belief.

### ***An independent foreign policy***

The new democratic republic will pursue an independent foreign policy. It will enhance its national sovereignty and all-round development by its external relations. It will develop such relations on the basis of independence, equality, mutual respect, mutual benefit and noninterference. It will oppose domination, interference, intervention and aggression by imperialism or any other foreign entity. It will refuse to be involved in the selfish, narrow rivalries and quarrels of superpowers or other countries. It will not allow one superpower to use its rivalry or contradiction with another as excuse for violating Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity.

It will foster diplomatic and trade relations with all countries, irrespective of ideology or social system. It will welcome social, political, economic, cultural, scientific and technological exchanges with all countries.

It will participate actively in the United Nations and other multilateral organizations and agencies in order to perform its share of responsibility in pushing forward the cause of world understanding, peace and progress. It will support the struggles of countries, peoples and nations against all forms of oppression.

It will participate actively in the movement of the third world for a new international economic order as well as all other movements that seek to enhance the independence and all-round progress of developing and underdeveloped countries.

It will have close fruitful relations with all countries in Southeast Asia as well as other neighboring countries. It will strive for a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia, and a zone free of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases in the entire Asia-Pacific region.

The US, despite its record of oppressing and exploiting the Philippines as a colony and then as a semicolony,



can be allowed to maintain normal trade and diplomatic relations with the new Democratic Republic of the Philippines after having been made to give up its imperialist privileges.

Towards the adoption of an independent foreign policy, the Filipino people are now struggling hard to topple the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and to liberate themselves totally from US imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism.

In this regard, the Filipino people are seeking the moral and material support of all freedom-loving peoples, countries, nations, movements and organizations abroad. The external relations being developed now by the national democratic movement serve to prepare the future foreign relations of the new democratic republic.

**Conclusion**

The national democratic program can be totally accomplished only by putting an end to the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and in the process building up the strength to put an end to the entire semi-colonial and semifeudal system.

The accomplishment of the national democratic program makes possible the start of socialist revolution and construction.

Given the time constraint, I have presented the national democratic program in general terms. In the course of the open forum, points of current and long-term interest can be further discussed.

I hope that what I have said here today will somehow enable you to have a firmer and better grasp of the pen as you wield it in the service of the Filipino people's struggle for national freedom and democracy.

# ***On the Dangers of Reformism***

**Keynote address to the First Regular Congress of the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy -**

**National Capital Region**

**December 15, 1985**

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I extend my warmest greetings to all officers and members of the Nationalist Alliance-National Capital Region on their first regular conference. To all who are here today, let me express my most militant solidarity with you in your undertaking.

As my contribution to this conference, I have been asked to talk on reformism. I shall discuss reforms and reformism, US-promoted sham reforms, and US-Marcos electoral exercises.

## ***Reforms and reformism***

Especially because it is a legal democratic alliance, the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy must struggle hard for basic reforms such as those immediately demanded by your program of action. If attained, these basic reforms would bring substantial improvement to the lot of the broad masses of the people and would be significant steps towards national and social liberation.

Whatever its degree of success within the existing social system, the very struggle for basic reforms exposes fundamental social problems and raises the people's level of consciousness and capability to undertake social revolution. But the struggle for reforms must lead to social revolution—the total liberation of the people from fascist, foreign and feudal domination.

The struggle for basic reforms within the context of the struggle for maximum revolutionary goals is opposed to mere reformism. For reformism is a mode of political thought and action which systematically rejects the people's sovereign right to rebel against tyranny and seeks to thwart their revolutionary demands by raising the false hope of changing the oppressive and exploitative system through gradual and superficial reforms that merely palliate fundamental social problems.

Reformism endorses and prolongs the unjust system of oppression and exploitation. Palliatives for festering social ills are offered or undertaken without attacking the fundamental causes; the iniquitous system is thereby preserved and even fortified. The essential purpose of reformism is to lead the oppressed and the exploited people astray and to attack organized revolutionary forces. Reformism is the systematic use of palliatives in order to preserve the fundamental interests of the exploiting classes.

While it spreads an unreasonable fear of armed revolution, reformism seeks to preserve the violent neocolonial state and the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. It raises the social cost not only in terms of the continued oppression and exploitation of the people but also in terms of the inevitable revolutionary solution. At any rate, it is the intolerable aggravation of oppression and exploitation within the moribund system that drive the people to take the road of armed revolution.

Legal political activists save themselves from the error of reformism by recognizing and affirming the people's sovereign right to armed revolution against tyranny. Additionally and without any direct involvement in actual revolution, they relate their legal struggle for basic reforms to the overall process of social revolution. Later, they may choose to directly and actively support or join the ongoing armed revolution.

## ***US promotion of sham reforms***

As a complement to violent efforts aimed at preserving the semicolonial and semifeudal system now in grave crisis, the US imperialists, the fascist dictatorship and the big comprador-landlord classes in general are promoting reforms. They agree that the best and most permissible kinds of reforms are those political, economic and military reforms that the US may be able to elicit from or impose on the Marcos puppet regime.

The main thrust of the so-called political reforms is to fortify US dominance and the joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. The US is not really for the dissolution of the autocracy but is merely willing to give such concessions to the pro-US rivals of Marcos so as to resurrect a two-party system of pro-imperialist reactionaries which reduces the people and their organizations to mere objects of periodic electioneering. At any rate, the forthcoming election (if it pushes through) will go the way of the sham trial of the Aquino-Galman double-murder case.

Indications are that Marcos or his surrogate will be retained as the chief puppet of the US beyond 1987 or beyond any snap presidential election in 1986. The US plan is to have Marcos or his surrogate retain Amendment 6 and sign in 1988 a new agreement extending the life of US military bases beyond 1991. Only after this agreement will the US junk Marcos and ask him to retire for health reasons in favor of his vice-president, if he still failed to quell the revolutionary movement.

The main thrust of the so-called economic reforms is not so much to break up the bureaucrat merchant monopolies of Marcos and his cronies (because the assets already concentrated in their hands remain intact) as to keep the Philippine economy an agrarian satellite of the US—ever dependent on it for surplus manufactures and surplus capital.

The Marcos regime has been made to accept the most rapacious US economic dictates through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The Philippines is being forced to concentrate on agriculture and shun industrialization; lay off workers and freeze wages; liberalize imports; devalue the peso repeatedly; give priority to debt service and so on. There is no way the Philippines can get out of the debt trap under the terms of the imperialist banks and transnational firms.

The main thrust of the so-called military reforms is to loosen Marcos' personal hold on the Armed Forces of the Philippines, tighten that of the US and improve its image to make this a more effective instrument for suppressing the people and their revolutionary movement as well as the legal democratic movement. This is what professionalizing the AFP means.

The US is determined to keep the Philippines as its client state. It is hell-bent on destroying the national democratic movement by brute force. Thus, it has been goading the fascist dictatorship to improve its image within the parameters of a sham democracy and pursue its armed actions against the revolutionary people more vigorously. But Marcos is insistent on having his hatchetmen in firm command of the AFP. The reinstatement of General Fabian V. Ver as chief of staff and the promotion of Marcos' relatives and other favorites within the AFP prove that Marcos cannot be removed from power without a bitter fight.

The so-called reforms being pushed by the US constitute reformism as well as barefaced counterrevolution. These can only further aggravate the crises of the ruling system. Ultimately these will result in more favorable conditions for the growth and advance of the legal democratic mass movement as well as the armed revolutionary movement.

The split between Marcos and the anti-Marcos factions of the ruling classes is bound to widen and become more violent. Marcos will continue to monopolize power and wealth amidst the decreasing inflow of export earnings and foreign loans. As they are increasingly deprived of entrepreneurial opportunities, the middle bourgeoisie tend to swing from a conservative or reformist type to a more progressive type of liberalism. Because they are increasingly condemned to a life of misery and want, the urban petty bourgeoisie have become increasingly receptive to progressive liberalism and have become a big source of activists who remold themselves to become revolutionaries.

Because they suffer the most from the crisis, the toiling masses of workers and peasants increasingly respond to the calls for militant mass actions and armed revolution. They are the main force of the national democratic revolution. They are the main source of cadres and members of the proletarian revolutionary party; and, of course, they provide the indispensable mass base for social revolution.

### ***US-Marcos electoral exercises***

It is the political superstition of US imperialists that electoral exercises arranged by them with their reactionary puppets can exorcise the people's sufferings and the cause of social revolution. This superstition seeks to obscure the fact that since 1972 the crisis of the ruling system has reached the point that the ruling classes can no longer rule in the old way, with trappings of bourgeois democracy, that the fascist dictatorship can only rule by naked force and hold electoral farces.

All the voting exercises since US President Carter ordered Marcos to undertake "normalization" in 1978 and President Reagan, "democratization" in 1984 have been as grossly rigged as the sham referenda and plebiscites undertaken by the fascist dictatorship since 1973. The absolute power of the fascist dictator has remained undiminished. He lords over the captive courts and a fake parliament. And the armed revolution has grown in strength along the antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal line.

The US imperialists forget that a short while before the victorious general offensive of the Vietnamese people,

the Saigon government could still stage elections. Yet that government fell. Electoral farces run by the US and its puppets do not solve the fundamental problems of the people but exacerbate the contradictions among the big compradors and landlords and serve to incite all forms of popular resistance against the fascist puppet regime.

As a matter of course, the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the people's army, the underground united front for the armed struggle and other illegal political formations boycott elections held by the US-Marcos regime. They must stress the totally evil character of the regime and the necessity of revolutionary armed struggle. They do not, in their own names, engage in electoral campaigns, field their own candidates and directly endorse or support candidates of the legal opposition parties.

Sometimes, boycott may also mean the active effort to persuade as many people as possible to keep away from the polls and even to prevent the holding of elections through the confiscation of electoral paraphernalia. The result of this type of boycott is not reflected on the records of the COMELEC or NAMFREL. When the people do not vote, the fascists can fake their vote just the same. But when the majority of the people have such a high level of political consciousness that they refrain from voting, the fascists can only make themselves more contemptible when they fake the votes.

Legal parties and organizations of the national democratic movement have the choice of either boycott or participation; or they can avoid these terms as semantical baggage in favor of a creative use of flexibility without losing sight of principles and without falling into the trap of reformism. The national democratic organizations can simply intensify their ceaseless campaign for the national democratic program against the US-Marcos regime and denounce the election as a farce. And they may either give direct or indirect support to the antifascist or progressive candidates.

Take the snap presidential elections supposedly slated for February. You may decide to extend direct support to the opposition presidential tandem which meet your criteria; or you may decide to extend only indirect support if you consider them undeserving of direct support. Unavoidably, the tandem can benefit objectively from your intensified campaign against the enemy and from their own concurrence with major points in your program. You can also benefit from the attacks and the gains made by the electoral opposition against the enemy.

Whether you support an opposition presidential tandem directly or indirectly, you may criticize it on just grounds, but with restraint, and to the people's advantage. There should be appropriate venues for criticism and this criticism should help deliver the main blow against US imperialism and the fascist dictatorship. Support, whether direct or indirect, should not becloud our critical faculties, especially because the opposition presidential tandem is representative of the upper classes rather than of the middle and lower classes.

You can have your own rallies where you can fully state what you support and what you oppose. And you can also share the same platform with other parties and organizations in order to denounce the enemy and air the broadest common points of agreement. Furthermore, you can join an electoral coalition not only because you directly or indirectly support the opposition presidential tandem, but also because you are interested in getting progressive candidates nominated and elected in local elections and, more importantly, because you are interested in reaching the masses, whatever their level of political consciousness and in combining with all possible organized forces to act against electoral fraud and terror and their adverse effects.

In whatever way and to whatever extent you may decide to utilize the elections staged by the US-Marcos regime, you must understand and make evident to the people that the electoral struggle is inferior and merely supplementary to other forms of political struggle. To revolutionaries, it comes fourth to armed struggle, people's strikes and other mass actions. Reformists, however, rate elections as the sole or main method of doing away with the fascist dictatorship.

We are certain that the forthcoming presidential election will be characterized by rampant fraud and terrorism. It is designed to give the fascist dictatorship a so-called fresh mandate to pursue an antinational and antidemocratic line and launch bloodier campaigns of suppression against the people in the name of anti-communism.

While we denounce the farcical character of the election and point out the scheme of fraud and terrorism, we allow our antifascist allies to get as many votes as they can and rouse the people to defend their ballots. The opposition is sure to win in a clean and honest election. But there will be none of this. If cheated again, the opposition parties or most of their members will tend to become more supportive of more effective forms of struggle against the common enemy.

If, against all odds, the opposition won, this would be something to be happy about in the event that the

elected president could substantially improve the situation by having to rely on a broad democratic coalition. The forces of the national democratic movement could thereby be able to legally achieve some of their demands for the benefit of the entire people.

At the moment, it is reasonable to anticipate that the forthcoming election would result in something as outrageous as the outcome of the sham trial of the assassination of Benigno S. Aquino, Jr. No fascist dictatorship has ever allowed himself to be defeated by some peaceful means of his own making. There is no time and no way for the electoral opposition parties to overcome Marcos' autocratic authority and his control and use of the military and paramilitary forces, the major mass media, most barangay officials, the electoral rules, the COMELEC, government resources, and so on before the snap presidential election in 1986 or even the regularly scheduled one in 1987.

The national democratic movement must anticipate the people's outrage over the sham re-election of President Marcos. It should be able to absorb and utilize the energy of the people for effective actions far greater in magnitude and intensity than we have ever seen in our country. The people simply cannot take another six years of the Marcos fascist puppet regime.

It is of acute urgency for the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy to strengthen the ranks of the united front for the national democratic revolution against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. The ceaseless escalation of the enemy onslaught must be met with the intensification of all forms of popular resistance if victory were ultimately to be achieved.

# ***On Celebrating the Centennial of the Philippine Revolution of 1896***

**August 23, 1995**

I am elated to learn that the organizations of the toiling masses of workers and peasants (Kilusang Mayo Uno and Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas) and the organizations of the student youth (League of Filipino Students, Student Christian Movement, National Union of Students of the Philippines and College Editors Guild of the Philippines) and teachers are combining to launch a year-long celebration of the centennial of the Philippine revolution of 1896 on August 23.

This celebration is of great importance. It should inspire us to continue the struggle for national liberation and democracy which was started by our revolutionary forefathers in 1896. So long as the Filipino people are under foreign and feudal domination, there is the ever-crying need for carrying out the national democratic revolution.

It took more than 300 years of suffering and struggle under Spanish colonialism before the Philippine Revolution assumed the force and form of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of the old type in 1896. Andres Bonifacio, the supreme leader of the Katipunan, had the resolve and courage to declare the independence of the Filipino people. He was a worker. But his guiding ideology was still bourgeois liberal. Ultimately, the ilustrados themselves laid him aside.

The revolution was in prospect of winning total victory in 1898. But US imperialism intervened, unleashed a brutal war of aggression against the Filipino people and turned the Philippines into its own colony. It did not only deploy a far superior military force to defeat the revolutionary army and massacre 10 percent of the people but also launched the deceptive propaganda of benevolent assimilation and pro-imperialist liberalism which coopted the bourgeois liberal leadership of the revolutionary movement.

Up to 1946, with the exception of the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945, the US kept the Philippines as a colony. Since 1946, the country has been a semicolony, with nominal independence and under the national administration of politicians and bureaucrats representing the local exploiting classes. Since the beginning of its colonial rule, however, the US turned the Philippine social economy from a feudal into a semifeudal one, dominated by the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class as basic exploiting classes, which comprise one percent of the population.

The working class has expanded up to 15 percent of the population from a negligible percentage at the beginning of the century. The peasantry has qualitatively decreased from around 90 percent to 75 percent. The urban petty-bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie have expanded from negligible percentages to eight percent and one percent, respectively.

The growth of the working class and the adoption of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism have given rise to the leadership of the working class in the resumption of the Philippine revolution. The new class leadership transforms the national democratic revolution into one of a new type, puts it in the context of the world proletarian-socialist revolution and gives it a socialist perspective.

The working class is the most productive and progressive force in the Philippines today. But it is a minority class under the persistent agrarian semifeudal conditions. To carry out its revolutionary mission, it must forge the basic alliance with the peasantry. This is the current foundation of the Philippine revolution.

In the era of modern imperialism, the urban petty bourgeoisie is no longer in a position as in 1896 to lead the Philippine revolution. But it can still play the role of a basic revolutionary force by taking part in the national democratic movement under the leadership of the working class.

In celebrating the centennial of the Philippine revolution of 1896, we must carry out the general line of national democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. In this regard, we must be able to make a class analysis of Philippine society and must grasp the correct and effective relationship of the basic revolutionary forces.

The working class and the peasantry are driven by their intolerable oppression and exploitation to fight for national and social liberation. As less oppressed and less exploited than the toiling masses, the urban petty bourgeoisie needs to be encouraged to join the national democratic revolution. The educated youth and teachers who are already in the national democratic movement must attract to it the entire urban petty bourgeoisie.

The revolutionary mass activists from the ranks of the educated youth and teachers can best serve the people

by integrating themselves with the workers and peasants in the revolutionary struggle and can remold themselves into proletarian revolutionaries in the process.

The year-long celebration will be most fruitful as the workers, peasants, the students, teachers and other people grasp the continuity of and differences between the old and new types of national democratic revolution and carry out the tasks of raising to a new and higher level their revolutionary consciousness and militancy in the struggle for national liberation and democracy.

Uphold the revolutionary legacy of 1896!  
Carry the Philippine revolution forward!  
Long live the Filipino people!

**ON THE COMBINATION  
OF LEGAL AND ILLEGAL FORMS OF STRUGGLE**

December 5, 1995

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***General Comment***

As a student and teacher of political science, let me comment on the combination of legal and illegal forms of struggle waged by the proletariat and the people against the big bourgeoisie. I try to speak in the light of the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution and, of course, the historical experience of the proletariat.

Whenever I refer to the revolutionary party of the proletariat, I mean the party guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism and in particular by its component theory of state and revolution. Such a party may already be waging armed revolution or if not yet doing so recognizes the necessity of this in the attainment of socialism.

In any country where the big bourgeoisie reigns, the party of the proletariat that aims to carry out socialist revolution runs the risk of being suppressed someday. The class dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie exists to prevent the proletariat from taking power and establishing socialism.

While it can still use imperialist and neocolonial methods of exploitation and pretend to be democratic and civil in its homeland, the big bourgeoisie has a repertoire of peaceful methods for coopting, undermining, cutting down and isolating the revolutionary party of the proletariat, short of unleashing all-out fascist repression. But when such a party cannot be undermined, cut down and isolated through peaceful methods and instead grows in strength until it is perceived as a real threat to the very life of the ruling capitalist system, then the big bourgeoisie carries out violent suppression.

It is revisionist to believe that the proletariat can evade the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and peacefully bring about the socialist revolution. According to Marx and Engels, the class dictatorship of the proletariat must replace that of the bourgeoisie in order to bring about socialism. So far, there is yet no historical instance of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. But there is ample proof that the peaceful transition from socialism to capitalism is possible.

***In industrial capitalist countries***

In industrial capitalist countries, the party of the proletariat wages legal struggle as the main form of struggle for a long period of time, for so long as it is possible and necessary. It is foolhardy to play with an armed insurrection when the severity of the crisis does not yet render the big bourgeoisie incapable of ruling in the old way, when the people are not yet desirous of overthrowing the state and when the party of the proletariat is not yet strong enough to lead a successful revolution.

For the party of the proletariat to wage any form of armed struggle that is untimely is to invite total destruction by the big bourgeoisie, which has centralized and concentrated in its hands the means of coercion, livelihood and communications. And yet the revolutionary party of the proletariat that is not waging any armed struggle must combine illegal forms of struggle with the legal forms of struggle in order to prevent the big bourgeoisie from effectively conducting surveillance, penetrating, controlling, redirecting, framing up, discrediting or marginalizing all the proletarian revolutionaries in the short run and in order to develop a powerful underground in preparation against fascist suppression and for armed revolution in the long run.

While the big bourgeoisie can still afford legality to the party of the proletariat, it uses the intelligence services, the mass media, the schools, churches, civic associations and a two-party or multiparty system to push said party of the proletariat to the margin of electoral and other political processes.

When the crisis of capitalism becomes severe to the point that the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the revolutionary mass movement becomes too strong for toleration by the big bourgeoisie, then the previous lack of or incompetence at the illegal forms of struggle will certainly result in the total destruction of the revolutionary forces.

From one industrial capitalist country to another, there may be illegal forms of struggle other than armed struggle which vary according to the bourgeois laws obtaining. For instance, in certain industrial capitalist countries, it is illegal to simply keep guns without license. In the United States, it is legal for individuals and gun clubs to keep a wide array of guns without license.



In all industrial capitalist countries, the intelligence services of the bourgeois state exert all efforts to know the entire list of members of a working class party. Even if there is no law against secret membership in such a party, there is a presumption or anticipation of illegality attached to the secrecy of the membership of any portion of that party.

However, the best teacher in the secrecy of the most important operations are the big bourgeois who keep their business and political secrets well. They use secrecy to prepare policies, laws and contracts not only against each other in their competition but most importantly against the proletariat and the people.

In fighting the big bourgeoisie and in preparing against the worst that this class can unleash, the revolutionary party of the proletariat is required by concrete conditions of class exploitation and oppression and by its historic mission of realizing socialism to combine legal and illegal forms of struggle. For one thing, it cannot naively expose all its personnel to the coercive apparatuses of the bourgeois state or put all its eggs in the basket of parliamentary struggle, especially when counterrevolutionary currents are running high.

In this general comment, I refrain from specifying what illegal forms of struggle the party of the proletariat must undertake in any industrial capitalist country. The proletarian revolutionaries in this type of country are wise and competent enough to know and use these in their own country.

### ***In the Philippines***

The Philippines is a semicolonial and semifeudal country where it is necessary to wage the national-democratic revolution and where protracted people's war has been carried out for more than 26 years.

Before the revolutionary armed struggle began in 1969, there was a period of predominantly legal struggle. In most of the '60s, an anti-imperialist and antifeudal legal mass movement was carried out by the proletarian revolutionaries on domestic and international issues in order to recover from the crushing defeat of the armed revolutionary movement in the early 1950s and early 1960s and in order to prepare the way for the resumption of the armed struggle.

It became possible to resume the armed revolution in 1969 because the revolutionary forces previously combined legal with illegal forms of struggle. The proletarian revolutionaries used the legal forms of struggle to arouse, organize and mobilize the people nationwide within a short period of time but at the same time made secret preparations for the resumption of the armed struggle. Even when the armed struggle becomes the principal form of struggle, the legal forms of struggle are indispensable. The coordination and combination of the legal and illegal forms are necessary. These two forms of struggle are complementary, dialectically interact and support each other's development.

In theory and practice, the armed struggle is the principal form of struggle because it is that form of struggle which enables the proletariat and people to seize power and build organs of political power in one rural area after another and ultimately to overthrow the imperialists and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords nationwide and establish the people's democratic state.

The legal forms of struggle in the cities and countryside can propagate the line of the national democratic revolution on a wide scale and even ahead of the propaganda and organizing capability of those armed units waging the armed struggle. Legal forms of political and organizational work can prepare the advance of the armed revolution. There are various forms of legal struggle. These include legal mass struggles conducted by class or sectoral organizations and their alliances, work within reactionary institutions, the electoral process, legal defense of the victims of human rights violations and the peace negotiations.

The legal forms of struggles can be successful if there is a powerful underground secret network in support and there are many open legal activists who cannot be easily illegalized even as the reactionary state attempts to illegalize them. These activists have to make sure that they cannot be illegalized. Otherwise, they shift to the field of revolutionary armed struggle if their urban-based legal work becomes untenable.

The urban-based democratic mass movement must be mainly legal and defensive in character even if verbally offensive, articulate and militant. The protest mass actions must not be conceptually and practically mixed up directly with armed struggle. Even outside the mass actions, the armed city partisans must not engage in punitive actions at a rate and to an extent that prejudice the mainly legal and defensive character of the legal democratic mass movement.

From period to period in the course of the protracted people's war in the Philippines, there have been changes in what is considered legal and illegal. In the period preceding the martial rule of Marcos, it was legal to form

organizations with an anti-imperialist and antifeudal character and for them to launch mass actions. Under martial rule, these were banned.

For a long time, extending to the period of the Ramos regime, mere membership in the CPP or mere possession of publications considered subversive could be a cause of detention or punitive action. Upon the repeal of the Anti-Subversion Law in 1992, the US-Ramos regime tried to conjure the illusion of less repression.

But currently there are serious moves to amend the GRP constitution in order to prolong the rule of Ramos, eliminate a number of formal guarantees in the bill of rights of the 1987 GRP constitution and enact an anti-terrorism law which is far more draconian than the discredited and repealed Anti-Subversion Law.

In the Philippines, whatever are the fluctuations in what is legal and what is illegal, the fundamental fact is that there is a joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class and that many of the oppressive laws issued by the Marcos fascist autocracy persist. The most horrible violations of human rights are perpetrated by the counterrevolutionary state against the workers, peasants and the rest of the people in campaigns of anti-communist suppression.

Whatever the fluctuations are in the law-making of the counterrevolutionary state, the revolutionary movement has learned to coordinate and combine the legal and illegal forms of struggle and use these to advance both forms of struggle. The CPP has adeptly utilized and coordinated the legal and illegal forms of struggle. When this coordination is well done, the revolutionary movement grows in strength and advances.

# ***Mass Movement Must Surge Forward***

**Press Statement, January 18, 2001**

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Acting through his fellow rogues in the Senate, Estrada has scuttled the Senate trial by suppressing vital evidence. He has in effect acquitted himself in advance of the previously scheduled February 12 judgment day. The broad masses of the people are seething with just anger and are determined to remove Estrada from power through the exercise of their own democratic will outside the processes and mechanisms under the control of the Estrada ruling clique.

The mass movement to oust Estrada must surge forward under the policy of the broad united front. The patriotic and progressive forces must actively cooperate with their allies in carrying out immediately on a nationwide scale and in Metro Manila the largest possible mass actions in quick response to the shameless devilry of the ruling clique.

Converging at EDSA can be advantageous if this is the consensus of the broad united front and has the purpose of encouraging the active military and police officers to join in the mass uprising and shutting down the factories and offices served by the EDSA trunklines.

If necessary, the encirclement of the palace can be done eventually, with marches from several assembly points, including EDSA, Luneta, Liwasan and other points. There is time to develop the most effective way to oust Estrada. This can be accomplished within this month, within a few months or within the year.

The broad united front to oust Estrada or to compel his resignation includes the forces and personages of the national democratic movement, the opposition parties, respected institutions and organizations of various types and growing sections of the reactionary military and police.

Military and police personnel can play a positive role if they withdraw support from the Estrada ruling clique, shift to the side of the people, neutralize the rabid military and police running dogs of the ruling clique and do not seek to form any military or civilian-military junta.

The Estrada ruling clique is poised to further repress the people, assault mass actions and explode more bombs to kill and maim civilians. In this connection, the Communist Party of the Philippines has made a timely announcement that the New People's Army will intensify the people's war in the countryside and carry out precise commando operations against the most notorious plunderers and human rights violators belonging to the Estrada ruling clique.

The economic and political crises of the ruling system of big compradors and landlords are worsening daily. The conditions are exceedingly favorable for the advance of the revolutionary mass movement and the overthrow of the Estrada ruling clique.

Every day that this clique remains in power, the Filipino people becomes more resolute and militant in advancing the legal democratic mass movement and the revolutionary armed struggle as complementary and interacting forms of struggle on the road of new democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

***Foundation for Sustained Development  
of the National Democratic Movement  
in the University of the Philippines***

**August 8, 2008**

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The US colonial regime established the University of the Philippines in 1908 in order to attract the cream of the Philippine intelligentsia towards a pro-imperialist and conservative kind of bourgeois liberalism, to draw them away from the anticolonial and progressive kind of liberal ideas which had guided the old democratic revolution and to train and assimilate the professionals and bureaucrats for a semifeudal social system in which the interests of US imperialism and domestic feudalism were harmonized.

In the first fifty years of its existence, the UP carried out well its colonial (1908-1946) and then neocolonial (starting 1946) mission of coopting and training the youth that passed through its portals. It maintained its equanimity as an academic institution of the status quo despite occasional controversies between its constituency or its officials and the state or government officials as well as the recurrent efforts of the sectarians of the dominant church to undermine the university's avowed secular and liberal character.

The founding of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands in 1930, the Great Depression and the anti-fascist struggles in the 1930s and the revolutionary movement during World War II and up to the early 1950s stimulated the study of Marxism and the Philippine revolution among a few UP faculty members and students. But these successive events did not bring into being the cellular multiplication of study circles and revolutionary party groups nor any sustained mass movement, with an anti-imperialist and antifeudal character, among the UP constituency.

The most outstanding of the patriotic and progressive intellectuals produced by the UP before World War II included Jose Lansang, Salvador P. Lopez, the Lava brothers Vicente, Jose and Jesus, Dr. Agustin Rodolfo, Angel Baking, Samuel Rodriguez and Renato Constantino. With the exception of some, these intellectuals would continue to take and express the Left position and face extreme reaction from the US imperialists and local reactionaries after the war. Some of them would be arrested and detained in 1950 and thereabouts. Those who were released tended to be cautious and expressed themselves in Aesopian language, within the bounds of nationalist and liberal terms. Aside from keeping academic and newspaper jobs, they became speech writers and political analysts for nationalist members of Congress.

Dr. Elmer Ordoñez is the best living witness who has written about the anti-communist witch hunt and the resistance that took place on the UP campus from the early 1950s to 1957. Even the liberal and logical positivist Dr. Ricardo Pascual was pilloried as a communist by religious sectarians and other anti-communists for supposedly organizing secret cells. Dr. Agustin Rodolfo was among those who formed the Society for the Advancement of Academic Freedom to resist the witch-hunt. In those years of severe anti-communist suppression, the anti-imperialist speeches of Senator Claro Mayo Recto kept alive the spirit and hopes of the progressives in the UP from 1951 onwards. Recto was assisted by Renato Constantino. Senator Jose Laurel also expressed nationalist and liberal positions on certain major issues. He was assisted by Jose Lansang.

When we were in UP Diliman for our undergraduate studies from 1956 to 1959, the Cold War was running high and the rabid anti-communists in our country were still touting McCarthyism, which had already been discredited in the US. The US puppet president Ramon Magsaysay and the like-minded UP president Vidal Tan sought to make the UP a regimented bulwark of anti-communism by using religious sectarianism as its base. Subservience to US imperialism was cultivated among faculty members and students through the US-influenced curricula and study materials as well as prospects of Fullbright, Smith-Mundt and other US scholarships and travel grants, or highly-remunerated employment in US and local comprador corporations.

The struggle between the liberals and the religious sectarians was intense. Under the direction of their American Jesuit chaplain Fr. John P. Delaney up to his death in early 1956, the UP Student Catholic Action (UPSCA) and its faculty version the Iota Eta Sigma had made political capital out of some fatal initiation hazing incidents in certain fraternities to discredit and subvert the non-sectarian and liberal character of the UP. They gave an anti-communist spin to their virulent opposition to the influence of the Recto nationalist crusade, the UP publication

of Teodoro Agoncillo's *Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Philippine Revolution*, the clamor for the study of Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, and so on.

The Anti-Subversion Law was passed in 1957 supposedly in order to destroy once and for all the Marxist ideology and the CPP or any of its successor, extension or front by imposing the death penalty on the officers. It was drafted by the American Jesuit Fr. Arthur Weiss and the political officer of the US embassy openly lobbied for its passage in Congress. It was a bill of attainder, establishing guilt by association, and was meant to suppress the freedom of thought, speech and assembly. It would become a constant weapon of anti-communist witch-hunt and oppression.

After Magsaysay died in a plane accident in 1957, his vice president, Carlos P. Garcia, assumed the presidency and won it in the elections in the same year. He appointed Dr. Vicente Sinco as UP president in 1958. The latter suspended the UP Student Council after it held a rally against his policy of preventing a religious organization like the UPSCA from dominating the council. He introduced the General Education Program with the objective of giving all college students a well-rounded basic knowledge of the sciences and the humanities and developing their ability for critical thinking. He appointed as full professors Hernando Abaya, Teodoro Agoncillo, I.P. Soliongco, Armando Malay, and others who were well known for their patriotic and progressive writings. He also appointed as deans and heads of departments those who were patriotic and progressive. He promoted the colloquia on nationalism among the faculty members and students.

In the year 1958 we gained access to some Marxist books in the UP Main Library. The military had ordered these to be destroyed in 1950 or thereabouts. But the librarian simply put most of these aside, piled up uncatalogued and unclassified, at the basement of the UP Main Library where one of us found them among other donated second-hand books. Students of library science were encouraged to volunteer in retrieving usable books from among the dusty piles. These were brought upstairs for cataloging and classification and eventually added to the UP Library System collections. Thus were many Marxist and progressive books retrieved and made available to those interested in them.

We avidly read and studied these books as well as others that we borrowed from private collections, including that of a non-communist university professor and an Indonesian graduate student. We learned, particularly from Lenin and Mao, that the bourgeois democratic revolution of the new type (under the leadership of the working class) rather than of the old type (under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie) was necessary for the people to win victory in the struggle for national liberation and democracy in the era of modern imperialism and world proletarian revolution. We also learned that the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie must unite for the revolution to win victory.

The progressive liberal trend in the UP proceeded well even as an ambiguous side controversy occurred. The UP Journalism Club in early 1959 had invited Fr. Hilario Lim, a recent expellee from the Society of Jesus, to speak on the need to Filipinize religious institutions. We and the faculty adviser Prof. Armando Malay were chagrined by the refusal of the UP President Sinco's administration to let Fr. Lim speak on the ground of his being a religious, despite the fact that he was demanding the nationalization of religious and religious-run institutions in the Philippines. A few years later, Lim would step out of the Catholic clergy, join the faculty of the UP history department and become an outspoken advocate of the national democratic movement.

### ***From SCAUP founding to the eve of KM founding, 1959 to 1964***

By 1959 when we founded the Student Cultural Association of the UP (SCAUP), we who were the core organizers drew from our study of Marxism and the history and circumstances of the Philippines the understanding that the Philippine revolution could be resumed under the leadership of the working class and that such a leadership could bring together the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

We considered the character of the UP and the possibility of developing the national democratic movement within the UP. We had no illusion that SCAUP or even all the UP students could change the character of the UP as a pro-imperialist and conservative liberal institution without the prior victory of the national democratic movement in society at large. But we aimed to build a progressive university within the reactionary university or to develop the national democratic movement among the students, faculty members and non-academic employees.

It was with some sense of humor that we adopted the acronym SCAUP to stress the fact that we were diametrically opposed to the UPSCA as it was then. We also stressed that we were a cultural group, not a religious one.

But we were most interested in raising the level of debate in the university from one between the liberals and the religious sectarians to one between the Left and the Right or one between the progressives and the reactionaries on basic and urgent social, economic, political and cultural issues. We used the terms nationalism and liberalism in a progressive way to mean anti-imperialism and antifeudalism, respectively.

We called for a Second Propaganda Movement to prepare the resumption of the Philippine revolution under global conditions of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution as well as under local semicolonial and semifeudal conditions. We were for the resumption of the Philippine revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. We were for national liberation, democracy, social justice and development. We were for academic freedom and civil liberties in the UP and we were definitely for upholding, promoting and advancing a system of education and culture that is of national, scientific and mass character.

We were of the view that the Marxists and the progressive liberals could and had to unite in order to form the national democratic movement in the university and that they could also ally themselves even with the conservative liberals on certain issues, like academic freedom, civil liberties and welfare for all UP constituents. The SCAUP adopted two levels of education through seminar-style discussions. One was openly done on the principles, program and basic issues of the national democratic movement among members and applicants for membership. The other was discreetly done among the most politically advanced SCAUP members because the Anti-Subversion Law prohibited the study of Marxism-Leninism and its relevance to the Philippine revolution.

It was sufficient for every SCAUP member to have a basic knowledge of the national democratic movement. As a form of initiation, applicants for membership were collectively and individually instructed on the movement and were assigned a book, article or a current issue to analyze and discuss. The discussions were carried out anywhere the participants wished, be it in a classroom, cafeteria or in the open air. The discreet discussions on Marxism-Leninism were done either on the campus grounds or in private homes.

The charter members of the SCAUP were graduate and undergraduate students. The organizational policy was to give priority to the recruitment of those who were already holding responsible positions in other campus organizations, who had the ability to write for the Collegian as editors and feature writers or who had the qualifications to run for the UP Student Council in case of restoration. The political and academic quality of the SCAUP was so high that sometimes some SCAUP members immodestly joked among themselves that they could someday take over the reactionary government from within. In fact, some would join and become cadres of the revolutionary movement and others enter the reactionary government and rise to the high positions of cabinet members, governor of the Central Bank, ambassadors, congressmen and senators and justices of the Supreme Court.

SCAUP members were encouraged to debate with their teachers and oppose reactionary ideas inside and outside classrooms. They had a keen interest in attending the colloquia on nationalism and in initiating or joining open forums where they had the opportunity to raise questions and debate with the speakers. Some SCAUP members regularly attended the seminars and informal discussions organized by the graduate assistant Petronilo Bn. Daroy on behalf of Dr. Ricardo Pascual, dean of the graduate school of arts and sciences. They went there to test their knowledge of dialectical materialism by debating with the dean who was a logical positivist and to ventilate their political views and seek consensus on current issues with participants who were mostly graduate students and faculty members, including Dr. Agustin Rodolfo who could skillfully render Marxist ideas in liberal language.

The members of fraternities who were members of SCAUP stood above inter-fraternity rivalries and took a common ground in opposing the UPSCA and attended SCAUP study meetings. Because of the vacuum created by President Sinco's suspension of the UP Student Council, they took the initiative in spearheading the formation of the Inter-Fraternity and Sorority Student Council (IFSC). This alliance would later make up for the limited membership of SCAUP and provide the broad organized base for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the UP students in 1961 against the witch hunt conducted by the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) against the UP faculty members and students.

The CAFA invoked the Anti-Subversion Law and targeted for inquisition the editors of the *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* for having reprinted in 1958 the 1946 pamphlet "Peasant War in the Philippines: A study of the causes of social unrest in the Philippines—an analysis of Philippine political economy," the 1960 *Philippinensian* for the editorial "Tower of Babel" and the *Philippine Collegian* for the March 1, 1961 feature article "Requiem for Lumumba" under the SCAUP chairman's nom de plume, Andres Gregorio. The articles had an anti-imperialist and antifeudal content. The editors were accused of subversion, promoting Marxism and the outlawed

Communist Party.

The key leaders of the IFSC, who were also SCAUP members, convened a meeting of all campus organizations to agree on holding a demonstration in response to the CAFA witch-hunt. The SCAUP, the IFSC and the *Philippine Collegian* rallied the students to the defense of academic freedom and civil liberties. The SCAUP drafted the manifesto and organized the machinery for the March 14, 1961 rally against CAFA. We prepared the placards at our rented cottage in Area 14 and at the Stalag 17 (the moniker for the quonset barracks left by the US Army). The SCAUP chairman and the graduate assistant Petronilo Bn. Daroy arranged with the JD bus company and signed the rent contract for the buses to ferry the students from Diliman in Quezon City to Congress in downtown Manila.

Five thousand students converged on Congress and literally scuttled the CAFA hearings. This was the first demonstration of its kind, protesting against the anti-communist witch-hunt and the Anti-Subversion Law and defending the freedom to express anti-imperialist and anti-feudal ideas, which the targeted publications carried. Following the resounding success of the anti-CAFA rally, the *Philippine Collegian* published a crescendo of editorials, columns and feature articles that did not only defend academic freedom and civil liberties but also propagated the ideas of the national democratic movement against imperialism and feudalism.

The consecutive editorships of Reynato Puno, Leonardo Quisumbing, Luis Teodoro, Jr., Ferdinand Tinio and Rene Navarro from 1961 to 1962 firmly established the predominance of *Philippine Collegian* editors who adopted the editorial policy that adhered to the line of the national democratic movement in the 1960s and thereafter. The editors either belonged to or were friendly to the SCAUP and welcomed the contributions of the SCAUP writers. The *Philippine Collegian* became a highly important vehicle for carrying and ventilating the ideas of the national democratic movement not only in the UP but also beyond. We also aimed to avail of the pages of the *Literary Apprentice* of the UP Writers' Club and the *Diliman Review*.

In addition to the *Collegian*, we had the Diliman-based little magazines that were dedicated to the task of stirring up anti-imperialist and anti-feudal ideas. These were the *Fugitive Review*, *Cogent* and *Diliman Observer* in 1960 and 1961. They were edited by such SCAUP writers as Petronilo Bn. Daroy and the SCAUP chairman, and were invariably short-lived for lack of funds to pay for printing. It would only be in 1963 that the *Progressive Review* could come out as a relatively stable publication, lasting until 1968. The editorial board consisted of UP faculty members and graduate students.

As a result of the anti-CAFA rally, the teaching fellowship of the SCAUP Chairman was not renewed by the UP English Department. Also before being fired from the department, he engaged the department head in a debate on the pages of the *Philippine Collegian* regarding the content of a subject called Great Thoughts in which the study materials were written predominantly by Catholic thinkers, like Cardinal Newman, G. K. Chesterton, Jacques Maritain, Belloc, Gibson, and so on. He demanded that progressive writings, including those of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and other Marxist thinkers and revolutionaries, should also be accommodated in the subject.

Having lost his job at the UP, the SCAUP chairman gained time to do political work not only in the UP campus but also in other campuses. As a result of the anti-CAFA rally, students in other universities in downtown Manila took interest in the student movement in the UP. SCAUP promoted the formation of study circles among students in the Philippine College of Commerce, the University of the East, the Manuel L. Quezon University and the Lyceum University in 1961 and 1962. Eventually, the SCAUP members and their friends in the other universities in Manila would constitute a significant part of the student contingent at the founding of the Kabataang Makabayan in 1964.

The general secretary Jesus Lava of the underground merger party of the communist and socialist parties (MPCSP) tried to contact the SCAUP chairman soon after the March 1961 anti-CAFA rally. But the intermediary failed to deliver Lava's message to him. The SCAUP chairman went to Indonesia on a scholarship grant to study Bahasa Indonesia in the first half of 1962 and had the opportunity to study the Indonesian mass movement. From there he effected the flow of Marxist-Leninist reading materials to some faculty members and student activists in the UP and some other universities in Manila. It would only be in December 1962 that he could link with and join the MPSCP.

Soon after the anti-CAFA rally in 1961, we of the SCAUP were already planning to form a comprehensive youth organization by linking up with young workers, peasants and professionals. We joined the Lapiang Manggagawa (LM, Workers Party) and became active in its youth, and research and education departments in the latter half of

1962. From this, we gained access to the young workers in several labor federations and major independent unions. We established links with the peasant association Malayang Samahan ng Magsasaka (MASAKA, Free Peasants Association) in 1963 and we visited a number of barrios in Central Luzon in order to encourage the peasant youth to join the projected Kabataang Makabayan.

After the anti-CAFA rally, the SCAUP initiated or joined a number of other mass actions. These included the campus protest action (in cooperation with the UP Student Union of which Enrique Voltaire Garcia III was chairman) against the appointment of Carlos P. Romulo as UP President and off-campus rallies and pickets against US imperialism on the issues of the US-RP Military Bases Agreement, the Laurel-Langley Agreement, US military intervention in Cuba and so on. The political mass actions initiated from 1962 to 1964 by Lapiang Manggagawa on various issues were small, ranging from 500 to 1,000 participants. The SCAUP promoted and assisted the campaign against the Spanish Law, which required students to take 24 units of Spanish. The campaign culminated in the demonstration of 50,000 people (the majority of whom came from the youth of Iglesia ni Cristo).

### ***National expansion of the new democratic movement, 1964-1968***

The national democratic movement that started in the UP in the period of 1959-1964 became well established on a national scale in the period of 1964-1968. The UP student contingent took an outstanding role in the founding of the Kabataang Makabayan (KM) on November 30, 1964 and in its further development as a comprehensive youth organization for students as well as young workers, peasants, professionals and women. In turn, the national democratic movement developing in the entire country had salutary effects on the patriotic and progressive forces within the UP. The KM echoed and amplified the call of the SCAUP in 1959 for a Second Propaganda Movement.

Through the KM, students and young faculty members of the UP led by the KM chairman gained access to and cooperated with the Lapiang Manggagawa, which became the Socialist Party of the Philippines (SPP) in 1965, the trade union movement and the MASAKA. By its own efforts, the KM was able to organize new trade unions as well as community organizations in both urban and rural areas. Eventually, it spearheaded the formation of the broad anti-imperialist alliance, Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (MAN) on February 8, 1967.

As soon as it was founded in 1964, the KM established a chapter in the UP. This had interlocking membership and always cooperated closely with SCAUP as a partner. The KM and SCAUP had their respective internal educational activities but they also had joint public activities. The SCAUP held the Claro Mayo Recto Lecture Series every year and the KM members attended these. The KM and SCAUP cooperated with other organizations such as the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (Philippine chapter) headed by Dr. Francisco Nemenzo, Jr. to popularize the anti-imperialist teach-ins, especially against the US war of aggression in Vietnam in the mid-1960s. The KM organized the inter-university Lecture Series on Nationalism.

In most semesters during the 1960s, the Philippine Collegian had as editors and writers either members or close friends of the KM and SCAUP. It often carried feature articles promoting the national democratic line against imperialism and reaction. When revived in 1966, the UP Student Council chaired by Enrique Voltaire Garcia III cooperated very well with the KM and SCAUP in promoting the national democratic line on intramural, national and international issues. It held the National Student Congress for the advancement of nationalism. The delegates joined the KM and gave it a national spread. As UP Student Council chairman and later as Collegian editor-in-chief, Garcia was outstanding in pursuing the national democratic line.

The KM dispatched educational-organizational teams to organize chapters in schools, factories, urban poor communities and rural areas. It also availed of the national conferences of national student organizations like the College Editors' Guild, National Students' League, Conference Delegates Association (CONDA), Student Council Association of the Philippines (SCAP) and the Student Christian Movement (SCM) to recruit KM members nationwide. The students recruited during such conferences were followed up by members of the KM National Council and by organization-education teams and were encouraged and guided to form KM chapters. Until after 1970, the National Union of Students of the Philippines (NUSP) and the Student Catholic Action of the Philippines were usually run by the conservative and reformist student leaders from the Catholic schools.

The KM played the key role in planning and organizing the youth participation in the omnibus rally of 25,000 people on January 25, 1965 against US imperialism with regard to the Laurel-Langley Agreement, the US Military Bases Agreement and other forms of US control over the Philippines. The people rallied in front of the US embassy and marched in a torch parade to the presidential palace. The youth contingent was larger than those of



workers and peasants. The protest action marked a new peak in mass mobilization by the national democratic movement. Some elements of the national bourgeoisie gave support to the mass action.

When US President Lyndon B. Johnson attended the so-called Manila Summit to round up support for the US war of aggression in Vietnam from governments in the Asia-Pacific region, UP students belonging to the KM were among those who picketed the summit at its Manila Hotel venue on October 23, 1966. The following day UP students mustered by both the KM and the UP Student Council composed the bulk of the 5,000 students who protested against the summit and were attacked by the military and police. Consequently, the UP Student Council led by Enrique Voltaire Garcia III formed the UP Nationalist Corps to wage a nationwide campaign against state brutality and to conduct mass work among workers and peasants, thus reinforcing the work of the KM Learn from the Masses, Serve the People teams. The KM chairman had drafted the manifesto launching the UP Nationalist Corps.

In 1967, soon after the establishment of the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (MAN) the MAN general secretary made the first draft and together with Renato Constantino formed a working group to make the MAN report against the further Americanization of the University of the Philippines under the presidency of Carlos P. Romulo. Romulo was acting as chief agent of the cultural agencies of the US government, US corporations and the Rockefeller, Ford and other US foundations. The KM and the SCAUP cooperated with all other patriotic student organizations, student leaders, campus writers and faculty members in a sustained campaign against the ideological and cultural dominance of US imperialism in the UP.

The *Philippine Collegian*, under the editorship of Miriam Defensor, would expose in 1968 the contract between the UP College of Agriculture in Los Baños and Dow Chemicals Inc. which was notorious for supplying the American armed forces in Vietnam with napalm and defoliants. This was followed by another Collegian expose of the contract between the same college and the US Air Force regarding the study of plant life, which could be used in US chemical and biological warfare in Vietnam and elsewhere. The student protests on the Diliman and Los Baños campuses forced the UP administration to cancel the contracts.

The chairman of Kabataang Makabayan who was concurrently vice chairman of the Socialist Party of the Philippines and general secretary of MAN published his book, *Struggle for National Democracy*, in 1967. This was a compilation of his articles and speeches on the issues and concerns affecting Philippine society as a whole and its various major sectors. It was avidly read by the activists of the youth, labor and peasant movements and served to consolidate their understanding of the national democratic movement. It stimulated the further advance of the movement for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

Within the old merger party of the CPP and SPP, the debates and contradictions between the proletarian revolutionaries and the Lavaite revisionists came to a head in April 1967 when the latter made an organizational maneuver against the former who were the ones actually leading the mass movement. The proletarian revolutionaries had long criticized and wanted to repudiate the influence of modern revisionism centered in the Soviet Union and the major subjectivist and Right and Left opportunist errors in the previous 25 years within the MPCSP. They carried out a rectification movement to prepare for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the waging of a protracted people's war against the ruling system.

By 1968 the Kabataang Makabayan had established chapters in the universities, colleges and high schools in nearly all provinces of the country. It provided the organizational framework for building a nationwide revolutionary movement. It established the schools for national democracy. It provided a nationwide broadcast network for the ideas of the national democratic movement. It was the training school of young activists not only from the schools but also from the factories, urban poor communities and farms. It gained repute for the spread of student strikes on a national scale. It was involved in a number of outstanding worker strikes. It struck roots among the peasant youth in Central and Southern Luzon.

As a result of the break of the proletarian revolutionaries from the MPCSP, the Lavaite revisionists formed the Malayang Pagkakaisa ng Kabataang Pilipino (Free Union of Filipino Youth-MPKP) which took away a few scores of members from KM in 1968. Also in the same year a group of KM members who opposed a pre-congress proposal to elect Nilo Tayag as KM chairman broke away from the KM and formed the Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan (Democratic Youth Association-SDK). The contradictions involved were not promptly and properly handled because we were then preoccupied with the intensified struggle against the Lava revisionist clique. However, the SDK proclaimed a national democratic line similar to that of the KM.

### **Mass movement against the rise of fascism, 1968-1972**

What incubated in the UP from 1959 to 1964 and conspicuously spread nationally from 1964 to 1968 helped greatly in paving the way for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968, and the rise of a powerful mass movement challenging the entire ruling system from 1969 to 1972. The national democratic movement grew in strength among the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata as the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system worsened and the Marcos regime became more servile to imperialism, more corrupt and brutal and prepared to impose a fascist dictatorship on the people. Workers' strikes spread throughout the country in an unprecedented way in 1969. The peasants were likewise restive and demanded land reform, even as the Marcos regime became more intimidating and the religious sectarians, reformists and revisionists tried to lead them astray and calm them down. On March 29, 1969 the CPP founded the New People's Army and launched people's war. In November 1969, peasants from Central Luzon numbering 20,000, joined by their workers and youth supporters, massed in front of Congress in order to demand land reform. Student strikes continued to spread throughout the country. They inspired the students to join the chapters of the KM and attend the KM schools for democracy. The UP Chapter of Kabataang Makabayan and SCAUP allied themselves with other student organizations to launch a strike in January 1969 and succeeded in moving the university administration headed by UP president Dr. Salvador P. Lopez to give in to most of the demands of the students, faculty members and non-academic employees. Being himself a libertarian and an advocate of the university as social critic, Dr. Lopez showed sympathy for the cause of the students and led the UP administration in preventing the outside police forces from entering the university campus. Among the reforms demanded by the students and met by the UP administration were the representation of the students in the Board of Regents and the university councils and in the process of electing college deans and department heads, the autonomy of student organizations and optionality of having faculty advisers, transparency of university financial accounts, the spending of students' fees for the very purpose for which these are collected, and so on. Until now, many of the reforms won by the students in the period 1969-1972 have survived despite reactionary efforts to reverse or undermine them.

The *Philippine Collegian* under the editorship of Ernesto Valencia serialized Amado Guerrero's *Philippine Society and Revolution* (PSR) under the title *Philippine Crisis* in 1970. It was enthusiastically received and closely read by the students, especially with the understanding that it was a further development of *Struggle for National Democracy* (SND). The first edition of the PSR in book form in 1970 was sold mainly in the lobbies at UP Diliman. The *Collegian* under the editorship of Antonio Tagamolila and the Amado V. Hernandez Foundation under the chairmanship of Antonio Zumel cooperated in publishing the second edition of the *Struggle for National Democracy* in 1971.

The *Collegian* under the editorship of Victor Manarang, Valencia, Tagamolila and Rey Vea from 1969 to 1972 brought to a new and higher level the adherence of the student publication to the national democratic line by publishing documents of the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines and articles of CPP chairman Amado Guerrero and other prominent progressives and anti-imperialists. Creative works in the form of short stories, poems and plays reflecting social reality and the discontent and revolutionary aspirations of the people appeared in the *Collegian*, *Collegian Folio*, *Literary Apprentice* and *Ulos*.

In late 1969 the KM and the Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan (SDK) reconciled along the national democratic line, with the former welcoming the latter's formal founding in January 1970. The reconciliation gave further impetus to the development of the national democratic movement in the UP. It came in time for the preparations for the student strike on the UP campus in the second week of January 1970 and the demonstration in front of Congress against President Marcos' state of the nation address on January 25, 1970. The police brutality inflicted on the 10,000 mainly student demonstrators on this day ignited the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

The KM and other organized forces of the youth and the workers launched militant mass protests of from 50,000 to 100,000 people every week (excluding the people who cheered along the streets and from windows of houses) during the first three months of 1970. They formed the Movement for a Democratic Philippines to broaden and strengthen the alliance against the rising brutality of the Marcos regime and at the same time frustrate the attempt of the revisionist party to outflank the progressive forces with the false charge that they were purely anti-Marcos and were not at all opposed to US imperialism.

The First Quarter Storm subsided. But mass protest actions by the student masses proceeded throughout

1970 in provincial capitals where the KM had established chapters. The mass protests resumed in Metro Manila with the May 1 worker-student demonstration and continued in earnest though intermittently through the rest of the 1970s on a wide range of domestic issues such as the superprofit-taking by the foreign monopolies, rising prices of fuel and basic commodities, antilabor policies and practices and the lack of land reform and also on international issues such as the use of US military bases for aggression and military intervention in Southeast Asia and the escalation of the US war of aggression in Indochina.

On February 1, 1971 the UP students declared a strike to protest successive oil price hikes. The Marcos regime deployed military and police forces against the UP after a pro-Marcos member of the faculty killed Pastor Mesina, a freshman student. These prompted the students, the faculty members, non-academic employees and other campus residents to unite and resist the hostile armed forces. They took over the entire university from the administration and proclaimed the Diliman Commune. They established barricades and other forms of defense and they improvised missiles and fireworks to discourage the helicopters from landing armed personnel.

They used the radio facilities of the university, increasing its power and range to broadcast to as far as Palawan revolutionary propaganda against the Marcos regime, including the reading of all three chapters of *Philippine Society and Revolution*. They also used the UP Printing Press to print leaflets and publish their own revolutionary newspaper. They renamed the buildings of the university after revolutionary leaders. The Diliman Commune promptly captured national attention and gained wide and enthusiastic support. Food, clothing, and all sorts of donations and other forms of encouragement poured in continuously, some coming from far-flung provinces. Workers, public transport drivers, students from other schools and assorted volunteers came to reinforce the barricades.

The Diliman Commune ended on February 9, 1971 only after the UP administration accepted several significant demands of the students and the Marcos regime accepted the recommendation of the UP president to end the military and police siege and declare assurances that state security forces would not be deployed against the university. After the Diliman Commune, the broad masses of the Filipino people continued to engage in legal protest actions on a nationwide scale. The Marcos regime confronted these with increasing violence. On August 21, 1971 it attacked the opposition by lobbing grenades at the Liberal Party miting de avance at Plaza Miranda in order to have the pretext for blaming communists and suspending the writ of habeas corpus. It arrested the leaders of KM and other progressive organizations and raided their offices and homes.

The KM and all other progressive forces in the Movement for a Democratic Philippines recognized the rising threat of fascism and expanded their alliance by forming the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties (MCCCL). This included the reformists, bourgeois nationalists, anti-Marcos reactionaries and religious organizations. Activists most likely to be arrested by the regime either went underground or prepared to go underground. Nevertheless, the legal forces of the national democratic movement continued to mobilize the people in order to make protests and demands.

Under the auspices of the MCCCL, the legal mass protests continued until September 21, 1972 when 25,000 demonstrators denounced the plot to declare martial law. Indeed, Marcos started the mass arrests on September 22, issued the declaration of martial law on September 23, 1972 and imposed a fascist dictatorship on the people for the next 14 years. The legal forces of the national democratic movement went underground but took deeper roots in the UP and in the entire country, especially because the armed revolution raged in the countryside and kept the hopes of the people alive.

Enrique Voltaire Garcia III set the example and established the tradition of pursuing the national democratic line in the UP Student Union and Student Council. But more importantly, the student organizations and the student masses welcomed and followed the national democratic line. Student parties competed for support from the students along this line during the campus elections. By 1970 every student party and almost every campus organization wanted to be recognized as having a national-democratic character.

The KM and SDK were the engines of the student parties that excelled in espousing the national democratic line. They generated the kind of student leadership that culminated in the militant presidency of Gerry Barican of Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan and the student party Partisans and Eric Baculinao of Kabataang Makabayan and the student party Sandigang Makabansa [Nationalist Bulwark] (formerly Partisans) from 1969 to 1971. However, as long as the ruling reactionary system remained, the national democratic line in the UP Student Council could not always remain secure.

The Marcos regime and the intelligence services pushed the fraudulent election of a reactionary student leader

to the presidency of the UP Student Council for 1971-1972 by literally using smear tactics against the Sandigang Makabansa candidates. Famous slogans from the writings of Mao (like Oppose Book Worship and Combat Liberalism) were smeared in red paint on the walls of the university and furniture were thrown out from buildings on the eve of the campus elections. This vandalism was ascribed to the progressive student party in order to misrepresent it and swing the votes to the reactionary party. It was a coup calculated to cripple the UP Student Council and the national democratic movement in the UP in preparation for the Marcos coup d'etat. But in the campus elections of 1972, a few months before the declaration of martial law, the Sandigang Makabansa headed by the candidate for chairman Jaime Tan won by a landslide.

Due to space constraint, we have referred to the principal mass organizations as active factors and indicators in the development of the national democratic movement. Also deserving of attention were those traditional organizations and institutions that adopted in varied ways and degrees the aims of the national democratic movement. Many individual officers and members of the fraternities and sororities became militants of the national democratic movement and tried to reorient their organizations. The Alethea, the Kilusang Kristiyano ng Kabataang Pilipino (Christian Movement of Filipino Youth-KKKP) and the Christians for National Liberation (CNL) gained adherents among religious believers. The rabid religious sectarians that were associated with the UPSCA and Iota Eta Sigma seemed to recede.

The years from 1969 to 1971 saw a flurry of mass organizing along the national democratic line. Various student organizations arose as affiliates and allies of KM and SDK. They formed their respective cultural performing and visual arts groups, like Panday Sining and Nagkakaisang Progresibong Artista at Arkitekto (United Progressive Artists and Architects-NPAA) of KM and Gintong Silahis [Golden Rays] and Sining Bayan [People's Culture] of SDK. There were the mass formations based on certain colleges in UP Diliman, such as the Progresibong Samahan sa Inhinyeria at Agham (PSIA) in the College of Engineering, the NPAA in the College of Fine Arts, the Progresibong Kilusang Medikal (Progressive Medical Movement-PKM) in the College of Medicine and the Samahan ng mga Makabayang Mag-aaral ng Batas (Association of Patriotic Law Students-SMMB) in the College of Law. The propagandists formed the Samahan ng mga Progresibong Propagandista [Association of Progressive Propagandists]. The UP faculty members had their own progressive organization, Samahan ng mga Guro sa Paman-tasan (Association of University Teachers-SAGUPA).

The national democratic movement reached and swept the UP units in Los Baños, Baguio and Tarlac. It was strongest in UP Los Baños because the SCAUP, KM and SDK chapters were formed there soon after their Diliman counterparts were established and because this unit had the largest student population among the UP extension units. The progressive students led the student government and edited the student publication. They aroused and mobilized the student masses to support the Diliman Commune and make their own demands. UP Los Baños became the beacon of other schools and colleges in the Southern Tagalog region and the staging base for long protest marches to Metro Manila.

The basis and course of development of the national democratic movement in UP Baguio were similar to those of UP Los Baños. Progressive students and young instructors built chapters of the KM and SDK. The student members led the student government and took charge of the student publication. The teachers espousing the same general line formed the Ugnayan ng Makabayang Guro (Association of Patriotic Teachers-UMAGA). UP Baguio became a base for organizing KM chapters in other schools, universities and communities in Baguio City and the provinces of the Cordillera. UP Tarlac also became a base for progressive student organizing in Central Luzon.

National mass organizations came into being, with UP students, faculty members and alumni as members. They included Students for the Advancement of National Democracy (STAND), League of Editors for a Democratic Society (LEADS), Katipunan ng mga Samahang Manggagawa (Alliance of Workers Associations-KASAMA), Pagkakaisa ng mga Magbubukid sa Pilipinas (Unity of Philippine Peasants-PMP), Katipunan ng mga Gurong Makabayan (Alliance of Patriotic Teachers-KAGUMA), Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (Free Movement of New Women-MAKIBAKA), Panulat para sa Kaunlaran ng Sambayanan (Pen for People's Progress PAKSA), Samahan ng mga Makabayang Siyentipiko (Patriotic Association of Scientists-SMS) and Makabayang Samahan ng mga Nars (Patriotic Association of Nurses-MASANA). The CPP formed party groups in various types of mass organizations and groups of professionals. From these would arise the allied organizations within the National Democratic Front.

The fascist dictatorship failed to destroy the national democratic movement in the university and in the entire country. It only succeeded in unwittingly persuading many of the UP students, teachers and alumni to join the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. The best sons and daughters of the university became communists and sought to remold themselves as proletarian revolutionaries. Many of them decided to participate in the people's war, contributing whatever abilities they had and ever ready to make the necessary sacrifice in order to advance the revolutionary cause.

From one reactionary regime to another after the fall of Marcos in 1986, the national democratic movement has kept a deeply-rooted foundation in the UP and has always strived to grow in strength against tremendous odds. So long as the semicolonial and semifeudal system persists, the movement goes through ups and downs and twists and turns for whatever reason at any given time. So far, it continues to exist and grow because there is a fertile ground and need for it and the activist organizations and individuals are inspired by the noble cause of serving the people and carrying on the struggle to which so many revolutionary martyrs and heroes from the UP have dedicated their lives. The UP constituents are ever critical of the dire conditions of society and are ever desirous of change for the better.

In the last fifty years the national democratic movement has become the principal challenge to the pro-imperialist and reactionary character of the University of the Philippines. It aims to overthrow the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and liberate the university completely so that UP can become the shining center for upholding, defending and promoting national independence and democracy, development through national industrialization and land reform, a national, scientific and popular system of culture and education, and international solidarity and peace.

# ***Consolidate the People's Gains in the Electoral Struggle***

## **Message of Solidarity to Makabayan on its Founding Assembly April 16, 2009**

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Having been the chairman of the Preparatory Commission that founded in 1986 Partido ng Bayan, which the ultra-reactionaries subsequently repressed, I am happy about the remarkable success of the progressive partylist groups in the 2001, 2004 and 2007 elections and their current initiative to establish the Makabayang Koalisyon ng Mamamayan or in brief Makabayan. I convey warmest greetings of solidarity to all of them, their national and regional officers, the personages and the hundreds of mass activists from various people's organizations that are now gathered in this founding assembly of Makabayan.

This is a historic occasion that signifies, particularly in the field of electoral struggle, a major advance of the people's movement for genuine national independence, democracy, social justice and all-round development. I commend and congratulate Bayan Muna, Anakpawis and Gabriela for initiating the building of Makabayan as basically a coalition of parties for uniting the broad masses of the people and mobilizing them for meaningful change in accordance with their national and democratic rights and interests.

The founding of Makabayan is timely. It comes as a consolidation of the achievements in electoral struggle of the progressive partylist groups and related mass organizations. It is a prompt preparation for the elections in 2010. It counters the schemes of the US-Arroyo regime to push charter change, to prolong the power of the Arroyo clique or to rig the 2010 elections in favor of the worst reactionaries. It contributes to the strengthening of the broad range of opposition forces against the detested regime.

Makabayan is a formidable combination of patriotic and pro-people forces in comparison to the fractious state of the traditional political opposition. Even at this very moment, it can be described as the strongest opposition force in terms of being the most principled instrument of the people, having the most cogent patriotic and progressive platform, gathering the most dedicated and most active volunteers in the service of the people and enjoying the strongest and most reliable mass base on a nationwide scale.

At the core of Makabayan are the progressive partylist groups and their leaders and members who have proven their integrity and effectiveness in serving the people. They are in sharp contrast to the traditional politicians. They are well-tested in resisting the temptations of puppetry and corruption. They have been subjected to the most vicious forms of vilification and repression. They have prevailed over these and have become ever more determined to fight for the national and democratic rights and interests of the people.

Under the guidance of its Declaration of Unity and Rules of Organization, Makabayan is bound to grow ever stronger. Your principles and general program respond to the people's demand for the politics of fundamental change and substantial reforms, for good governance, for uplifting the poor, for pro-Filipino economic development, for saving the environment, for upholding national sovereignty and adopting an independent foreign policy, for defending the people's democratic rights, for promoting Philippine culture and for attaining justice and peace. Your cause is just and compelling.

In the face of the rottenness and much worsened crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system, the theme of your founding assembly is of great importance and acute urgency: Pilipino para sa pagbabago! Pagbabago para sa Pilipino! This clarion call is well amplified by your proposed platform for the 2010 elections. You stand for the politics of change and reforms against the politics of the status quo and reaction. You have not only the general principles to guide you in the long run but also the concrete plans for serving the immediate needs and demands of the people, especially at this time when they are suffering extremely from oppression and exploitation.

The US-instigated policies of neoliberal globalization and global war of terror have brought about an unprecedented economic and political crisis on a global scale since the end of World War II. The Arroyo regime is despicable for having been subservient to such policies and for having aggravated the rottenness of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. We are now confronted by a socioeconomic and political crisis of unprecedented

proportions since World War II.

The socioeconomic crisis is wreaking havoc on the lives of the broad masses of the people because of rapidly rising unemployment, sinking levels of income, soaring prices of basic commodities and services and other intolerable conditions. The political crisis is characterized by the ruling clique's vicious attacks on its intra-systemic rivals and on the broad masses of the people. The people are suffering escalating levels of exploitation and oppression. These drive the people to fight back and seek to change not only the current regime but the entire ruling system.

In my view, it is not possible to make a fundamental change of the ruling system through periodic elections under the rules set by the exploiting classes and their political agents. There are various forms of mass struggles for revolutionary change that can be carried out by the people. But the electoral form of mass struggle is important and necessary whenever it becomes possible for the patriotic and progressive forces to participate and push forward basic reforms that respond to the immediate needs and demands of the people.

The electoral form of struggle can be a major part of the movement to arouse, organize and mobilize the people to achieve immediate basic reforms or the ultimate aim of social revolution. There is no error of electoralism or parliamentarism when there is no foreclosing of other forms of struggle that the people have the sovereign right to adopt and wage. There is also no error of reformism when there is no pontification that the struggle for reforms is the sole option of the people.

Makabayan is inspired by high principles and must firmly adhere to them. But it must be flexible in policy in order to wage electoral struggle effectively. It is broad enough in having as mass base the toiling masses of workers and peasants, the middle social strata and major sectors such as the women, youth, the various types of professionals and the social activists in various concerns such as human rights, development, peace, environment and so on. But you must be ready to further broaden the united front formally or informally by availing of the cooperation of certain sections of the ruling classes in order to isolate and defeat the worst of the reactionaries at every given time.

As I have earlier pointed out, Makabayan is by itself a strong coalition in several respects. But it also has limitations. Its highly motivated activists and mass base may be strong in number and capabilities in certain areas but it may be less strong in other areas. Definitely, Makabayan does not yet have the financial and other material resources to field its own complete slate of national and local candidates. There is therefore a need for you to go into further bilateral and multilateral alliances with other entities, such as coalitions, parties, groups, personages and candidates.

On its own account, without going into any broader coalition, Makabayan can field some candidates for the Senate and many candidates for the House of Representatives and for local executive offices. But certainly broadening the coalition or alliance at the national level is necessary in order to co-determine the best possible presidential and vice presidential candidates and to ensure the victory of Makabayan-chosen candidates for the Senate. Broader regional, provincial, district and municipal alliances are also necessary in the choice of the best possible candidates for the House of Representatives and the executive offices from the level of governor downwards.

To be a truly political force advancing the politics of change and reforms, Makabayan should always be close to the people, especially to the toiling masses of workers and peasants, learning from them, trusting them and relying on them. By following such mass line, you can learn how best to engage in political education, increase your organized strength and mobilize the masses for denouncing the oppressive and exploitative character and policies of the reactionary government and demanding immediate basic social, economic, political and cultural reforms in the direction of fundamental social transformation.

Makabayan must always seek to empower the people and must do its best to represent and serve them in what is still a reactionary government under the control of the political agents of the exploiting classes. Substantial reforms are possible only when the patriotic and progressive elements from Makabayan and other enlightened groups in the government draw strength and support from the protests and demands of the mass movement and when the politicians of the status quo and reaction become increasingly discredited and isolated.

I wish your founding assembly the utmost success in deliberating and ratifying the basic documents, in assessing the current and potential strength of the coalition and its components, in exploring the arena of the electoral struggle, in beginning to fill up your organizational structure and in inspiring your rapid growth and further alliances with other political forces. I am confident that Makabayan will carry forward the politics of change on a

patriotic and progressive course and bring to a new and higher level the unity and fighting capabilities of the people for national and social liberation.

- Long live Makabayan!
- Carry forward the politics of change!
- Long live the Filipino people!



# ***Message to the Forum on the Filipino People's Struggle for National Liberation, Democracy and Socialism***

**April 18, 2009**

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I am deeply pleased to be informed that you are holding a forum in Vienna on the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class.

I commend and congratulate you for holding this forum and I wish you the utmost success in your endeavor to raise the level of your consciousness about the revolutionary struggle in the Philippines and respond to the call for the formation of a solidarity committee in support of said struggle.

Because the character of the Philippine ruling system is semicolonial and semifeudal, the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces have rallied to the general line of new democratic revolution. This revolution is led by the working class and relies mainly on the basic alliance of the workers and peasants. It draws additional support from the urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) is described as the advanced detachment of the working class. It is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and aims to carry out socialist revolution upon the basic completion of the new democratic revolution. It commands the NPA in the revolutionary armed struggle. It leads the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, the organs of political power, the revolutionary mass organizations and the broad masses of the people.

The CPP and NPA have just celebrated their respective founding anniversaries last December 26 and March 29. Thus, I presume that you are acutely interested in their history and achievements in the revolutionary struggle. Indeed, they have accumulated brilliant victories of great historic significance. These have been possible because they serve the people, they unite and empower the people and they are cherished and supported by the people.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and that of the Philippine ruling system have become worse than in any period after World War II. The US-instigated policies of neoliberal globalization, state terrorism and aggressive war have wrought havoc on the lives of the people and continue to escalate oppression and exploitation. The Filipino people cannot tolerate their suffering and they are fighting back against imperialism and all reaction.

It is of great importance and acute urgency that you form a solidarity committee in support of the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people. Such a committee can continuously undertake information and educational activities on the Philippines, bring together the organizations of Filipinos and their friends and carry out campaigns to raise moral and political support and concrete assistance for the Filipino people.

By carrying out their revolutionary struggle in the Philippines, the Filipino people contribute to the advance of the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world for national liberation, democracy and socialism. Filipinos in the Philippines and abroad can also find within their capability ways of giving concrete and direct support to the particular struggles of other peoples. Thus, they engage in well-rounded cooperation and mutual support in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism.

***Continue the Great Tradition  
of the Progressive and Patriotic Youth***

**Message of Solidarity to the Alumni Association of KBPA**

**July 4, 2009**

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I hereby convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the officers and members of the University of the East Kapit-Bisig Party Alliance Alumni Association, Inc. (UEKBPAAAI) on the occasion of its 3rd General Assembly and Reunion.

I fervently hope that this occasion will achieve its purposes as set forth by the theme, "Further strengthen the UEKBPAAAI! Support the national democratic aspirations of the people! Uphold KBPA's principles and orientation!"

You belong to the great tradition and continuing movement of patriotic and progressive youth who fight for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It is a matter of honor and revolutionary commitment that you trace your awakening and activism to the Kapit-Bisig Party Alliance (KBPA).

I am aware that the KBPA has been the biggest alliance of students and student organizations in UE and has been in the forefront of the student mass movement since it was established in the early 80s as a student political party when the student councils were reinstated.

The KBPA is imbued with the same orientation and character as SAMASA of the Polytechnic University of the Philippines and formerly of UP (which is now renamed as STAND-UP). It has played an outstanding role in struggles against the exploitative and oppressive ruling system and in putting forward national and democratic demands.

I appreciate highly the establishment of the University of the East Kapit-Bisig Party Alliance Alumni Association, Inc. (UEKBPAAAI) in July 2006 to reunite the former members of the KPBA in order to advance the national democratic movement in whichever profession or field of activity they are in and in order to act as support group for the KBPA and the movement in general.

More than ever before the Filipino people and the Filipino youth need your active participation in the national democratic movement. You must continue to raise higher your fighting consciousness and become more determined than ever before in contributing whatever you can to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people for their own national and social liberation.

We are faced today with an unprecedentedly severe and still worsening economic and social crisis of the worst capitalist system as a consequence of the inherent laws of capitalism and the policy of "neoliberal globalization." Even as the people of the world are already suffering from extreme and intolerable exploitation and oppression, the imperialist powers and the puppet regimes are shifting more and more the burden of crisis to the people and are unleashing state terrorism and wars of aggression.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and that of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system combine to inflict the worst forms of oppression and exploitation. The Arroyo regime knows no bounds for betraying the national sovereignty of the people, for serving the greed of imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords, for engaging in corruption and plunder and for violating human rights.

The regime keeps on aggravating the socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system and deserves to be ended by every possible means by the people. The current crisis conditions impose the worst forms of suffering on the people. At the same time, they drive the toiling masses of the people and the middle social strata to struggle for their just national and democratic rights and interests.

For your own sake and for our people, I urge you to contribute whatever you can to the advancement and ultimate victory of the national democratic movement.

# ***A Call to Campaign for Livelihoods and Social Justice***

**August 11, 2009**

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The loss or erosion of livelihoods is the most concrete and widespread impact of the current crisis of the world capitalist system on people's lives, both in the advanced capitalist countries as well as in the underdeveloped countries. Despite recent pronouncements from state officials and the business press that economic recovery is in sight, the global economy continues to tumble with the gross domestic product of the leading capitalist countries still contracting, consumer spending still in decline and unemployment still rising.

As the crisis continues to spread and job losses mount, worldwide unemployment is expected to increase by tens of billions by the end of the year as businesses shut down and capitalists retrench their labor force. This does not include the hundreds of millions of displaced workers and peasants especially in the poor and oppressed countries of the South who are forced to turn to marginal lands and waters in the countryside for their subsistence; eke out a precarious living in the so-called informal /underground economy; or migrate to other countries to work on low-paying and insecure jobs in the absence of better alternatives.

Women, migrant workers and youth are among the most vulnerable sectors in the population amidst the downturn as they are among the first to be laid-off or forced to accept poorer working conditions in order to retain jobs or get new ones. Capitalists force their workers to accept wage cuts, longer working hours, speed-up and short-term contracts in order to squeeze more profits. With the aid of state forces, capitalists bust unions or force them to concede past gains from collective bargaining. Monopoly capitalist firms are taking over huge tracts of land to set up plantations or special economic zones, adding to the millions of landless and jobless poor peasants throughout Asia.

Labor and community organizers and activists are threatened, harassed and even executed. State support for housing, education, health, pensions and other social services for the people are further cut back as taxpayers' money is doled out to the biggest banks and corporations. Migrant workers are also used as scapegoats of the jobs crisis; hence face increasing discrimination, xenophobia and racism.

This bleak landscape is not about to improve in the near future as the global depression deepens. Indeed, even the most optimistic officials who are predicting a recovery by next year – taking the sham stance of prodding financial institutions to start lending again to producers in a glut situation – admit that “labor markets recover only four to five years after the economic recovery.” This means that the additional social hardships brought about by the current global capitalist crisis will persist and only become a heavier burden on the shoulders of the toiling masses for many years to come.

Alongside the increase in joblessness worldwide are the worsening living conditions of the people. One in six people in the world are hungry; 17 infants under the age of five die every minute mostly due to preventable causes; half of all girls in the poorest countries have no access to primary education; half a million mothers will die at childbirth this year due to the lack of basic health services for the poor; and nearly a billion people live in urban slums where illness and death are rife.

These reprehensible conditions will worsen as the effects of the global economic crisis combine with the worsening food and ecological crisis confronting poor and oppressed communities as a result of the increasing control and exploitation of natural resources and the global commons (including the atmosphere, hydrosphere, lithosphere and biosphere) by monopoly capitalists for their superprofits.

Moreover, the ruling classes are now using the global crisis to channel trillions of taxpayers' money to line the pockets of the financial oligarchy, to resuscitate the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and push for more trade liberalization under the World Trade Organization and various free trade agreements. This means more of the same neoliberal globalization policies and financialization that have accelerated the overaccumulation of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie and worsened the crisis of overproduction that is at the root of this new Great Depression.

In this context, there is a pressing need to develop, spread and raise the militancy of mass struggles for employment, land, decent incomes, better working and living conditions, and access to social services while raising

people's consciousness about the fundamental problems in the system of monopoly capitalism and the need for revolutionary social transformation.

Livelihood-related economic struggles have great potential for reinvigorating the mass movements today as it did during the Great Depression of the 1930s. They can certainly be maximized for arousing, organizing and mobilizing people to confront the global economic crisis through militant mass struggle. They also focus on the problems in the real economy (not just the “financial sphere”) and thus have greater potential in exposing the fundamental contradictions in the global capitalist system.

The opportunity is at hand for raising the political consciousness of the people about the need for radical social change and revolutionary struggle. This contrasts with existing international campaigns related to the global crisis which merely focus on reforming the international financial architecture—calling for various reforms in the Bretton Wood institutions, new regulatory mechanisms, plus debt cancellation, fiscal stimulus, etc. – and are confined to NGO lobbying.

A mass campaign must be carried out to confront the economic crisis and demand “livelihoods for social justice”. This means asserting the right of all women and men to find decent and productive work that ensures their security and human dignity, but also work that is engaged in meeting social needs for the present and future generations, including access to food, education, health, housing and basic services for all. Such a demand expresses the basic unity between the interest of the working class and the people, and inspires broad-based struggle for a just, democratic, peaceful and sustainable world.

This is not the same as calling for “emergency employment” or even “full employment” in the Keynesian sense of the term. The latter upholds the primacy of capitalist-production and exchange while the state is given a remedial role, i.e. to fill in the gap due to “market failures”. Therefore it retains all the inherent contradictions and the exploitative character of capitalism. On the other hand, to demand socially productive work for all is to say that we need to move away from the grossly unjust and irrational economic system where production is for private profit even as the most basic needs of the vast majority of people remain unmet. Only a socially-planned economy can ensure that social production meets social needs.

The motive forces for such a mass campaign consist principally of workers (including the unemployed and the semi-proletariat, migrant workers, urban poor communities, etc.); peasants especially those displaced or dispossessed of their means of production or access to resources; small entrepreneurs who are among those being squeezed by the current crisis; and other middle forces committed to the cause of social justice.

To raise the level of struggle from the economic to the political, we must always denounce the imperialist powers, their monopoly banks and firms and their puppet reactionary states for causing the global depression, massive unemployment and social injustice; we must fight every attempt of the oppressors and exploiters to suppress the campaign through the curtailment of our democratic rights; we must build the political strength of the working people and call for their empowerment; and we must aim for the realization of the goals of nation liberation, democracy and socialism.

The campaign's objectives can include the following:

1. to condemn the imperialist banks and firms for the global depression and the loss of livelihoods and aggravation of social injustice;
2. to spur large, numerous, widespread and vigorous mass struggles for decent work, land, housing, universal access to basic services;
3. to oppose the attempts of the ruling classes to pass the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working masses, appropriating the resources necessary for the survival of the vast majority;
4. to expose the criminal neglect of governments and imperialist-controlled international institutions in violating the right to work and the basic needs of the people;
5. to expose the injustice and irrationality of the monopoly capitalist system;
6. to inspire international solidarity among the peoples from all countries to struggle for a fundamentally better world;
7. to help expand and consolidate progressive mass organizations and people's movements across the globe fighting imperialism;
8. to intensify the struggle against the imperialist powers and their reactionary puppets in order to advance the cause of national and social liberation.

Campaigns should be undertaken to produce and disseminate educational materials and to launch mass actions for exposing and opposing how national governments, international financial institutions (IFIs), the WTO, the G20, and other imperialist instruments rob the people of their right to work and their right to life.

Community assemblies should be convened for the people to collectively identify unmet social needs, expose the criminal neglect of the government and formulate an alternative social agenda. Throughout the campaign, there must be study sessions, seminars, workshops at every possible venue on the workings of capitalism and developments in the imperialist-dominated international system.

Similar initiatives may be coordinated internationally through the ILPS, RESIST! and other campaign networks. A global labor/people's manifesto calling for "Livelihoods for Social Justice" must be drawn up and used as an educational and campaign tool to reach out to workers and peoples, and encourage mass struggles in various countries throughout the world. Major international events and activities must be utilized for coming together for common actions.

The campaign can be launched during the G20 summit in September 24-25, 2009 to be held in Pittsburgh, USA. It is necessary to protest against the perpetrators of the crisis and their continuing agenda of exploitation and oppression, and to show that working people are united – whatever our color, gender, nationality, religion or age – to defend common interests. May 1, 2010 can serve as one more high point of the campaign with build-up activities leading up to this date.

The campaign can extend beyond the aforementioned important events inasmuch as the global depression, the loss of livelihoods and social injustice shall persist and there shall be a continuing need for the broad masses of the people to wage resistance from one level to a new and higher level.

# ***On the 2010 Presidential Elections***

**Interview by Jingjing Romero**

**September 22, 2009**

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*1. What are your five fearless forecasts for the 2010 elections?*

JMS: Let me use the presidential contest as the main point of reference. First, the elections will be held, contrary to fears that they will not be held. Second, Arroyo will not dare to cause failure of elections and continue in power. Third, the elections will not be clean and will be characterized by dirty tricks from the Arroyo clique and the military. Fourth, they will be mainly a contest of personalities and money and not a single presidential candidate will dare to make any fundamental criticism of US domination and the local exploiting classes. And fifth, the winning presidential candidate is unlikely to change the US-controlled rotten system of big compradors and landlords.

*2. Do you have an unsolicited advice for each of the presidential candidates?*

JMS: I have an unsolicited advice for all and each of them. Strive to cast away the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society. Understand the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy, seek serious peace negotiations with the revolutionary forces through the NDFP and address the roots of the civil war by forging agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms. Fight for a new Philippines that is truly independent, democratic, just, progressive and peaceful.

Advocate the following: 1) defense of national sovereignty and national independence against foreign control of the economy and the military; 2) democratic empowerment of the toiling masses of worker and peasants and respect for the civil and political rights of the people; 3) economic development and social justice through national industrialization and land reform; 4) promotion of a patriotic, scientific and democratic system of education and culture; and 5) a foreign policy of international solidarity for peace and development against imperialism and all reaction.

*3. What are the five pressing issues that should be the priority of the next administration?*

JMS: The next administration should pay priority attention to the following five issues: First, terminate the unequal treaties and arrangements that keep the Philippines in neocolonial bondage to the US and other foreign powers economically, militarily, politically and culturally. Second, stop human rights violations, punish the human rights violators and open new ways for the workers and peasants to acquire and exercise political power. Third, carry out Filipino-owned industrialization and land reform, punish the corrupt bureaucrats and seize their ill-gotten wealth. Fourth, expand public education, health and other social services for the benefit of the people. Fifth, embark on a new foreign policy independent of US control and dictation and friendly to neighbouring countries.

*4. How do you see the country six years from now, if Erap, Noyonoy, Manny Villar or Chiz Escudero wins?*

JMS: As I have pointed out earlier, in answer to your first question, it is unlikely that the next president or new administration will change the basic character of the ruling system. It is very likely that the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society will be aggravated and deepened in the next six years. Up to now, not one of the presidential candidates has shown a comprehensive and profound view of the rotten character and basic ills of society and has not presented any program of action that would make a fundamental change of the situation for the national and social liberation of the people. Compared to the other election-related political formations, the Koalisyon Makabayan has presented the best program of meaningful change and has excellent senatorial candidates who can win with sheer mass support. But it does not have the financial means to field its own presidential candidate.

All the presidential candidates only make shallow and fragmentary denunciations of the Arroyo regime mainly about bad government and corruption and try to present themselves as the new conductors of good governance and palliative measures. They ignore the ruinous effects of the US-dictated policy of neoliberal globalization and the gross and systematic human rights violations under the US global war of terror against the people. They are preoccupied with making glossy appearances, primping up in a personality contest and scoring better in the poll surveys. With this kind of candidates, we can expect the country to be in a far worse situation in the next six years.

5. *On a scale of 1 to 10, how do you score PGMA's governance?*

JMS: GMA has a failing mark of far lower than positive 1. The condition of the people is far worse now than when she took the reins of reactionary power in 2001. She has aggravated and deepened the exploited and oppressed condition of the people.

6. *What are the five sins of her regime?*

JMS: First, puppetry to US imperialism by following the disastrous policies of neoliberal globalization and war on terrorism. Foreign monopoly interests have been allowed to further tighten their grip on the Philippine economy and keep it dependent on the export of raw materials and low-value re-exports of semi-manufactures. The US military forces have been allowed to become further entrenched on Philippine soil under the Visiting Forces Agreement and under the pretext of combating terrorism.

Second, intensified exploitation of the workers and peasants and even the middle social strata. The economy is in shambles. The real unemployment rate is extremely high. Incomes have sunk while prices of basic commodities soar. The tax burden has become far heavier for the people, while the foreign companies and local exploiters engage in tax evasion and bringing out capital. The economy is depressed and social services are deteriorating. The burden of crisis weighs heavily on the people.

Third, unbridled corruption. GMA herself, her family and her retinue of favored high bureaucrats and top military officers (the entire Arroyo ruling clique) are involved in so many corruption scandals. They flaunt their ill-gotten wealth both in the Philippines and abroad. They have accumulated their wealth by getting kickbacks in all kinds of contracts favoring foreign monopoly interests and the local exploiting classes.

Fourth, state terrorism. Gross and systematic human rights violations have been committed in order to suppress the people's clamor for national liberation, democracy, social justice and development. Unarmed social activists have been abducted, tortured and murdered. The rural and urban poor have been forced out of their land and homes to favor foreign and local exploiters. The rise of state terrorism under the Arroyo regime is in line with the US-instigated global war of terror.

Fifth, massive fraud, scamming and lying. The Arroyo clique has been in power due to the electoral fraud in 2004. The scams made in favor of foreign and local exploiting interests and the human rights violations by the state are described in glittering terms while the regime engages in the most vicious campaigns of slander and demonization against the legal opposition and the revolutionary forces.

7. *What factors shall compel you to come home for good?*

JMS: The complete victory of the people's revolutionary movement for national liberation and democracy is foreseeable in the next ten years. In lesser time, it is also possible to attain a just and lasting peace through peace negotiations and comprehensive agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms. In the meantime, I help to attain a just and lasting peace in my capacity as chief political consultant of the NDFP negotiating panel.

Although at the moment the presidential candidates in general appear uninterested in peace negotiations, it is possible that someday, because of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system and the growing strength of the revolutionary movement, the patriotic and progressive section of the GRP would be amenable to having a historic concord with the NDFP for a just and lasting peace through basic economic and social reforms.

8. *What is your message to the Filipino people?*

JMS: I urge the Filipino people to fight ever more resolutely and militantly for their national and democratic rights. Only through our struggle as a self-respecting people can we achieve national and social liberation and build a new and better Philippines. The people must take their destiny in their own hands and make a Philippines that is truly independent, democratic, prosperous, socially just, progressive and peaceful.

# ***Message of Solidarity to BAYAN on its 8<sup>th</sup> National Congress***

**October 23, 2009**

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We of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) welcome wholeheartedly the holding of the 8<sup>th</sup> National Congress of Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN). On this special occasion, we express our solidarity with the leadership and member-organizations of BAYAN and all the national sectoral and chapter delegates, including those from BAYAN-USA and BAYAN-Canada and the BAYAN desks in Japan and Hong Kong.

We are proud of BAYAN as the strongest formation in the Philippine chapter of the ILPS. We salute BAYAN for being the most comprehensive and largest alliance of class, sectoral and issue-based forces that pursue the general line of struggle for genuine national independence and democracy against imperialism and local reaction.

It includes the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata, the women, the youth and various types of professionals and the advocates of human rights, social reforms, just peace, healthy environment and other causes. It has a comprehensive range of capabilities. It can rally the people to confront the most powerful adversaries, to surmount the social disasters as well as the natural disasters that these aggravate and to fight and work for a new and better Philippines.

We congratulate you for all your victories in building your strength and in serving the people. We join you in anticipating that the congress will succeed in assessing and evaluating the five-year work of BAYAN from 2004 to 2009 and will be able to set forth the political and organizational tasks of rebuilding and strengthening the regional and provincial formations, which have borne the main brunt of fascist attacks.

We share with you the hope that the congress will pave the way for a meaningful and bountiful celebration of the 25th anniversary of the founding of BAYAN as the main alliance of patriotic and progressive forces and as a powerful center of the national democratic movement in the Philippines.

We live today under the harsh conditions of the worst crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system since the end of World War II. The broad masses of the people are undergoing terrible suffering. At the same time, they are being driven to wage struggles against their oppressors and exploiters.

The crisis conditions are favorable for BAYAN to arouse, organize and mobilize the Filipino people to fight for their own national and democratic rights and interests against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We must seize every moment to expand and consolidate the organized forces for the national and social liberation of the people.

The global financial and economic crisis continues to worsen, contrary to the claims of recovery by the G-20. The imperialist states cling to the dogma of "free market" globalization and providing public funds to bail out the big banks and the big firms in the military-industrial complex that in the first place made the crisis. Thus, the imperialists cannot solve the crisis but aggravate it and are generating new financial bubbles.

The crisis relentlessly attacks the working people. The monopolies extract superprofits by further cutting down wage incomes and engaging in mass lay-offs. Thus, mass consumption and the market continue to contract. The imperialist powers always try to pass the burden of crisis to the underdeveloped countries. They use the crisis to further cheapen the exports of these countries, seize the natural resources, expand the market and field of investments for monopoly firms and impose a heavier debt burden on the people.

The imperialist powers headed by the US persist in their global war of terror against the people of the world. Together with puppet regimes, they use state terrorism to suppress the people and wage wars of aggression against countries assertive of their independence. They presume that they can overcome the crisis, their protectionist tendency and their struggle for a redivision of the world by escalating the oppression and exploitation of the people of the world.

The oppressed peoples and nations are more determined than ever before to wage revolutionary struggles for national liberation and democracy and look forward to a socialist future. The working class in imperialist countries and elsewhere is pressed hard by the crisis to fight for immediate anti-imperialist and democratic goals and to perform its historic role of bringing about and building socialism.

Under the weight of the global financial and economic crisis, the crisis of the long-rotten semicolonial and



semifeudal ruling system is accelerated and deepened. Philippine exports of raw materials and low value-added semimanufactures have shrunk. Overseas contract workers are in less demand and remit less earnings to the country. Foreign credit has become scarce while the interest payments and amortization of the accumulated debt are unbearable. Even as the economy is depressed, the Arroyo regime keeps on increasing the people's tax burden and is using the tax revenues mainly for debt service, military expenditures and graft-ridden projects and programs.

Subservience to the US-dictated policy of "neoliberal globalization" has prevented national industrialization and land reform and has ruined agricultural production for domestic consumption. The export-oriented and import-dependent enterprises are either closing down or reducing production. The rate of unemployment has risen steeply. The income levels of the working people and middle class have gone down abruptly and yet the prices of basic commodities and services are soaring.

The broad masses of the people are in dire economic straits. Social unrest is widespread and rising in intensity. The revolutionary forces of the people are growing in strength and advancing. The socioeconomic crisis is fuelling the political crisis of the ruling system. The contradictions among the competing political factions of the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords are intensifying and becoming more bitter and violent as the ruling clique strains to monopolize the spoils of power and as the opposition is quick to expose corruption and other wrongdoings.

The Arroyo regime has long unleashed state terrorism and perpetrated systematic and gross violations of human rights in a vain attempt to suppress the growing armed revolutionary movement and intimidate the broad range of legal opposition forces, including the reactionary ones and the progressive ones spearheaded by BAYAN. The regime has been emboldened to engage in the most despicable barbarities under Oplan Bantay Laya by the US-directed global war of terrorism. It has allowed the deployment of US military forces on Philippine territory under the Visiting Forces Agreement.

The campaigns of military and police suppression of the workers, peasants and national minorities and the abduction, torture and extrajudicial killing of social activists by the regime have served even more to incite the broad masses of the people to wage various forms of resistance and to isolate the regime internationally, thanks to the help of human rights organizations, overseas Filipino communities and solidarity organizations. The plan of the regime to defeat or reduce the revolutionary movement to inconsequentiality has utterly failed, as proven by the growing tactical offensives of the people's army nationwide.

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) has engaged in peace negotiations with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) for many years. But the GRP has paralyzed these negotiations for more than 95 percent of the time by trying to put aside the negotiations on social, economic and political reforms and to maneuver the NDFP towards capitulation and pacification within the framework of disarming and demobilizing the people's army and preserving the semicolonial and semifeudal system of oppression and exploitation.

The Arroyo ruling clique has given up the scheme to amend the 1987 constitution in order to adopt a parliamentary system and keep itself in power. While the 2010 elections are in sight, there are fears of the opposition that the ruling clique will cause a breakdown of the automated system of the elections, declare a failure of elections and run a caretaker government.

It is more likely that the Arroyo ruling clique will favor its own slate of candidates under the banner of Lakas-KAMPI and will put side bets on one more presidential and on lower-position candidates who belong to other parties in a scheme to get their support for the nonprosecution and condonation of Arroyo, her family and cronies for their crimes of plunder and human rights violations. The ruling clique is worried that the candidates of its own party would lose and is preparing to engage in massive fraud in the elections.

Until now, the presidential candidates or political parties of the reactionary classes present themselves as rivals in a personality-based popularity contest. Those on the opposition side merely claim to be for good governance against the regime's record of corruption, incompetence and repression. They have not put forward comprehensive political statements or political programs that present the basic political, socioeconomic, cultural and ecological problems of the people and offer the basic reforms to be undertaken.

The patriotic and progressive forces of the people like BAYAN and its member-organizations can take the moral high ground and clarify what are the principles and policies that ought to be adopted and implemented in serving the people. Makabayan as the people's democratic coalition and the progressive partylist groups are the

forces that directly engage in the electoral struggle by fielding candidates, slating them and campaigning for them.

Even if not registered by the COMELEC, Makabayan is an effective electoral alliance distinctive for having a clear program and a large active mass base. It is formidable in a political landscape in which there is a big but discredited ruling reactionary party and too many small reactionary opposition parties. It can play the highly significant role of selecting and endorsing the candidates that take up the national and democratic rights of the people and, at the same, encouraging and rallying the people to support and elect such candidates.

All the patriotic and progressive forces of the people must wilfully and vigorously make the following demands in the course of the mass movement, including the electoral campaign: uphold national independence against the dominance and dictates of the imperialist powers headed by the US; realize democracy through the empowerment of the working people and respect for human rights; develop the economy through national industrialization and land reform; promote a national, scientific and mass culture; protect the environment from imperialist plunder and destruction; and pursue an independent foreign policy for world peace and development.

These demands must be elaborated and expressed in full against the concrete factors and conditions that are inimical to the rights and interests of the people. We must do away with the unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements in economic, political, military and cultural terms. We must end the system and processes that exclude and oppress the working people. We must put a stop to the plundering of our human and natural resources by the foreign monopolies, the big compradors and landlords. We must repudiate the ideas and patterns of behavior arising from imperialist and feudal culture. We must ban the imperialist and local reactionary ravagers of the environment. We must oppose the imperialist powers, their global plundering and aggressive wars.

BAYAN must do its best to take up the basic demands of the people and the burning issues of the day. Without any respite, it must arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people to fight for their national and democratic rights and interests. You and the people must overcome the violence and deception that the adversary unleashes to stop, derail or limit what you can accomplish towards a fundamental change of society. From the struggle itself, you and the people learn how to solve problems, hurdle the obstacles, gain strength and advance.

We of the ILPS wish your congress the utmost success. May it succeed in summing up your experience, identifying the strengths to enhance and the weaknesses and difficulties to overcome and setting forth the tasks that will bring you to a new and higher level of unity, all-round strength and militant service to the people. We look forward to further significant victories of BAYAN on time for its 25th founding anniversary and in all the years to come.

## ***Book Review of the Unholy Allied Mountains***

**May 28, 2010**

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The *Unholy Allied Mountains* by Rudy D. Liporada has a highly significant content. It is truly a novel of and about the New People's Army. It tells the story of an entire people, mass activists and revolutionary cadres whom I have known. It celebrates their heroism and inspires us all now and in the future to serve the people and carry the revolution forward.

It focuses on the concrete circumstances and experience of the leading character, his revolutionary commitment since university days, his active role in the struggle of the people of Cordillera, torture in the hands of the fascist dictatorship, the pain of being steadfastly committed in theory but separated from the revolutionary mass movement for decades, the ever insistent need for return to and vindication in the Cordillera and the attainment of vindication through a successful tactical offensive of the people's army. The personal narrative is at the same time a collective one, unfolding the revolutionary struggle of the people of the Cordillera, the perseverance and growth of the revolutionary forces on a regional and national scale and the vibrant fact of international solidarity.

The novel is well-written. The author is an excellent story teller. He succeeds in building up the theme of personal and collective vindication or redemption, one by the revolutionary himself and by the revolutionary movement. He presents well the tensions and contradictions and brings them to a fulfilling resolution. He is served well by his personal experience and by his skills as a feature writer. He is good at building up his scenes with graphic images and the actions of his characters. He is economical with dialogue and prefers the terse expressions of people in real life. The novel reads like a movie script and can be easily turned into one.

I urge comrades and friends in the movement for national liberation and democracy in the Philippines and abroad to read the novel. It is a significant contribution to creative writing on the Philippine revolution. On the pages of this novel, the revolutionary struggle of the people of the Cordillera and the Philippines comes to life through believable characters and realistic situations and struggles. The novel is inspiring. It lays bare the oppression and exploitation of the people, underscores the justness of their revolutionary struggle and points to the bright future of the people because of their struggle for national and social liberation.

# ***Unforgettable Years as English Major***

## **Contribution to the Bio-History Project in Celebration of the Centennial of the English Department of the University of the Philippines, June 25, 2010**

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I had wished to take an undergraduate course in journalism as my preparation for going to the UP College of Law. Thus, I enrolled in the journalism and creative writing program of the English Department in June 1956. The following year the name of the program or the program itself seemed to have disappeared. I simply became an English major.

When I first arrived in UP Diliman, I was impressed by the Oblation and by the panorama of green framing the awesomely tall structures of concrete. I thought that the campus was conducive to study and poetic flights as well as physical exercise from building to building. I liked the wide spaces of Diliman even as I had to spend much of the time in enclosures, like the classrooms and the basement cafeteria of the College of Liberal Arts or the little green house between the pavilions of the biological and physical sciences.

### ***The struggle between the liberals and the religio-sectarians***

UP Diliman was interesting for being refreshingly different from the universities inserted in downtown Manila amidst the dusty cacophony of the motor traffic. It was even more interesting as a battleground of contending ideas. I came to the UP exactly when there was an intense struggle between the liberals and the religio-sectarians. Just before my enrollment as freshman, the pious UP president Dr. Vidal Tan inflamed the struggle by delivering a commencement address harping on Christian heritage as the core of academic responsibility.

The American Jesuit priest Fr. John Delaney, Catholic chaplain of the UP Diliman community, had launched a crusade together with the UP Student Catholic Action and the faculty-based Iota Eta Sigma to abolish the fraternities for being incorrigibly violent, to rid the university of atheists and communists, to install a department of religion and to replace Philosophy 1 (Symbolic Logic) with Mathematics 0 (Deductive Reasoning) as a General Education requirement.

On August 26, 1956, 154 professors and four administrators joined up to form the Society for the Advancement of Academic Freedom. They decried the recrudescence of religious intolerance and advocated the liberal principle of the separation of church and state. The logical positivist and agnostic Dr. Ricardo Pascual, head of the Philosophy Department, stood his ground against accusations that his department was promoting atheism and argued the need for inductive reasoning provided by symbolic logic.

The struggle between the liberals and the religio-sectarians raged in the campus electoral campaigns, in the student council, in the Philippine Collegian and in faculty meetings. The UPSCA was a powerhouse in campus politics as it sought to stigmatize the fraternities for hazing neophytes. In a counteroffensive to the religio-sectarians, the Philippine Collegian under the editorship of Jose Masakayan published a book on academic freedom.

The 1957 enactment of the Anti-Subversion Law, which had been pushed by the American Jesuit priest Arthur Weiss and the US embassy, tended to favor the religio-sectarians who Red-baited the liberals on the campus and who sniped at the Noli-Fili Law and Prof. Teodoro Agoncillo's *Revolt of the Masses*. But the Recto nationalist crusade had continued to impact on the most discerning UP faculty members and students since Recto delivered in 1951 his address against the mendicant foreign policy of the Philippine government. For inviting him to speak, Dr. Bienvenido Gonzales was removed by President Elpidio Quirino and replaced by the Catholic Church recommendee Dr. Vidal Tan.

The liberals in the UP could never forget the interference of Quirino, especially because UP president Dr. Vidal Tan was a church militant ever inspiring to the religio-sectarians on the UP campus. However, he resigned in 1957 after losing support within the Board of Regents. When Dr. Vicente Sinco assumed the presidency in 1958, he suspended the UPSCA-dominated Student Council for acts violative of the separation of church and state and for fomenting religious strife. He appointed progressive professors to become heads of faculty departments. He accorded professorial tenure to progressive lecturers. He launched the Colloquium Series on Nationalism.

When I was a college freshman, I took for granted that the English Department had a large number of faculty

members and occupied a large space in front of the lobby of the College of Liberal Arts and that all students of whatever field of study had to take 12 units of English in four semesters. What impressed me most was the long line of nationally well-known writers, both conservative and progressive, who had belonged to the English Department as teachers or students. The writer alumni of the department included Carlos P. Romulo, Salvador Lopez and Jose Lansang. The best known creative writers who were then in the department were the novelist N. V. M. Gonzales, short story writers Francisco Arcellana and Rony V. Diaz, the poets Ricaredo Demetillo, Virginia Moreno and Alfonso Santos and the playwright Wilfredo Ma. Guerrero. The best known essayists who were either scholars or literary critics included Leopoldo Yabes, S. V. Epistola, Elmer Ordonez and students Epifanio San Juan, Petronilo Bn. Daroy and Benito Lim. The best known journalists who were professorial lecturers were the columnist I. P. Soliongco and editors Armando J. Malay and Hernando Abaya.

I had excellent teachers. I would consider as best those who, irrespective of their philosophical or political viewpoints, had effective teaching skills. They had a mastery of their subject. They were systematic in presentation and articulate. They encouraged critical thinking and discussion between mentor and students. They included Maria Santos my teacher in English grammar and composition and my teachers in higher English Dr. Alberto Morales, Dolores Stephens Feria, Leopoldo Yabes, Concepcion Dadufalza, J. D. Constantino, Armando Malay, Alejandro Casambre, Nilda Joven, Ricaredo Demetillo and Francisco Arcellana.

The English Department was a base of the Iota Eta Sigma, the conservative Catholic faculty group. But there were also the teachers and students who belonged to the progressive liberal current. The department was a hot-bed of controversies. I came to know about the contending groups of faculty members in the struggle between the liberals and the religio-sectarians. I also observed how the student Epifanio San Juan, who was well known for his exegesis of Jean Paul Sartre, got into trouble with the moral or prudish majority in the department, represented by J. D. Constantino, when he used a supposedly forbidden word in a poem.

### ***My share of controversies***

I had my share of controversies. The first one arose when, as president of the UP Journalism Club, I invited Fr. Hilario Lim in early 1959 to speak on the issue of Filipinizing the foreign-controlled religious orders and academic institutions. He had just been expelled by the Jesuit order for his advocacy of Filipinization. The club adviser Prof. Amando Malay and I thought that it would be informative, enlightening and beneficial for the UP academic community to listen to Fr. Lim.

We were disappointed that upon the advice of Prof. Ricardo Pascual the Sinco administration refused to allow Fr. Lim to speak in the UP on the ground that he was a priest and that allowing him to speak would infringe on the principle of the separation of the church and state. I criticized and protested the ban in the campus and national media. Fr. Lim himself picketed Quezon Hall for several weeks. After he left the priesthood, Prof. Teodoro A. Agoncillo took him as a faculty member in the Department of History.

It was in 1958 that I matured as a progressive liberal, differentiated myself from the conservative and pro-imperialist kind of liberal and began to study Marxism systematically. I gained access to Marxist books in the cellar of the UP Main library and in the private libraries of some professors. From my readings and observation of social reality, I came eventually to the conclusion that the unfinished Philippine revolution could be resumed under the leadership of the working class and on the basis of the worker-peasant-intelligentsia alliance in order to achieve national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

I finished in three years the four-year program for Bachelor of Arts in English by taking extra loads during regular terms and two summers. I was in a hurry to proceed to the College of Law until Julie de Lima and I decided to get married in 1959. In order to have a source of income to augment her salary as a librarian, I had to apply to the English Department for the NEC-AID scholarship grant and teaching fellowship, which required me to teach English and take the masteral course in English and Comparative Literature from 1959 to 1961.

Together with other graduate students as well as with undergraduate students in various colleges and departments, I formed the Student Cultural Association of the UP (SCAUP) and became its chairman in 1959. Our purpose was to confront the UP Student Catholic Action at the level of struggle between the liberal and the religio-sectarians, to have an alliance with the progressive liberals and to raise the level of struggle to one between the Left and the Right on a comprehensive range of social, economic, political and cultural issues, going beyond the issue of academic freedom and civil liberties.

We criticized and repudiated the official ideology of the state and the UP, which is the conservative and pro-imperialist type of liberalism that runs counter to the progressive liberalism and anti-colonialism of the old national democratic revolution of 1896. We were critical of the overwhelming influence of US cultural imperialism over Philippine society and the university. We appreciated Teodoro Agoncillo's writing of Philippine history from the viewpoint of the Filipino people and the scholarly works rediscovering and promoting the national democratic revolution. We heeded the call of Recto for a Second Propaganda Movement. We aimed to nurture the embryo of the revolutionary university within the counterrevolutionary university and to get rid of the cultural hegemony of US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

We intended to raise the level of intellectual and political struggle within the UP by propagating among the students, faculty members and nonacademic employees the line of national democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class and by undertaking group discussions in Marxism which had to be clandestine because of the Anti-Subversion Law. We gave priority to the recruitment of three distinct types of students: those who were leading other campus organizations, those who could write for the *Philippine Collegian* and those who had good marks and were thus qualified to run in campus elections.

The SCAUP went into action, arousing and mobilizing the students for mass protest in March 1961, when the congressional Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) subpoenaed UP professors for investigation regarding articles in UP publications which the CAFA considered communist and in violation of the Anti-Subversion Law. The articles were the "Peasant War in the Philippines: A study of the causes of social unrest in the Philippines—an analysis of the Philippine political economy" in the *Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review* in 1958, the editorial "The Tower of Babel" in the 1960 *Philippinensian* and my feature article "Requiem for Lumumba" (under the pen name Andres Gregorio) in the March 1, 1961 issue of the *Philippine Collegian*.

The SCAUP cooperated with the Inter-Fraternity and Sorority Conference (IFSC), headed by the SCAUP member and English major Ferdinand Tinio, in convening the meeting of UP student leaders to discuss, decide and plan the protest rally against the CAFA anti-communist witch hunt and the Anti-Subversion Law. The student leaders signed the manifesto proposed by the SCAUP. The main slogan was the defense of academic freedom and civil liberties. The content of the articles at issue was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. The *Philippine Collegian* supported the protest rally. It was held on March 14, 1961, with the participation of 5,000 students. Hundreds of them succeeded in entering the Congress hall and literally scuttled the CAFA hearings. Outraged by the anti-communist witch hunt and inspired by the success of the anti-CAFA rally, the *Philippine Collegian* published editorials, columns and feature articles that did not only defend academic freedom and civil liberties but also propagated the ideas of the national democratic movement against imperialism and feudalism. The consecutive editorships of Reynato Puno, Leonardo Quisumbing, Luis V. Teodoro, Jr., Ferdinand Tinio and Rene Navarro in the early 1960s promoted the national democratic line. Teodoro and Tinio were from the English Department.

The editors were either members or friends of the SCAUP and welcomed the contributions from progressive writers, including those from SCAUP. The *Philippine Collegian* became a highly important medium for expressing the ideas of the national democratic movement not only in the UP but also beyond. Petronilo Bn. Daroy and I initiated and edited a series of little magazines to spread patriotic and progressive views on major issues. The magazines included *Fugitive Review*, *Cogent* and *Diliman Observer* in 1960 and 1961. Each was short-lived for lack of funds to pay for printing. It would only be in 1963 that the *Progressive Review* could come out as a relatively stable publication, lasting up to 1968.

In one more controversy, I engaged the English Department head Dr. Dionisia Rola in a debate on the pages of the *Philippine Collegian* regarding the content of the English subject called Great Thoughts. I criticized the fact that the study materials were predominantly texts of Catholic thinkers, like Cardinal Newman, G. K. Chesterton, Jacques Maritain, Hilaire Belloc and Etienne Gilson. I demanded that progressive writings, including those of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao and other Marxist thinkers and revolutionaries, should also be included in the syllabus for the subject.

As a result of the anti-CAFA rally, the English Department did not renew my teaching fellowship. The loss of my teaching fellowship at the English Department was a blessing in disguise for the national democratic movement. I gained time to do political work among students on the UP campus and on other campuses. Aroused by the anti-CAFA rally, students in other universities in downtown Manila became interested in the student movement in the UP. I initiated study circles among students in the Philippine College of Commerce, the University of

the East, the Manuel L. Quezon University and the Lyceum University in 1961 and 1962. The SCAUP members and their fellow progressives in other universities joined the Kabataang Makabayan, which would play a key role in the nationwide spread of the new democratic movement.

### ***Debt of gratitude to the English department and the UP***

In my intellectual development, I owe an immeasurable debt of gratitude to my teachers in the English Department. They emphasized to me the importance of scientific outlook, scholarship, critical thinking and creativity. They encouraged me to read and study a wide range of creative works and literary criticism and to appreciate the writing style of various authors. I was comfortable with and inspired by teachers whose views were agreeable to me. But even in the case of teachers with whom I did not agree, I was challenged by their views and learned from the way they communicated these in writing and speech.

I had many teachers who assiduously followed the course outline and prodded the students to read beyond the textbook or even beyond the syllabus. I was always free to choose the topic for the research paper required in a subject. I experienced a wide range of teaching styles: polished and learned, dramatic and persuasive, outline-conscious but anecdotal and funny or simple and humdrum in the classroom but demanding in the assignment of homework or library work. I prefer not to mention the teachers concerned because I might be accused of stereotyping them. They had more complex characters and were not reducible to my impressions. Nevertheless, I was fortunate not to have any authoritarian teacher (the so-called terror type) because I avoided them like the plague.

Whatever I learned in terms of content and style from my teachers in the English Department served me well when I myself became a teacher and when I plunged further into activism for the national democratic movement. In both preoccupations, I found most useful and effective the research, writing and speaking skills that I developed as an English major. From so many term papers and speaking exercises, I learned to compose my thoughts, introducing, building up and letting them march to the conclusion. And, of course, the best that I learned from the poetry reading assignments was to hone my own skill at writing poetry.

As a teaching fellow in the English Department from 1959 to 1961, my first assignment was to teach English grammar and composition and intensive English which involved putting students with deficiencies in English through drills in grammar and pronunciation. I certainly learned to be diligent, patient and adept at using time because teaching intensive English was grueling and time-consuming. This involved daily classroom exercises and frequent correction of written tests.

It took a lot of energy from me to the prejudice of my reading obligations in my masteral course, my extracurricular political and literary activities, and family responsibilities. To aggravate my situation, the UP vice president gave me speech writing assignments. Fortunately before I could rebel against my excessive work load, the head of the English department wrote a strongly worded memorandum to the UP vice president to advise him to stop giving me additional work load. I learned quite early to work my way through the academic bureaucracy.

As regards my political activism, especially its critical and revolutionary content, I had drawn positive and negative lessons from my personal experience, social observations and education since childhood. But of course, it was while I was an undergraduate English major that I matured as a patriotic and progressive liberal and advanced further to being a Marxist revolutionary, due to extracurricular readings and activities and interactions with teachers and students in the English Department and other departments. All these were available to me within the latitude of what the English Department and the entire university proclaimed as liberal education.

I am always proud of having been an English major for the reasons that I have already presented. English has been a medium for my philosophical, political, artistic and emotional development. By force of circumstances, it is still the main official medium of university education and professional and bureaucrat transactions.

I find English as a medium of great service to the people on the domestic and international scale even as the national democratic movement, including me, has long demanded the adoption of the national language as the main medium and I have learned how to use it in writing and speaking.

Everyone understands that the English language, even as it was imposed by US imperialism, can be used by the national democratic movement in the Second Propaganda Movement in the same way that Jose Rizal as well as other leaders used Spanish against Spanish colonialism and US imperialism.

# ***On the 2010 Elections***

**Interview by D. L. Mondelo, *Bulatlat* correspondent**

**April 10, 2010**

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*1. Claims are persistent that the Arroyo ruling clique is engineering a failure of elections and will remain in power after the 2010 elections. Do you believe such claims? Why?*

JMS: I don't believe such claims. Arroyo will not dare to stay in power beyond June 2010 without the consent of her imperialist master. I do not think that the US has any special interest in keeping her in power and offending all those presidential candidates who have spent money and effort in the current electoral campaign. Arroyo is not indispensable to the US.

She herself is smart enough to know that she does not have the advantages that Marcos had in 1972 to be able to declare martial law and that if she dared to stay in power beyond June 2010 a broad united front of opposition forces and military factions would sweep her away from power within a short period of time.

It would be greatly advantageous for the people and the revolutionary forces if Arroyo would make the foolish mistake of keeping herself in power beyond June 2010. Such a mistake would further inflame the broad masses of the people to rebel and boost the strategic plan of the revolutionary forces to advance from strategic defensive to strategic stalemate in the people's war.

*2. What is your general view of the character and conduct of the electoral contest in 2010, especially among the four major presidential candidates?*

JMS: The general character of the electoral contest is determined by the overwhelming predominance of candidates who are themselves big compradors and landlords and who are political agents of the evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The debate among the four major presidential candidates is shallow and superficial. It has not dealt seriously with the basic problems that are the root causes of the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people. It has trivialized the people's clamor for change. All the four major candidates are oblivious of the crisis now wracking the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system due to the US policy dictates of neoliberal globalization and global war of terror.

The two front-runners, Aquino and Villar, are very simplistic in presenting themselves as the best choice for the electorate. Aquino presents himself as the paragon of clean and honest government in contrast to the corrupt Arroyo regime. Villar presents himself as the example of a poor man who overcomes poverty through sheer personal diligence and perseverance.

*3. Between Aquino and Villar, who is likely to win? What are the factors to consider in making estimates?*

JMS: Aquino remains No. 1 in the latest polls by the Social Weather Station and Pulse Asia. And Villar has lost substantial points supposedly because of the effectiveness of the Villarroyo line against him. Now, he is trying hard to react by harping on the Gloriaquino line and pointing to the Aquino relatives occupying high positions in the Arroyo regime.

There are several important factors involved in winning the presidential post. These include the personal characteristics of the candidates, the money and political skills for using the media (especially the infomercials), street level propaganda and buying the support of those who deliver votes at the provincial, district and municipal levels.

In the few remaining weeks, all factors will be at play with full intensity. But the most important factor will be the distribution of money to the local leaders who deliver the votes. The source of money usually includes the big comprador-landlord interests and the US and other foreign interests through cutouts among the local big businessmen. The final-month push by Ramos in vote-buying in 1992 is a classic example.

*4. You seem to dismiss both Aquino and Villar as having the same class characteristics. But which one offers a relatively better program?*

JMS: Manny Villar offers the relatively better program, which unfortunately has been underplayed during the campaign. He promises land reform and self-reliant food production, expansion of local manufacturing to generate employment, support for small and middle entrepreneurs, conservation of natural resources, ecological



protection, peace negotiations, review of the Visiting Forces Agreement, respect for human rights, indemnification of the victims of human rights violations and independent foreign policy.

Noynoy Aquino and Mar Roxas are rabid exponents of the US-dictated policy of neoliberal globalization, which has put the Philippine economy in severe crisis and is inflicting terrible suffering on the people. In this regard, they are the economic policy soulmates and the real presidential and vice presidential candidates of the free marketer and tax gouger Arroyo in view of the weakness of the administration presidential candidate Gibo Teodoro.

Like his late mother, Aquino will pay lip service to land reform but will actually prevent it in so many clever ways. In the particular case of Hacienda Luisita, he will insist on the scam or swindle called the stock distribution option in order to prevent land reform. He promises a clean and honest government but the Kamag-Anak, Inc. and other vested interests are financing his campaign and are prepared to collect the spoils of bureaucrat capitalism and subservience to foreign economic interests.

*5. Which of the two front-runners would be more amenable to having serious peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines? Why?*

JMS: Both Aquino and Villar promise to have negotiations with the NDFP. The important question is which of them is more amenable to negotiate in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration and agree with the NDFP on the social, economic and political reforms in order to address the roots of the armed conflict and make a just and lasting peace.

Villar appears to be more amenable because of the program that he has spelled out. There are people around him to advise him to accelerate the peace negotiations.

If he becomes president, Aquino would likely continue to get advice from Bobby and Erin Tañada to move on honestly with the peace negotiations.

But there are many elements in the Aquino camp who are rabid anti-communists and pseudo-progressives who will advise Aquino to pretend being for peace negotiations as a way of deceiving the people and sharpening the sword of reaction in a renewed futile attempt to destroy the revolutionary movement.

*6. What would you tell the new president as encouragement to engage in peace negotiations? Where and how should the peace negotiations be held. What degree of progress in the peace negotiations would allow you to return for a visit or permanent stay in the Philippines?*

JMS: I would remind the new president that the socioeconomic and political crisis is worsening, that the people and the revolutionary forces are already in the process of raising the level of the people's war and that it is worth trying to agree on social, economic and political reforms in order to make a just and lasting peace in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration and the subsequent agreements.

The peace negotiations should continue to be held in a foreign neutral venue, with the help of the Norwegian government as third party facilitator. It is extremely complicated, costly and risky to hold peace negotiations in the Philippines. You can imagine the large-scale mobilization of security forces on both the sides of the GRP and NDFP every time that there are talks. It would take too much time for the GRP and NDFP to formally agree on the scope of their respective territories as well as the neutral or buffer zones. The NDFP side would also have to take into account the dangers of GPS surveillance and the related electronic weapons.

I would certainly go back to the Philippines to live the rest of my life if there would be a just and lasting peace as a result of the peace negotiations. But I think that as soon as a comprehensive agreement on social and economic reforms can be signed by the principals of the GRP and NDFP I would consider going to the Philippines at least for a short visit.

*7. Are the revolutionary forces helping in any way any of the electoral coalitions, parties and candidates? Is it true, as charged by the military, that the revolutionary forces are supporting any candidate so long as he or she pays for the permit to campaign or permit to win?*

JMS: As chief political consultant of the NDFP in peace negotiations with the GRP, I am not in a position to know in sufficient detail about the concrete relations of the revolutionary forces with electoral coalitions, parties and candidates for presidential, legislative and local executive positions.

I presume that as a matter of principle the revolutionary forces do not endorse or support the ruling system and its electoral system in particular. However, in line with the policy of the broad united front, the revolutionary forces may have appropriate relations with their allies who are engaged in the electoral contest.

As to be expected, the military officials of the ruling system would hurl all kinds of allegations and invectives against the revolutionary forces. But I would presume that certain allies would extend various kinds of donations and support to the revolutionary forces in order to help them undertake programs, projects and activities that are of social benefit to the people.

*8. In your view, is it alright for Satur Ocampo and Liza Maza to be in the NP senatorial slate and to be with Bongbong Marcos? What are the chances of Satur and Liza?*

JMS: It is of public knowledge that Satur and Liza are on the NP senatorial slate on the basis of a bilateral alliance between Makabayan and the NP. Makabayan has considered the NP as a worthy ally because of its acceptable program, which is patriotic and progressive.

However, after the NP-Makabayan alliance was established, the NP included Bongbong Marcos as a candidate in its senatorial slate. We know from press reports that Satur and Liza protested and threatened to withdraw from the NP senatorial slate. And that they were satisfied only after Villar publicly clarified that they were not compromised as guest candidates in the senatorial slate by the inclusion of Bongbong as another guest candidate and that the program of the NP remains firm on respect for human rights and indemnification of the victims of human rights violations during the Marcos regime.

The latest poll surveys done by SWS and Pulse Asia do not rank Satur and Liza above Nos. 26 to 29. I hope that their rating will improve in the remaining weeks.

*9. What are the chances of the progressive partylist groups?*

JMS: The latest poll survey of Pulse Asia shows that they are doing well. Gabriela and Bayan Muna are at the top, each assured of three members of Congress. Anakpawis is assured of two and can aim for one more. Kabataan is also assured of one and can aim for one more.

There are other progressive partylist groups. My estimate is that there will be a significant increase of members of Congress who come from the progressive partylist groups.

*10. Will the 2010 elections produce a new type of leadership to veer the ruling system away from its worst features? Will there be any significant change in the socioeconomic and political system for the better as a result of the elections? How will the revolutionary movement respond to the crisis situation and to whatever kind of leadership will arise in the ruling system?*

JMS: Without a sufficiently strong progressive mass movement, there can be no certainty that the 2010 elections will produce a new type of leadership to veer the ruling system away from its worst features and cause a significant change for the better. The kind of debate carried out by the four major presidential candidates in the electoral campaign shows that there is little or nothing to expect from the next president. Within its first six months or first year, the new regime will be tested whether it is interested in serious peace negotiations or not.

Without a strong mass movement to advance their national and democratic interests, the Filipino people will continue to be oppressed and exploited with impunity by the foreign monopolies, the big comprador-landlords and the corrupt bureaucrats. The socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system will continue to worsen. The ruling clique and the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords will become more incapable than ever of ruling in the old way.

The revolutionary forces and people will certainly demand revolutionary change. It is timely for the CPP to have issued the call for advancing the people's war, from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate during the forty-first anniversaries of the CPP and the NPA.

**April 17, 2010**

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1. *Our interview on the 2010 elections last week attracted a great deal of attention from the top mass media in Manila and elicited reactions from certain major political quarters. First of all, what do you think of the reaction of the presidential spokesman Gary Olivar? He said to the effect that because you had expressed support for Manny Villar you accepted the existing ruling system and that you would be amenable to a peace agreement without any revolutionary change.*

JMS: The presidential spokesman should read carefully the full text of the interview in *Bulatlat*. I described the ruling system as one in need of basic social reforms and revolutionary change because the system is run by the oppressive and exploitative forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

I referred to the 2010 elections as one dominated by the big compradors and landlords. I did not endorse the ruling system and I made clear that all the major presidential candidates, including Noynoy Aquino and Manny Villar, are competing to become the chief representative of the same rotten system, which I described as semi-colonial and semifeudal.

I merely compared the two top presidential contenders, Aquino and Villar, in answer to your specific question. Indeed, Villar offers the relatively better program by promising land reform and self-reliant food production, expansion of local manufacturing to generate employment, support for small and middle entrepreneurs, conservation of natural resources, ecological protection, peace negotiations, respect for human rights, indemnification of the victims of human rights violations, review of the Visiting Forces Agreement and independent foreign policy.

2. *What about the reaction of the spokesman of Noynoy Aquino, Edwin Lacierda? He said that because you support Villar he is therefore supported by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. He went further to claim that you and therefore the CPP, NPA and the NDFP were responsible for the protest demonstration of peasants and farmworkers in front of the residence of Noynoy Aquino.*

JMS: The non-sequiturs are plenty and amazing. The spin doctor of Noynoy Aquino is as maliciously way off the mark as the spin doctor of Gloria M. Arroyo. I am just the chief political consultant of the NDFP in peace negotiations with the reactionary Manila government. I never said that I represented the CPP, NPA and NDFP in making a comparison between Manny Villar and Noynoy Aquino.

The Noynoy Aquino camp should not dismiss the series of injustices done to the peasants and farmworkers of Hacienda Luisita as the handwork of communists. Noynoy Aquino should not hide behind cheap Red-baiting. The Cojuangco-Aquino family to which Noynoy Aquino belongs has long exploited the peasants and farmworkers and has prevented land reform through the swindle called stock distribution option.

Worst of all, the bodyguards of Noynoy himself participated in the Hacienda Luisita massacre. Noynoy has continuously used Red-baiting tactics to cover up the murderous collaboration of the Arroyo regime and his own security agency in the Hacienda Luisita massacre and the subsequent murders in Tarlac. He aggravates his dishonesty by topping his consistent violent opposition to land reform with the patently false promise of carrying it out in 2014.

3. *Cory Aquino has been praised for championing land reform and specifically for the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP)? Was she truly a champion of land reform? How would you compare her land reform program with that of Marcos? How important is the question of land reform?*

JMS: Both Ferdinand Marcos and Cory Aquino were engaged in bogus land reform programs in their respective times. Thus, up to now, the land problem persists. Millions of tillers own no land. Land is concentrated in the hands of a few landlords and agri-corporations. Feudal and semifeudal exploitation runs rampant throughout the country.

Marcos pretended to use the police power of the state in the name of social justice to carry out the expropriation of landlord estates producing rice and corn. But of course the bogus land reform program of Marcos did not solve the land problem because the bureaucrats and landlords combined against the tenants to raise the value of rice and corn land and in the meantime the biggest landlords and agri-corporations continued to accumulate

land.

The bogus land reform program called CARP was even worse than that of Marcos. Under the Aquino constitution of 1987, the social justice issue of land reform was reduced to a real estate business matter. The issue of land reform was subordinated to the malevolent principles of voluntary sale by the landlord, current market value as the meaning of just compensation and evasion of land reform through the stock distribution option and conversion or reclassification of the land as non-agricultural.

I consider land reform as decisively important. If genuine and thoroughgoing, it means the socioeconomic and political liberation of tens of millions of peasants and farmworkers. It is the fulfillment of the main content of the unfinished democratic revolution. It lays the ground for a just and lasting peace. When combined with national industrialization, it paves the way for a great advance in economic and social development.

*4. Is it not good for the revolutionary movement that Aquino becomes president so that it has a clear target for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses along the line of fighting for national liberation and democracy? In the previous interview, you indicated what are the policies that Aquino would pursue against the Filipino people. Will you explain further?*

JMS: I presume that in the first place the revolutionary movement would like to see a president of the rotten ruling system who is amenable to holding serious negotiations and making agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms in order to address the roots of the armed conflict and pave the way for a just and lasting peace. But I also presume that if such a president does not emerge, the revolutionary movement is more justified than ever in pursuing the people's war.

Together with his vice presidential candidate, Noynoy Aquino is known to be the candidate most favored by big foreign and local businessmen because he is most determined to pursue the same US-dictated policies of the Arroyo regime, such as neoliberal globalization and the global war of terror. In concrete terms, neoliberal globalization means allowing the foreign investors to plunder the country and prevent national industrialization and land reform. The global war of terror means allowing US military forces to violate the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines.

Noynoy Aquino is surrounded by agents of the US and the Arroyo regime who have been major partners of Arroyo in adopting and implementing policies that are detrimental to the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people and that have plunged the country into a grave crisis of high unemployment, extreme poverty, soaring prices of basic commodities, deteriorating social services, ever widening trade and budgetary deficits and ever mounting tax and debt burden.

Noynoy Aquino would be extremely helpful to the revolutionary movement if he would become president and pursue basically the same US-dictated policies of the Arroyo regime and thus become the target of the people's opprobrium. Probably, the mass movement that fell short of overthrowing Arroyo would be further outraged and gain enough strength to overthrow the new puppet of US imperialism.

*5. You say that Manny Villar has a relatively better program than Noynoy Aquino. At the same time, you have pointed out that it has been underplayed. Can you guarantee that if Villar would become president, he would fulfill the promises that he makes in his program? Do you incur any liability by saying now that he has a program better than that of Aquino?*

JMS: No, I cannot guarantee whether Villar will fulfill his promises or not. Manny Villar has his own free will and political will. He is responsible for his own motivations and actions.

As a political observer, I can only compare what appear now on paper as the programs of Villar and Aquino. People will respond to Villar accordingly, whether he fulfills his promises or not.

*6. Is it true that Aquino is honest and is not corrupt?*

JMS: Noynoy Aquino is honestly a rabid and violent defender of the big comprador-landlord class interests of the Cojuangco-Aquino family. But he is certainly dishonest when he denies the extreme exploitation of the farmworkers and peasants in Hacienda Luisita, the swindling done with the use of the stock distribution option and the violence committed by the military and his own security personnel.

People other than me have pointed out the corruption of Kamag-Anak Inc. of which Noynoy has been a co-beneficiary and which supports him now. While his mother was president, he got contracts from government agencies for his security agency. While he was a congressman and senator for so long, he filed only a handful of bills (none becoming a law) and collected huge sums of public money. This is a manifestation of sloth,

incompetence and corruption.

*7. Who is more competent and more accomplished? Villar or Aquino?*

JMS: In terms of service in the reactionary government, Villar is by far more competent and accomplished. He was active and productive in legislative work and became Speaker of the House and Senate President. Noynoy was a noynoy (no accomplishment) in legislative work. Aquino was also a noynoy in business in comparison to Villar. I need not repeat the rags to riches story.

*8. Whom do you think will win the presidential race?*

JMS: It is difficult to say. And for the moment I will not dare say. It is still either Aquino or Villar. I have just been informed that money has been flowing heavily to the Aquino side from big foreign and local businessmen for the purpose of stepping up anti-Villar propaganda and buying those who deliver the votes at various levels. Villar does not have a monopoly on money. There is more money from the moneybags in the foreign chambers of commerce and the Makati Business Club.

*9. Whoever shall be the president, shall there be peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines?*

JMS: Because of the worsening socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system, I presume that whoever shall be president of the GRP shall seek peace negotiations with the NDFP. It is the lookout of the new president who would overestimate the strength of the state and its coercive apparatuses and underestimate the crisis and the growing strength of the revolutionary movement. But as I pointed out in our interview last week, both Villar and Aquino have already expressed their willingness to negotiate with the NDFP.

*10. Is the NDFP already preparing for the resumption of the peace negotiations? But why is the New People's Army intensifying its armed offensives?*

JMS: The NDFP is already preparing for the resumption of the peace negotiations. Consultations regarding this are going on among the NDFP panelists, consultants, the Philippine-based leading organs of the CPP and NDFP. The NDFP negotiating panel is in frequent touch with the Norwegian government as third party facilitator. As soon as a new president is elected, whoever he is, the NDFP is willing to receive his emissary.

The best explanations of why the NPA is intensifying tactical offensives can be found in the messages of the CPP Central Committee to the CPP rank and file last December 26, 2010 and to the NPA Red commanders and fighters last March 29, 2010. These messages are available in the website: [www.philippinerevolution.net](http://www.philippinerevolution.net)

The people's war is going on precisely because of the escalating oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people by the US and the local exploiting classes. The revolutionary forces are thus striving to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

# ***On the 2010 Presidential Elections***

**Interview by Rio Mondelo, *Bulatlat* Correspondent**

**April 23, 2010**

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*1. Is Noynoy Aquino the choice of the US for the presidency? Why? Why not any of the other presidential candidates?*

JMS: The top insiders in the Aquino camp are already boasting that representatives of the US government have been talking to Noynoy Aquino and that more importantly big US companies have already contributed nearly 10 billion pesos to his campaign fund through cutouts in the Makati Business Club. He being on the cover of the Philippine edition of the Time Magazine is supposed to be the public signal for the US preference for him.

The US is very pleased with the combination of Noynoy Aquino and Mar Roxas as dependable continuers of the economic and security policies of the Arroyo regime adhering to the US policy of free market globalization and the global war on terror. The US is very eager to ensure the continuing plunder of the Philippine economy by the US and other foreign monopolies and the permanent and growing deployment of US military forces in the Philippines.

I am not saying that the US are expressly rejecting the other presidential candidates. In fact, the representatives of the US government and businessmen try to cultivate friendly relations with nearly all the presidential candidates. But the US considers Noynoy Aquino and Mar Roxas as the most reliable, popular and effective agents of US policy.

*2. Is Aquino the sure winner in the presidential race? Why? Is there any possibility of his losing?*

JMS: I would not say that Aquino is a sure winner. The survey polls of Pulse Asia, Social Weather Station and other pollsters are not enough to spell sure victory. Aquino won big in the polls done in March, particularly against Manny Villar, especially because the Aquino pyswar machinery succeeded in selling the Villaroyo line. But there are other important factors to consider. Noynoy Aquino has strong points and weak points.

He tries to benefit politically from simply being the son of his parents. But in the same way, he can be easily as a person who is incompetent and lacking in achievement. He can even be seen as corrupt for failing to push the enactment of any of his few bills in Congress and collecting so much public money in maintaining his office, not to mention his part of the pork barrel. The most intelligent people also expose the fact the Cory Aquino regime was inimical to the people.

The biggest asset of Noynoy Aquino now is the huge money in the amount so many billions of pesos that he has collected for his campaign from big foreign and local businessmen. He has a big chance of winning if that money is well distributed to his leaders, candidates and campaigners at the provincial, district and municipal levels. But he continues to pretend being poor. His local leaders, candidates and campaigners are already worrying that no or little money is forthcoming. They have begun to complain that Aquino and his family are keeping the money for themselves.

*3. Do you mean to say that Noynoy Aquino might find himself in a situation similar to that of his cousin Gibo Teodoro? The leaders and campaigners at various levels expect so much money from above but no money is coming down.*

JMS: The situation is similar. The money is known to be available but there is no distribution to the leaders, candidates and campaigners. In the case of Gibo Teodoro, Gloria and Mike Arroyo are known to have collected a great deal of money in the name of the electoral campaign. But they are keeping the money for themselves. Thus, the ruling coalition of has been breaking up.

In the case of Noynoy Aquino, the money from big business is already publicly known to be in his hands, as very well indicated by his high expenditures on infomercials and other means of propaganda. But Aquino continues to pretend being poor and dependent on volunteers and on piso-piso contributions. And he uses the pretense as excuse to delay and limit the flow of funds to the leaders, candidates and campaigners at various levels.

The difference between the Gibo and Noynoy situations is that in the case of Gibo, he is not releasing the money in sufficient amounts to please his followers.

*4. Money seems to be the most important factor in the reactionary elections. Would not the winners in the elections recoup their expenses through graft and corruption?*

JMS: Money is certainly an important factor. It pays for the infomercials and all other kinds of propaganda means, the costs of transport, food and other things needed in face-to-face campaigning, the sample ballots, the campaigners at various levels and the direct and indirect forms of voting.

Certainly, the winners would recoup their expenses through graft and corruption. The entire ruling system and its electoral system in particular are rotten. Before and during the electoral campaign, you can find among them the relatively worse or better among the coalition, parties and candidates. But after the elections, there is no guarantee that they would really serve the national and democratic rights and interests of the people.

The Makabayan coalition, the senatorial candidates like Satur Ocampo and Liza Maza, and Gabriela, Bayan Muna, Anakpawis, Kabataan and progressive partylist groups are definitely good. But they are mere exceptions to the generally and basically rotten political system lorded over by the politicians who serve the interests of foreign monopoly capitalism and the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

# *The Facts against Psywar Intrigues*

May 7, 2010

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As chief political consultant of the Negotiating Panel of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), I am well informed about the revolutionary position of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the New People's Army and the NDFP as well as the position of other major political forces in relation to the 2010 elections of the reactionary government.

It is the consistent revolutionary position of the CPP, NPA and NDFP, as well expressed in the recent CPP and NPA anniversary statements, that the 2010 elections are on the whole and in essence a rotten process of a rotten ruling system dominated by the political agents of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

The NDFP Negotiating Panel has recently received word from the revolutionary forces of the CPP, NPA and NDFP that they are exceedingly happy that the necessity and objective conditions for waging revolution are further enhanced by the fact that the 2010 elections are manifesting the worst characteristics of the semicolonial and semifeudal system and are generating further political disorder and social turmoil.

They are amused that the poll surveys and the media reports have made an unstable, slothful and massacre-prone underachiever like Noynoy Aquino and a convicted plunderer and ruffian-type like Erap Estrada as the front-runners in the presidential derby and that the Arroyo regime is still desperately maneuvering either to stay in power through failure of elections or choose the next president through manipulation of the vote count.

By manipulating the vote count through automation and/or manual count, the Arroyo regime can install as the next president either its own bet Gibo Teodoro or Noynoy Aquino who is the favorite choice of the US country team (including the US ambassador, political officer and the mission chiefs of the AID, CIA, DIA and JUSMAG) and the Makati Business Club. One more bad president will further damn the ruling system and further incite the people to wage armed revolution.

Regarding such patriotic and progressive forces as Makabayan and some partylist groups, everyone knows that the CPP, NPA and NDFP regard them as independent legal forces striving heroically to carry forward the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people through the electoral form of struggle. The revolutionary forces and the broad masses of the people appreciate them as exceptional and different from the traditional politicians of the ruling system.

As a matter of public knowledge, I am aware that the bilateral alliance between Makabayan and the Nacionalista Party continues on the basis of the platform of land reform and rural development, industrial development and job generation, respect for human rights, indemnification of victims of human rights violations under the Marcos regime, protection of the environment, negotiations for a just peace, review of the Visiting Forces Agreement and other unequal agreements and independent foreign policy.

Brigadier General Francisco Cruz, chief of the AFP civil relations service, and retired police general Rodolfo Boogie Mendoza are spreading psywar intrigues and telling lies whenever they and their political masters invent stories to put the revolutionary forces at odds with the legal progressive forces and to counterpoise the central leadership of the revolutionary forces against a mere political refugee and long-disemployed teacher like me. In the days to come, the counterrevolutionary propagandists are expected to spew out more intrigues and lies calculated to favor certain parties and candidates and attack others.

I assure the two psywar intriguers and their political masters that I have the highest respect for the central leadership of the CPP, the national command of the NPA and the national council of the NDFP, which are all based in the Philippines. It is known to the public that I enjoy the trust and confidence of the revolutionary forces. They continue to let me serve the Filipino people as the chief political consultant of the NDFP in peace negotiations with the reactionary Manila government.

The broad masses of the Filipino people condemn the attempts of the most reactionary politicians and their military minions to discredit the Makabayan and progressive partylist groups by Red-baiting them and witch-hunting them as communists and self-contradictorily maligning them as being unprincipled for engaging in alliance tactics. These united front tactics allow them to retain their integrity, independence and initiative as patriotic and progressive forces and to facilitate and amplify their access to the people in their millions.



The anti-communist propaganda is calculated to pave the way for cheating the progressive forces and their allies and cutting down their votes. The impending electoral fraud at their expense will only further discredit the ruling system and will further justify the people's determination to intensify the revolutionary armed struggle. Definitely, the 2010 elections cannot be a way for any significant beneficial change. They are a device of the ruling system for deceiving the people and suppressing their will and voice.

The CPP, NPA and NDFP have always openly expressed their contempt for the entire ruling system of big compradors and landlords and their resolve to carry forward the people's war for national liberation and democracy. They are confident that the ever-worsening crisis will continue to afflict the ruling system. The crisis will put the next president in serious trouble and compel him either to negotiate peace with the revolutionary forces or escalate the armed counterrevolution in a monstrous and self-defeating way.

# ***On the Aftermath of the 2010 Elections***

**Interview by D. L. Mondelo, *Bulatlat* Correspondent**

**May 22, 2010**

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## ***1. What can you say about the conduct of the 2010 elections?***

JMS: The conduct of the 2010 elections shows the rottenness of the US-dominated ruling system of big compradors and landlords. It was a process dominated by the coalitions, parties and candidates of the reactionary ruling classes. Beforehand, it excluded the leaders of the working people who were repressed or who were without campaign funds. It was merely a personality-based contest of the political agents of the same exploiting classes.

They did not offer any strong differences in terms of program. They mouthed slogans against poverty and corruption and the need for change. But they said nothing about overcoming the three monsters of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism which exploit, impoverish and oppress the people. They gave no serious attention to the worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system.

The bilateral alliance of Makabayan and the Nacionalista Party (NP) put forward a common program for land reform, food self-reliance and rural development, expansion of domestic manufacturing and job opportunities, respect for human rights, peace negotiations, ecological protection, review of the Visiting Forces Agreement and independent foreign policy. But the NP downplayed the program.

The biggest winners in the elections were those who attacked the hated Arroyo regime and who benefited most from the biggest collection of campaign money from the big foreign and local businessmen. At the beginning of the campaign, the Liberal Party pretended to rely on piso-piso contributions but it eventually collected and used the biggest amount of campaign money from big businessmen, thus surpassing the Nacionalista Party in spending.

The unbelievably large leads of Noynoy Aquino over Estrada and Villar have aroused the inquiries into whether the election results were pre-programmed. There are reports that the foreign controllers of the automated system and the Kamag-anak Inc. were able to pre-program the results of the presidential and vice presidential elections. Complaints against poll irregularities are widespread and cast doubts on the veracity of the vote count

## ***2. Can you explain further the victory of Noynoy Aquino?***

Let us take in chronological order the factors that allowed Noynoy Aquino to get ahead of his principal rivals, especially Villar who appeared to be the No. 1 presidential candidate before Cory Aquino died and before Noynoy decided to run for the presidency.

Noynoy Aquino had a clever and agile set of propagandists who had a clear strategic line. To obscure his involvement in the Hacienda Luisita massacre and his palaboy record as a non-achiever in the Lower House and Senate, he was touted as the upright heir of his parents and as a moral crusader against corruption and he attacked the corruption of the Arroyo regime in order to ride on the widespread and bitter anti-Arroyo sentiment of the people.

Villar did not attack Arroyo in a strong way and became vulnerable to the Villaroy line or charge of being the secret candidate of Arroyo. In the early part of April, the results of two major survey polls done by firms owned and controlled by Aquino relatives and friends were accordingly used to bring down Villar in the mass media. The precipitous decline of Villar was further aggravated subsequently by the attacks from Estrada and Enrile about the 2007 initial public offering of the shares of stocks of the Villar real estate company.

Of all the reactionary parties, the Liberal Party raised the biggest amount of campaign money to surpass the volume of pro-Villar infomercials in both TV and radio and other forms of propaganda. The Villar money was eventually no match to the contributions from Razon, Pangilinan, Ayala and other big shots of the Makati Business Club and from the foreign big businessmen. The Arroyo couple did not deliver to the Lakas presidential candidate the money that they had collected for the campaign.

There are indications that Noynoy Aquino was able to take incredibly big leads over Estrada and Villar because of pre-programming of the vote count. This is the biggest possible form of cheating and the most difficult to prove in contrast to the anomalous shading of the ovals before and during the elections in specific localities. The automated electoral system does not prevent the cheating tactics of the past but in fact allows cheating in a bigger

and faster way.

3. *What did the electoral campaign and results reveal about the Makabayan and the progressive partylist groups?*

Makabayan and the progressive partylist groups proved themselves outstanding in putting forward the national and democratic demands of the people. They also got far more votes than any of the pseudo-progressive grouplets. Makabayan got nearly ten percent of the actual nationwide votes for each of its two senatorial candidates, Satur Ocampo and Liza Maza. And all together the progressive partylist groups also got nearly ten percent. I believe that Makabayan and the progressive partylist groups had more than 10 percent of the electorate, if not for the vote shaving made by the pre-programmers.

Most of the votes for Villar are equivalent to the basic electoral base of Makabayan and the progressive partylist groups. Definitely, Villar benefited more from the NP-Makabayan alliance than Makabayan did. But by his refusal to denounce the Arroyo regime as strongly as did Aquino and Estrada, Villar prejudiced not only himself but also his Makabayan teammates. It prevented the Makabayan senatorial candidates from benefiting from the anti-Arroyo sentiment and increasing their votes beyond their basic electoral base.

However, the progressive partylist groups remain a significant bloc with a high potential as a swing force within the reactionary congress. Makabayan could have been a more effective force had it been able to build itself as a party from top to bottom, with organs, units and candidates at every level long before the elections. Before the elections, Makabayan had limited capacity for negotiating with major parties. It was limited to pushing only two senatorial candidates and some candidates here and there at lower levels when it made an alliance with the NP.

The NP was publicly known as the only major party willing to have an alliance and share campaign resources. But its leadership obviously monopolized decisions over the downplaying of the program, the strategy of the campaign, the deployment of resources and other important matters. If it had a strong organization of its own, Makabayan could have been more assertive and could have fared better in an alliance with the NP.

While Makabayan had difficulties in ensuring the election of its two senatorial candidates, the progressive partylist groups had far better chances in having more than ten of its nominees elected as members of Congress than Makabayan. But it is highly probable that the pre-programmers of the results of the elections were determined to cut down the number of winners among the nominees of the progressive partylist groups.

During the electoral campaign, barefaced anti-communists and the pseudo-progressives tried to Red bait and equate Makabayan and the progressive partylist groups with the CPP. And after the elections, they would mock the CPP as having failed to make any big electoral advance. The public know that revolutionary forces are not equivalent to any electoral party. They measure their success in terms of increasing the revolutionary mass base and armed strength in the people's war and not in terms of taking seats within the reactionary government.

4. *What do you expect of the presidency of Benigno Aquino Jr.?*

JMS: The Aquino regime will pursue basically the same exploitative and oppressive policies dictated to the Arroyo regime by US imperialism. It will not solve but will aggravate the problems of the Filipino people, such as foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The Aquino regime will continue to carry out liberalization, privatization, deregulation, curtailment of social rights, reduction of social services and increased taxation at the expense of the people under the US-dictated policy of free market globalization. US troops will continue to maintain forward stations and engage in military intervention under the pretext of combating terrorism. The Aquino regime will continue the US-dictated Oplan Bantay Laya under a new name and will generate a new wave of human rights violations.

US and foreign banks and corporations will continue to extract superprofits and plunder the country. The Aquino regime will be grossly incapable of stopping the widening trade and budgetary deficits and the mounting debt burden. The fiscal and sovereign debt crisis will shake the Philippine economy from the base to the rafter and will be used by the foreign banks and corporations to further bend the Philippines.

As during the Cory Aquino administration, the Kamag-Anak Inc. will be at the head of big landlord and big comprador operations. While the regime might still tout a bogus land reform program, the Cojuangco-Aquinos intend to use layers of corporations to frustrate land reform in Hacienda Luisita and other landed estate. They are poised to benefit greatly from the corrupt practices of the high bureaucrat and big comprador.

The Aquino regime will try to broaden its support from various reactionary parties in Congress, including the Lakas-Kampi party of Arroyo. But the worsening socioeconomic crisis of the ruling system will tend to intensify the political contradictions among the reactionaries. There will be rising waves of legal mass protests and

revolutionary resistance by the broad masses of the people. Ever aggravating the basic problems of the Filipino people, the Aquino regime will use brute force in a futile attempt to suppress the resistance of the people

*5. Would the Aquino regime pursue peace negotiations with the revolutionary forces represented by the National Front of the Philippines?*

JMS: It may or may not. It remains to be seen whether it is seriously interested in peace negotiations. It can easily pretend to be for peace negotiations like the Arroyo regime did. But it can set preconditions and use various tactics in order to avoid complying with The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and the subsequent agreements and thereby prevent the peace negotiations from addressing the roots of armed conflict through, social, economic and political reforms.

The same military hawks and clerico-fascists who undermined and hampered peace negotiations with the NDFP during the time of Arroyo are now with the Aquino regime. The puppet president and his security advisers get guidance from the US security policy of counterinsurgency and anti-terrorism so-called and take detailed instructions from various US agencies represented in the US country team.

I will not be surprised if instead of agreeing to resume the peace negotiations, comply with the existing agreements and begin concentrated negotiations on social and economic reforms the Aquino regime would set preconditions like indefinite ceasefire and front-loading the end of hostilities in vainly seeking the self-disintegration and pacification of the revolutionary movement.

According to the US Counterinsurgency Guide, the policy dictate of the US is for the puppet government to disarm, dismantle and reintegrate the revolutionary forces or in other words to destroy, coopt or reduce them to irrelevance or inconsequentiality. The US imperialists and their puppets conjure the illusion of peace negotiations at the national level if only to push further sham localized peace talks with their own agents and undertake palliative or band-aid measures in localities in order to deceive the people and to escalate military campaigns of suppression.

The imperialists and their puppets are also trying a new tack like pacifying or appeasing the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and other Moro revolutionary groups with foreign funds in order to unleash more military forces against the revolutionary forces of the NDFP. But the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army have already issued comprehensive statements for advancing the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the people's war within the next five years.

# *On the incoming Aquino Regime*

Interview by Ilang-Ilang Quijano, *Pinoy Weekly*

June 7, 2010

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1. *Why do you think Noynoy Aquino won in the last election?*

JMS: Noynoy Aquino won because prior to the elections he had been chosen by the US imperialists and the local ruling classes of big compradors and landlords to be the new president of the ruling system. Despite his pretense at relying on one-peso donations from the common people, it was the big foreign and Filipino businessmen that poured the massive financial support to his campaign.

In the course of the campaign, Noynoy surpassed Manny Villar in collecting and spending the funds for various types of propaganda. The big mass media supported Noynoy. His aides were clever at propaganda. To obscure his vacuous track record and lack of accomplishment, his media handlers emphasized the notion that he is the spotless heir of his father and mother, and the attack on the corruption of the Arroyo regime. In this regard, the Villaroyo phrase attacking Villar as the agent of Arroyo took effect because Villar did not attack Arroyo.

There are also indications of pre-programming done in the automated electoral system of Smartmatic, which is controlled by the US and its agents, to ensure the victory of Aquino and Binay. It is obvious that a large number of votes were shaved off from Manny Villar and Loren Legarda. It is a case of overkill. Their sudden fall is unbelievable. There are reports that six weeks before election day, high representatives of the CIA, the Aquino family and the Arroyo regime decided the pre-programming of the results of the elections. The conversation between Pinky Aquino-Abellada and Mrs. Arroyo had paved the way for this arrangement.

2. *At this stage it is said that the public sentiment is still optimistic about the incoming administration. Will this optimism last?*

JMS: There is optimism in the public sentiment because the detestable Arroyo regime is over and the people are hoping that Aquino would fulfill his big promises such as making Gloria M. Arroyo and her cohorts accountable for the numerous crimes of corruption and violations of human rights. Various parties and organizations are pushing Noynoy to fulfill his promises. Even the National Democratic Front of the Philippines issued a statement challenging the incoming Aquino administration to fulfill its most important promises during its first 100 days to improve the atmosphere and course for the resumption of peace talks between the NDFP and the reactionary government.

If within the first 100 days Noynoy would fail to fulfill any important promise and the crisis in the country would continue to worsen, the broad masses of the Filipino people would hate the Aquino regime and Noynoy himself for being a traitor and deceiver of the people. It would then be evident that Aquino is a dummy of the collaboration between the US imperialists and local ruling classes, including the Arroyo and Aquino families. It is publicly known that these two families have long been in connivance with each other.

3. *How can the mass movement ensure that Gloria M. Arroyo is held accountable for her crimes against the people?*

JMS: The mass movement has to be vigilant, prompt and militant. Always remember that Arroyo and Aquino belong to the exploiting classes. They are rivals in the contest to acquire more power and wealth. But they collaborate in confronting the aspirations and interest of the masses. They can unite in deceiving the oppressed masses and in suppressing the mass movement against exploitation, oppression and government corruption.

Even as Arroyo is no longer president, she still has power. She is the president of Lakas-KAMPI. She has made sure that her minions control the Supreme Court, the Sandiganbayan and the Ombudsman and some big cases against her have been dismissed. She has made sure that that Lakas-KAMPI still has many governors and mayors. She has made sure that she has a direct share of power. She heads the Lakas-KAMPI bloc in the House of Representatives.

Arroyo can try to make herself or one of her stooges the speaker of the House or she can strike an agreement with Aquino that one of his cohorts becomes the speaker if Arroyo is not made accountable for her crimes and in return Aquino is not put under threat of impeachment in the future. The mass movement can find out the alignment and realignment of political forces inside Congress because there are progressive members of the House.

Most important of all is the firm stand of the mass movement against the crimes of Arroyo and the vigorous

efforts to hold her accountable. It should watch and fight the probable connivance between the Aquinos and the Arroyos. Aquino should be held accountable if he does not fulfill his promise to run after and prosecute Arroyo. The mass movement should also be watchful of the new wave of crimes that will certainly arise from the new regime.

*4. Aquino promised that he would act on the most outstanding cases of violations of human rights. What do you think of this promise of his?*

JMS: Let us see whether Aquino is capable of fulfilling his promises. If he is serious, he can do a lot within his first 100 days to render justice in the cases of abduction, illegal detention, torture and extrajudicial killings. These cases are very well documented. It is fine if he can do something good.

But there are obvious reasons that he would renege on his promises. Noynoy is possibly afraid of the whole or a section of the reactionary army and police. He may not be capable of thinking and doing a reshuffling of the military and police officers in order to create a favorable condition for obtaining justice in the many cases of violations of human rights during the time of Arroyo.

But there may not even be a question of Noynoy's fear of the military and police. Despite his declared dislike for the violations of human rights, what might still prevail over him would be his allegiance to the greedy and brutal character of the reactionary state and his class of big comprador-landlords, as well as his obedience to the policies and orders of the US imperialists on the use of the military, police and paramilitary to suppress the revolutionary forces and the legal democratic forces.

*5. Some individuals in the Aquino camp were active in Red-baiting during the election campaign. Is this an indication of what the situation of human rights and peace talks will be under the Aquino administration?*

JMS: The active and gross red-baiting done by his prominent henchmen during the campaign is a strong indication or clear signal of what would be the policy of Aquino on the issue of human rights and peace.

Aquino himself indicated in his speech before the foreign correspondents that he does not need peace negotiations because he could handle the pacification and suppression of the revolutionary movement through the simultaneous use of military force and the so-called four-part policy of 1) good governance, 2) delivery of social services, 3) economic reconstruction and development and 4) security reforms.

This reveals that he was chosen to be president by the US imperialists and big comprador-landlords because they saw in the Hacienda Luisita massacre and the subsequent killings in Tarlac, Noynoy's penchant and capacity for violence against the toiling masses and those branded as communists and thus, he can be relied upon to enforce the so-called anti-terrorist policy and, in particular, the US Guide to Counterinsurgency.

There are indications that the human rights situation will become worse than during the times of Marcos, Cory Aquino and Arroyo. There are also indications that the new regime will do away with peace talks so that Noynoy can carry out the orders of the US imperialists. It is likely that he will be driven by his penchant for the use of violence to preserve the power and wealth of his family and his class.

## ***Celebrate the People's Struggle***

**Message of solidarity to the International Cultural Festival in Berlin October 16, 2010**

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I wish to thank the promoters of the International Cultural Festival in Berlin today, October 16, for inviting me to attend this event and to express solidarity to all the participants.

I am unable to attend the festival and enjoy your company due to unjust travel restrictions. The Dutch authorities continue to deny me residence and deprive me of my rights despite my legal victory in getting out of the terrorist list of the European Union by virtue of the decision of the European Court of Justice.

But I am able to convey my wholehearted message of solidarity to all of you. I salute and congratulate you for successfully realizing this cultural festival as an event of solidarity. I am happy to know that thousands of people of various nationalities are attending it and diverse groups are expected to exchange their views, make cultural exhibits and stage cultural performances.

Let us celebrate the people's struggle for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development and peace against imperialism and all reaction. Let us renew our resolve to fight for a new and better world in which socialism upholds the leadership and power of the working class, serves the needs of the entire people and stands against exploitation, oppression, crises and wars that imperialism unleashes.

We are today in the midst of the most severe economic crisis of the world capitalist system since the Great Depression. The US-dictated policies of "neoliberal globalization" and "permanent global war on terror" have resulted in a chain of monstrous phenomena, prolonged economic and financial crisis, decline of production and chronic mass unemployment, state terrorism and wars of aggression.

The burden of crisis is being passed on to the working people in the underdeveloped as well as in the imperialist countries. As societies are rapidly polarized, imperialism and its reactionary allies do everything in their power to cover up their criminal culpability for the catastrophic crisis. Chauvinism, xenophobia, racism, religious bigotry and other reactionary currents are being whipped up to obfuscate the root causes of the severe crisis in the very nature and processes of monopoly capitalism.

There is an urgent need to arouse the people with the facts and ideas about the real roots of the crisis and with their own immediate needs and demands for fundamental change, to organize them in every possible and necessary way as resolute and militant forces against the ramparts of imperialism and reaction and to mobilize them in their millions, including the spontaneous and still unorganized masses, in order to sweep away the obstacles to fundamental social change.

We must build an international united front of anti-imperialist and democratic forces in order to arouse, organize and mobilize the people. The International League of Peoples' Struggle is an international united front of mass formations or people's organizations and does not include political parties. But it is ever ready and ever willing to engage in a larger and broader united front and cooperate with other international organizations or coordinating bodies, including those with political parties as constituents, such as the ICOR.

# ***A Book of Continuing Relevance***

**Message to the Cebu Forum on *Philippine Society and Revolution*, February 4, 2011**

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On behalf of the global leadership and entirety of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the League of Filipino Students (LFS) and the Nagkahiusang Kusog sa Estudyante (Strength of Students' United-NKE).

We join you in celebrating the anniversary of the publication of *Philippine Society and Revolution*, the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the Nationalist Youth Week in the University of the Philippines Cebu College.

We welcome and support your thematic call, "Ignite the flame of nationalism, learn to struggle and defend the rights of the youth and the people towards genuine freedom." Your theme is in consonance with the spirit of the First Quarter Storm. We thank the LFS and Nagkahiusang Kusog sa Estudyante (NKE) for inviting us to participate in the forum entitled "*Lipunan at Rebolusyong Pilipino: Revisiting the Past and Its Undying Struggle*."

As the author with the nom de plume et de guerre of Amado Guerrero, I am honored and delighted that the forum seeks to elucidate the relevance of the book, *Philippine Society and Revolution* and its analysis on the current social conditions.

I am not in a position now to be one of the panelists via Skype because of previous commitments related to preparations for the resumption of formal talks in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. But I am glad that you give me the leeway to write to you a few thoughts.

The book is not only a historical document of great significance, having inspired and guided millions of youth and people in more than four decades of revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

It is a book of continuing relevance because it sheds light on the persistent semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society. It unfolds the contending revolutionary and counterrevolutionary classes and forces. It continues to give revolutionary direction to the revolutionary forces and people that persevere in the new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.

The semicolonial and semifeudal conditions have not only persisted but they have become far worse, deeper and graver. We continue to confront and fight an ever rotting ruling system of big compradors and landlords servile to the imperialist powers, chiefly the US.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship and the series of post-Marcos pseudo-democratic regimes have all proven to be fundamentally the same. They ride roughshod over the people and they reek of the intolerable stink of puppetry, corruption, brutality and mendacity. They know no limits to exploiting and oppressing the Filipino people.

The new US-supported Aquino regime has not offered anything to satisfy the people's demands for national liberation and democracy. It has failed to fulfill even its promise of holding its predecessor Arroyo regime to account for gross and systematic corruption and human rights violations. It has released from prison 400 military prisoners but has so far refused to release some 349 political prisoners who have sacrificed and contributed greatly to the struggle against the Arroyo regime.

The Arroyo regime obviously relies on sheer gimmickry and on manipulation of the bourgeois mass media and the poll surveys to conjure the illusion of popularity. It continues to toe the US line of neoliberal globalization. This has brought about the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, the worst forms of exploitation, high rate of unemployment, the soaring prices of basic commodities and the breakdown of social services.

The regime is carrying out Oplan Bayanihan under the US Counterinsurgency Guide and the US global policy of terror. The new Oplan is a futile attempt at making state terrorism and US military intervention look acceptable and become effective against the revolutionary forces and the people through palliatives and pyswar claims of good governance, delivery of services, economic development and security reform.

Nevertheless, through the peace negotiations between the reactionary government and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, the revolutionary forces and people are challenging the Aquino regime to come to an alliance and truce in order to assert national independence, empower the people, carry out land reform and national industrialization, promote a patriotic, scientific and democratic culture and contribute to international solidarity and peace. Let us see how the Aquino regime reacts to the call for patriotism and progress.



There is the continuing necessity and urgency for the broad masses of the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata, to unite and fight for national and social liberation against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. We all hunger for genuine national independence, democracy, social justice, development and peace.

As the class leadership of the working classes prevails in the people's democratic revolution, the subsequent stage of socialist revolution becomes possible in order to make a radical rupture from all systematic forms of exploitation and oppression. Through revolutionary struggle, we take our destiny into our own hands and we can look forward to a bright future.

***Intensify the Struggle of Poets  
for National Liberation and Democracy***

**Message to Kilometer 64 Poetry Collective, March 11, 2013**

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I convey my heartfelt militant and liberating greetings to Kilometer 64 Poetry Collective (KM64) on the occasion of its 10<sup>th</sup> founding anniversary. You are a brilliant part of the history and present current of creativity of nationalist and revolutionary poems in the Philippines.

Your unity as poets is fruitful. You are bound by the consciousness that created poems serving the people, especially for the toiling masses, and contributing to the advancement of the struggle for national liberation and democracy. This consciousness heightens in every one of you. Your lofty aspiration is realized through the creation, publication and presentation of your poems.

It is an honor for me to have participated in several of your major activities. I wrote the introduction to the book, *Poems for Young Martyrs*. I participated in the readings of poems upon your invitation through the late Alexander Martin Remollino. Such occasions enliven me. Most important for me, I am able to be with you through poetry.

Our poems are spears, daggers and bullets that pierce imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Our duty to bring down and defeat these monsters is very important. It is our distinct task that through our poems we inflame the spirit and feeling of our countrymen to fight and liberate themselves.

We must persistently excel as poets of the people and the Philippine revolution. Make frequent the creation, publication and presentation of beautiful, daring and liberating poems. As poets, we must intensify our participation in the struggle of the Filipino people for national liberation and democracy.

Long live KM 64!

Advance the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

# ***Defy the Oppressors and Fight for Freedom***

**Introduction to Ericson Acosta's *Mula Tarima Hanggang***

***at Iba Pang Tula at Awit***

**May 29, 2013**

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Since Francisco Balagtas, the greatest of Philippine poetry has been written by poets who are unjustly imprisoned and who defy the oppressors and fight for freedom. Their poems reflect and at the same time illuminate the Filipino nation's struggle and aspiration for national and social liberation.

With the book of poems *Mula Tarima Hanggang At Iba Pang Tula at Awit*, Ericson Acosta joins the ranks of Filipino poets who live up to a great tradition of poetry and continue to carry on the noble mission of serving the people in their struggle for freedom from foreign and feudal domination.

Acosta transforms his suffering in prison and his struggle for freedom as a metaphor for the intolerable conditions of the Filipino people who are captive in a semicolonial and semifeudal system and for their irrepressible struggle for national independence and democracy.

The best of his poems in the collection are lyrical and full of evocative images of prison, the immediate surrounding and the landscape of struggle beyond in rural and urban areas. The poetic lines alight on certain objects that they probe and relate to larger things or issues, as did Amado V. Hernandez and Pablo Neruda. They are well-cadenced and rhythmic in the style of an accomplished poet and singer.

The opening seven poems in the book serve as a prologue. They unfold the commitment of the poet to the peasant struggle for land, which is the main content of the democratic revolution. He shows how the peasant's knife can be used: for working the land, for preparing the food and for ambushing the oppressor.

The poet himself has chosen "Mula Tarima Hanggang" as his title poem to encapsulate the stifling conditions of confinement. As a former political prisoner, I am deeply moved by what Acosta had to suffer and endure in prison, as depicted by the aforesaid poem and other poems like "Rehas," "Nakahiga sa Tarima Kaharap ng Pader", "Alimpungat" and "Mabalasik".

I can also understand his sense of relief in certain poems. Indeed, a political prisoner has to retain both fighting spirit and sense of humor to prevail over the hateful and tedious conditions of imprisonment.

Acosta was physically in prison but his creative imagination, his political resistance and his awareness of moral support in his country and abroad soared above the dismal conditions of prison and made him free. His poems are not only about his imprisonment. They include denunciations of the enemy and the celebration of the people's resistance in the past and at present, in various parts of the country.

I have restrained myself from citing poems and quoting from them in order to comply with the requisite brevity of an introduction and leave readers to read all the poems and make their selection of the best in terms of combining thought and feeling in an artistic way.

Acosta has a mastery of the language he uses to express himself and to suit his theme or topic. He can deploy the most elegant and precise words to evoke his finest sentiments. But he can also use the most robust words and street expressions to depict reality and the struggle of the masses. Poetry can say the most with the least number of words, condensed or facilitated by figures of speech. "Rehas" excellently fulfills poetic requirements. And then it seems as if it went overboard by adding the names of hundreds of political prisoners in so many pages.

However, what appears as "surplusage" I consider as a unique use of poetic license and a special case of precision. Paradoxically, the poet demonstrates a well-measured poetic sense of proportion. Acosta looks at all the political prisoners and regards each like him as a victim of injustice who must obtain justice and must be released.

The hundreds of political prisoners are alleged to be political offenders in association with the armed revolution and yet they are accused of and imprisoned for common crimes, on the basis of false witness and planted evidence. This is the same criminal way by which Acosta was arrested and imprisoned.

Under Oplan Bantay Laya, the Arroyo regime sought to immobilize and punish political opponents and social activists by trumping up charges of common crimes against them. Under Oplan Bayanihan, the Aquino regime continues this malicious practice in violation of the Hernandez political offense doctrine in Philippine

jurisprudence and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law.

To the very end, the poems of Ericson Acosta condemn US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords for their system of oppression and exploitation and for the torture and imprisonment and worse the murder of social activists and massacre of the working people. The poems seek to inspire hope among the broad masses of the people and the revolutionary forces and urge them to wage all forms of revolutionary struggle until total victory is won.

# ***On the Purpose and Cost of Armed Struggle***

Interview by Oliver X. A. Reyes and Erwin T. Romulo,

*Esquire Philippines*

June 4, 2013

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*ESQ: At this point, do you see that the resumption of peace talks with the Aquino government still possible? What must the Aquino government do in order to resume the talks? What new steps would the NDF be willing to take so as to enable the peace talks to resume?*

JMS: The resumption of peace talks is possible. The position of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) is that in principle the peace negotiations are still going on in the absence of a formal notice of termination from the Government of the Philippines (GRP).

The GRP can simply contact the NDFP directly or through the Royal Norwegian Government to express its desire to resume formal talks. Formal talks are done by the Negotiating Panels of the GPH and the NDFP. The NDFP does not set preconditions for such talks even as it demands compliance with existing agreements.

The NDFP does not have to do anything but to wait for the approach of the GPH. It was the GPH last April, which announced to the press that it was terminating the peace negotiations. At the same time, it has not given the formal notice of termination either because it arrogantly rejects all the previous agreements or it gives space for resumption of talks.

*ESQ: AKBAYAN is part of the governing coalition assembled by Noynoy Aquino. Do you see their participation in government as a hindrance to the resumption of peace negotiations?*

JMS: The AKBAYAN has the freedom and prerogative to be in the government of Noynoy Aquino. I am not aware of any declaration from AKBAYAN that it is opposed to the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. Thus, I cannot say that its participation in the Aquino government is a hindrance to the peace negotiations. In fact, Ronald Llamas who comes from AKBAYAN and who is political adviser of Aquino has met the NDFP a number of times since 2011 regarding the peace negotiations. The NDFP has not found any reason to close the door to him.

*ESQ: In 2010, you were seen as having been supportive of the presidential campaign of Manny Villar. You were quoted as saying that Villar as offering a “relatively better program” with his promises on land reform, local manufacturing growth, and an independent foreign policy. What insights have you taken from the Villar 2010 presidential campaign?*

JMS: Indeed, I saw in 2010 that Villar had a “relatively better program,” which was a cautious expression. The two other major presidential candidates, Aquino and Estrada, did not show any better program even on paper.

But Villar did not attack Arroyo as strongly as Aquino did and became victim to the rumor of being the secret candidate of Arroyo. Aquino was able to raise far more campaign money from big business (the big compradors and foreign interests). IT experts continue to inquire into the question whether the automated electoral system was manipulated or preprogrammed to favor any presidential candidate in 2010.

*ESQ: Given your skepticism of the prevailing political system and electoral process, how much would you say the outcome of the 2016 presidential elections would matter?*

JMS: Between now and 2016, there is not going to be any significant change in the prevailing political system and electoral process. Thus, the next president to be elected shall be someone enjoying the trust and support of the multinational firms, the big compradors and press lords. The presidential elections will be a competition of those candidates who get their campaign money from big business and who assure their financiers returns on their electoral investments.

The money costs alone of running for the presidency exclude an anti-imperialist and progressive candidate from the electoral process.

*ESQ: In Latin America, many unapologetically leftists candidates have made successful presidential runs, such as Chavez of Venezuela, Morales of Bolivia, Correa of Ecuador, and even Lula of Brazil. Do you think it is possible for a candidate with a similar ideology to succeed under the prevailing electoral framework in the Philippines? Why do you think those candidates in Latin America were able to gain power through the ballot?*

JMS: It is possible to have anti-imperialist and progressive presidents in the Philippines like the late Chavez, Morales and others if the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations succeed in making comprehensive agreements on social,

economic and political reforms to establish a just peace. But at the moment, the unreformed political and electoral system prevents anti-imperialist and progressive presidential candidates.

Revolutionary observers say that Chavez, Morales, Correa and Lula have been successful in elections within the ruling system of the big bourgeoisie and the landlords because they are not Left enough to frighten the US and the local reactionary classes although they are Left enough to get the votes of the workers and peasants by asserting a certain measure of national independence and some social reforms.

At any rate, the NDFP has been trying hard to create conditions similar to those in Venezuela and other countries in which patriots and progressives are not killed by the reactionaries but are elected by advocating national independence, democracy, social justice, development through land reform and national industrialization and a patriotic and progressive culture.

*ESQ: Do you think that an anti-imperialist and progressive candidate could be democratically elected as President within the next 20 years?*

JMS: Yes, within 20 years, there is more than enough time for the crises of the ruling system and global system, the relentless struggle of the people for national liberation and democracy and the peace negotiations to generate conditions for the election of a President who is anti-imperialist and progressive, as in the countries of Latin America that you have mentioned.

*ESQ: You were noted for steering the Philippine communist movement away from Soviet ideology in favor of Maoist thought. How would you characterize the current Chinese leadership's adherence to communist ideology or the ideals of Mao?*

JMS: The post-Mao leadership in the Chinese Communist Party is the product of the Dengist counter-revolution and the fundamental shift from the socialist road to the capitalist road. By certain measures, China has become a major capitalist power.

The post-Mao leadership in China does not really adhere to the revolutionary teachings of Mao and the previous great communist thinkers and leaders. But the prestige of Mao and the Communist Party in revolutionary times is being used by the current capitalist leaders of China to legitimize their rule.

*ESQ: You wrote Philippine Society and Revolution under the name Amado Guerrero. Are there any of its organizing premises which you would think are no longer applicable today?*

JMS: The basic description of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal, the need for a people's democratic revolution, the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie as the motive forces of the revolution, the big compradors and landlords as the main adversaries and the socialist perspective of the revolution remain valid. I do not engage in nitpicking on my own work. The basic propositions remain valid.

The US and local exploiting classes would not be so much bothered about the people's democratic revolution if this has lost its validity. The bankruptcy of the neoliberal economic policy has brought about a crisis that is comparable to the Great Depression and is generating social turmoil, wars of aggression and revolutionary wars on a global scale.

*ESQ: Philippine Society and Revolution strongly articulates the imbalance of Philippine-US relations, as they had existed since 1898. However, with the withdrawal of the US bases and the lapse of highly imbalanced laws such as the Parity Act, the degree of intervention of the United States in Philippine affairs has seemingly decreased. Would you dispute that assessment?*

JMS: Serious contradictions, not just imbalances, have characterized the relations of the US with the Philippines and the Filipino people. The US remains in control of the Philippine economy, politics, military and culture at the expense of the broad masses of the people. Even without the flagrant US military bases, the US has controlled the puppet regime and the Philippine armed forces and police through advice, training, military supplies and other means of control.

Since the so-called war on terror by the US and more so since the so-called US pivot or strategic shift to East Asia, the US has been desirous of having more than forward stations inside Philippine military facilities. It is aiming to establish US military bases. At any rate, US air and naval vessels are patrolling the Philippines and the seas around more frequently under various pretexts.

Since the economic reconstruction of Japan and Europe in the 1960s, the US has taken cover under multilateral economic and trade agreements, aside from bilateral ones, to continue dominating the Philippine economy and in effect even Philippine politics and culture. The US controls the Philippines through bilateral arrangements

and through such multilateral agencies as IMF, World Bank and WTO.

*ESQ: The Canadian academic Dominique Caouette has been quoted as saying about the CPP-NPA-led armed struggle: "There was never one Philippine Revolution but several revolutions ongoing at the same time." Do you agree with this assessment?*

JMS: The Philippine revolution is being waged simultaneously in various ways: politically, economically, socially and culturally. However, these ways are interrelated and coordinated even if distinguishable from one another. You can ask Caouette whether he agrees with me.

The people's war answers the central question of revolution, which is to seize power. Even before nationwide seizure of power, local organs of the people's democratic government are already being established to displace the reactionary government. Socioeconomic revolution is going on through genuine land reform, promoting cooperative production and favoring Filipino-owned industries.

The cultural revolution is going on. It is advancing the cause of a national, scientific and people-serving cultural and educational system. Revolutionary educators, writers and artists, scientists and technologists and other cultural workers and the great mass of activists of the national democratic movement are waging a cultural revolution.

*ESQ: What concrete products of this cultural revolution have had a marked impact on Philippine public life over the last few decades?*

JMS: Since the 1960s, the cultural revolution along the national democratic line has continued inside and outside the schools and other institutions. It has popularized mass actions (the parliament of the street) to call for substantive change. It created the First Quarter Storm of 1970 which presaged the EDSA uprising that overthrew the Marcos dictatorship.

It has brought forward a new democratic type of thinking and mass activity in the progressive partylist groups, in the trade unions and other mass organizations, in the professions and, of course, in the armed revolution. It has promoted the national language and literature as well as the regional languages and literature. It has generated thinkers, writers, artists, scientists and technologists who are committed to serve the people.

*ESQ: During what precise period were you directly involved in the leadership of the CPP-NPA? What was your role in the CPP-NPA after your release from imprisonment in 1986 and for how long did such role last? What is your current position, if any, with the CPP-NPA?*

JMS: I was the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines and was the overall political officer of the New People's Army from the respective founding dates of the two organizations to the date of my capture by the Marcos fascist dictatorship on November 10, 1977.

Since my release from military detention in 1986, I have been an academic and writer and called the Founding Chairman of the CPP by many journalists, without any objection from me because of the historicity of the title. Sometimes, I have been called the spiritual icon of the revolutionary movement. But more humbly speaking, I have been the Chief Political Consultant of the NDFP in peace negotiations since 1992.

The Dutch courts and the European Court of Justice ruled in 2007 and 2009, respectively: that I do not operate or run the CPP and NPA. More recently, in April this year, the GPH through its presidential adviser on the peace process and negotiating panel chairman proclaimed that I have no influence over the CPP, NPA and NDFP and thus decided to terminate the peace negotiations with the NDFP Negotiating Panel that is based in The Netherlands.

*ESQ: One of the defining characteristics of the Maoist revolutionary model was the adoption of armed guerrilla tactics. It is an approach that inevitably leads to deaths among guerrilla fighters, the military, and civilians caught in the crossfire. When you think about the thousands of fighters and civilians who had lost their lives since the 1960s, what thoughts cross your mind?*

JMS: My thoughts go to the Bible, which says that just war can be waged against injustice, oppression and tyranny. The daily violence of exploitation goes on even when the exploited people are not resisting. When people wage people's war or guerrilla warfare, they have hope and have a chance of winning. The Filipino people celebrate the revolutionary wars against Spanish colonialism, US imperialism and Japanese fascism.

Violence from the oppressed and exploited comes after the fact of violence from the imperialists, the big compradors, the landlords and corrupt government officials to accumulate wealth and cause poverty and hunger and deprive the people of timely and sufficient medical care. Those who accumulate wealth and power control the

Philippine state. With the support of the US, they use organized violence (military, police, the courts and prisons) to preserve and protect their privileges against the people.

It is said that tens of thousands have been killed in the current civil war in the Philippines since 1969. More than 90 percent of them have been killed by the military, police and paramilitary forces of the reactionary state. They tend to kill many because most of the time they do not know who are the revolutionaries. Most of the victims are individuals and people who are merely suspected of being revolutionaries or of aiding the revolutionaries. It is not true that people are being killed merely in the crossfire. They are killed by the reactionary armed forces cold-bloodedly or in blind rage.

*ESQ: Were you involved in any incidents wherein you had to take part as an armed combatant? How did those experiences (or those experiences of comrades) bear impact on the preferred strategies then of armed combat?*

JMS: Whenever I expressed the wish to join a combat operation, the most responsible Party comrades and Red commanders dissuaded me from joining because supposedly my role was not in combat. But I was in the midst of firefights a number of times because our camp was being attacked by the enemy.

During camping and marches, I simply had to share weal and woe and the risks with the Red fighters.

I took active part in politico-military training for the Red commanders and fighters of the New People's Army and in planning and reviewing tactical offensives. We learned from each other how to carry out tactical offensives in line with the strategy of people's war. I joined the military exercises, including the analysis and simulation of a major tactical offensive. My favorite part in military exercises was to demonstrate how to shoot accurately with the rifle. I was a marksman in ROTC.

*ESQ: Have you had the opportunity to encounter or communicate with a family member of a soldier who had died because of the armed conflict? If you had, what was that encounter like?*

JMS: I have been approached by close relatives of those held as political prisoners of war by the New People's Army and I have helped them to the best of my ability. But I have not been approached by any family member of a soldier killed in the civil war. But if I were approached, I would express sympathy at a personal and humanitarian level.

If the soldier came from the working class and peasantry, I could be tempted to say that he should have fought on the revolutionary side. But I would not yield to the temptation of moralizing or lecturing because it would run counter to the expression of sympathy and would be overstating the obvious that the exploited sometimes join the reactionary army because they have no other job opportunity.

*ESQ: For many in the public, the defining statistic of the armed struggle has been the number of lives lost. How would you convince them that despite that statistic, there was a point to the armed struggle, or that there is a purpose for it to continue?*

JMS: I think that it is the system of oppression and exploitation that engenders the revolutionary armed struggle of the oppressed and exploited. The people fight back the more they are subjected to oppression and exploitation. Thus, the armed strength of the NPA has grown from the level of 6,100 high-powered rifles to nearly 10,000 contrary to the false claims of the Arroyo and Aquino regimes that the NPA has been reduced to only 4,000 from a level of 25,000 in 1986.

More people are joining the armed revolution because they abhor the daily violence of exploitation and the gross and systematic violations of human rights. These are being committed with impunity by those in power. Like our revolutionary forefathers, our revolutionary contemporaries fight even harder because of the killing rampages of their enemy with superior military power.

*ESQ: You are on record as saying that there have been hundreds of false charges made against you, many in connection with alleged killings of members of the NPA through purges made in the 1980s. Do you believe that these charges were made in connection with the perceived split within the revolutionary movement by leaders that you have criticized such as Romy Kintanar and Popoy Lagman?*

JMS: I was under maximum military detention from November 10, 1977 to March 5, 1986. From the time I was released, I became preoccupied with public speeches, academic lectures and press interviews until I left the Philippines on August 31, 1986. No chance for me to be involved in any of the wrongful killings, which were ascribed to Romy Kintanar and Popoy Lagman among others.

But certain anti-communist quarters inside and outside of the reactionary armed forces deliberately try to confuse people by mixing up Kampanyang Apos and other bloody witchhunts of the 1980s with the Second Great



Rectification Movement, which condemned and repudiated these crimes. The rectification movement was a campaign of ideological and political education within the CPP from 1992 to 1998 in order to correct major ideological and political errors which resulted in certain setbacks and even crimes.

*ESQ: How would you define the degree of care that armed units of the CPP-NPA have taken in the protection of human rights, especially of civilians caught in conflict or of soldiers who have been captured? What actions should the current NPA take in response to the recent shooting of the wife of Vice President Guingona by alleged members of the NPA?*

JMS: The Red commanders and fighters of the NPA are sworn to uphold, defend and promote the human rights of the people. They are bound by the principles and policies of the CPP, NPA and NDFP in this regard. These include the Three Rules of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention, the Geneva Conventions and its Protocols and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law.

The Red commanders and fighters cannot preserve their strength and win battles against the military superiority of the reactionary armed forces if they do not protect the national and democratic rights of the people. They have political superiority over the reactionary army because they are the best sons and daughters of the people, they fight for the workers and peasants and have the inexhaustible support of the people.

The CPP, NPA and NDFP have already declared that there was a misencounter between an NPA checkpoint force and the security force of Mrs. Guingona as mayor, because the latter had refused to stop and had run over the NPA checkpoint. They have expressed regrets and have apologized to the Guingona family. Nevertheless, the NDFP Negotiating Panel has learned that further investigations are being made in order to test the previous findings and conclusions.

*ESQ: The matter of “revolutionary taxes” exacted by the NPA on political candidates or business enterprises in the countryside has been often reported in Philippine media. What had been the justification for such a practice, and should that practice continue to this day?*

JMS: The people’s democratic government has repeatedly made clear that it does not impose any tax on any candidate in the reactionary elections. The CPP has denied the claims of the reactionary government and other anticommunist entities that tax is imposed on electoral candidates. As a matter of united front policy, the revolutionary movement tolerates the electoral struggle of patriotic and progressive groups and elements.

The people’s democratic government taxes permissible businesses. Taxation is a function of the people’s government. The tax revenues are used to finance the costs of administration, defense, land reform work, production assistance education, health work, cultural activities and other social services provided by the people’s democratic government and the mass organizations.

*ESQ: How do you feel today about the so-called “Declaration of Autonomy of the Manila-Rizal Regional Committee of the CPP”? Is there a possibility of reconciliation or unification with the other perceived ideological-left movement represented by Akbayan? What accommodations in ideology should materialize in order that such reconciliation could happen?*

JMS: The Second Great Rectification Movement and the consequent intensified mass work by the revolutionary forces in both urban and rural areas overcame all the wrecking operations done by elements who separated from the CPP and later exposed themselves fully as special agents of the reactionary government. The Popoy Lagman group became an even smaller and inconsequential group serving as organizers of yellow unions and bourgeois politicians.

Those previously misled by that group have returned to the CPP as early as 1994 according to reliable reports. There is no basis for reconciliation or unification of the CPP with Akbayan for the simple reason that Akbayan has always made clear that it is not communist and that it is not revolutionary but reformist. I have not seen any CPP statement condemning any dropout from the CPP for joining Akbayan.

*ESQ: Do you believe that the changes to Philippine society that the armed struggle fought for can occur under the framework of the current Philippine Constitution?*

JMS: The NDFP is seeking political and constitutional reforms through the peace negotiations because the constitution of the reactionary government, as it is now, will not allow basic social and economic reforms. The current constitution favors the property rights and interests of the big compradors and landlords as well as the US and other multinational firms against the toiling masses of workers and peasants and even against the middle class.

*ESQ: Would the revision or the adoption of a new Constitution be among your negotiating points should peace talks resume with the government?*

JMS: The third item in the substantive agenda of the peace negotiations is political and constitutional reforms. The Comprehensive Agreement on Political and Constitutional Reforms shall stipulate the constitutional reforms. We can anticipate proposals to simply amend the existing GPH constitution or to use the constitutions of the GPH and the people's revolutionary government as the basis for making a new constitution.

*ESQ: Bayan Muna has been an active participant in Congress since the introduction of the partylist system. How do you assess the effectivity of Bayan Muna and similarly-oriented parties in the Philippine legislature? Has the legislative role of Bayan Muna have an impact on the role and tactics of the NPA?*

JMS: The representatives of Bayan Muna and other progressive partylist groups, which advocate national independence and democracy, have done well in proposing patriotic and progressive bills for the benefit of the people. Some of the bills pass with a tolerable amount of amendments and other bills are not passed or are mutilated by amendments.

What the progressive partylist groups can do in the reactionary Congress is extremely limited. It does not have much impact on the role and tactics of the NPA by way of changing them. Definitely, it does not persuade the NPA commanders and fighters to cease fighting and join the parliamentary struggle.

*ESQ: Do you agree with Noynoy Aquino's approach so far to the conflicting territorial claims between the Philippines and China? Should the current Chinese leadership be seen as hostile or aggressive towards Philippine interests?*

JMS: It is alright for Noynoy Aquino to assert Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity over the islets, reefs and shoals of the sea west of the Philippines in accordance with the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea that clearly state that these are within the 200-mile exclusive economic zone of the Philippines.

But he and his regime should do more to strengthen the Philippines economically, with its own industrial base, in order to discourage China from bullying the Philippines and the US from using the controversy to further entrench itself in the Philippines economically, politically and militarily.

It is wrong and absurd for China to claim the entire China Sea as its territory and to violate what it has signed, the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea which defines the exclusive economic zone of the Philippines in the sea west of the Philippines.

*ESQ: What unexpected lessons did you learn during the decade or so you lived "underground" in the Philippines?*

JMS: In the 1970s, I was sure and firm about the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. But there were unexpected lessons to learn from the variables of the situation and from the surprises that the enemy tried to pull. Forced disappearances, arrests, torture and massacres by the enemy occurred frequently and suddenly and I had to think how to avoid or counteract these and how the revolutionary forces could move forward.

*ESQ: What insights, if any, have you taken from Dutch or European politics or culture that you feel would find application in the Philippines?*

JMS: We can learn from the history of Europe and The Netherlands that there must be a political will to break up the feudal system and carry out the industrial development of the Philippines. The liberal democratic revolution of the bourgeoisie and the revolutionary strivings of the industrial proletariat for socialism have contributed to economic, social, political and cultural development.

If we can carry out genuine land reform and national industrialization, then we can create the broad base for political and cultural development. We can build a New Philippines that is independent, democratic, socially just, progressive and peaceful. Unlike the capitalist powers of Europe, we can strive to make all-round advances without engaging in colonialism and imperialism and without having a big bourgeoisie that has brought about the current crisis that is comparable to the Great Depression.

*ESQ: What has prevented you from returning to the Philippines? Are there any undertakings the Aquino government should commit to before returning to the Philippines?*

JMS: The most constructive reason why I have not yet returned to the Philippines is to help make sure that the peace negotiations continue in a foreign neutral venue, where the problems of security for any of the negotiating panels do not imperil or burden the substantive negotiations.

I propose that the Aquino government come back to the negotiating table and be ready to make agreements on social, economic and political reforms for realizing a just and durable peace. It is pertinent to recall that it was

his mother who sent then Rep. Jose Y. Yap in 1989 to contact me for the purpose of peace negotiations.

I appreciated the approach and I agreed immediately to the exploratory talks despite the word war in the media about the cancellation of my Philippine passport in late 1988. On the question of peace for the Philippines, I always rise above personal and partisan considerations for the higher interest of the Filipino people.

*ESQ: Have you kept up with contemporary Filipino culture? What was the last Filipino movie that you had seen?*

JMS: Of course, I have kept up with contemporary Filipino culture, including literature, music, dance, painting, sculpture, films and so on. I saw most recently the film *Migrante*.

*ESQ: Do you still write poetry? What was the last one you wrote about?*

JMS: Yes, I still write poetry. A Dutch publisher will publish in October a new selection of my old and new poems. I wrote recently a short poem, “Mga Yugto ng Buhay Ko” (The Stages of My Life), which has been set to music by the Belgium-based Filipino singer-composer Jeffrey Guiban.

*ESQ: What do you do when you are not working?*

JMS: I imagine and write poetry. I also sing alone or with the help of Youtube. I enjoy most doing the karaoke with friends.

*ESQ: What has growing older taught you?*

JMS: To be more careful with my health and to conserve my strength for work and other worthwhile activities. I do not smoke anymore and I avoid places where people smoke.

*ESQ: What makes you laugh?*

JMS: Green jokes, which are friendly to the natural and social environment. What is laughable even to the ladies. Also the incongruities of the high and mighty.

*ESQ: Have you thought about that first day upon your return to the Philippines? What do you see yourself doing on that first day?*

JMS: I will have a big party with relatives and friends to exchange pleasantries and start renewing personal relations.

# ***Message to All Attending the Book Launch of Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution***

**July 20, 2013**

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I thank all of you for attending this book launch. I thank Prof. Luis V. Teodoro, Chair of Aklat ng Bayan for welcoming you earlier through his representative Prof. Noli Queaño. I thank Ruth de Leon, Issa D. Palo, Levie Ebio, Joel Celestial and the other organizers for realizing this event.

I give special thanks to the distinguished speakers the Hon. Satur Ocampo, Dr. Dante Simbulan, Prof. Sarah Raymundo and Jaquelin Joy Eroles and to my cooperators in various projects Jonas Staal, Dr. Charlie S. Veric and Ms Paloma Polo for giving their kind remarks.

I thank the editor-in-chief Julieta de Lima, executive editor Alvin Firmeza and book designer Janos Sison for having worked hard to produce this book, *Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution*.

I reiterate my thanks to Aklat ng Bayan and International Network for Philippine Studies, for the publication of this book and the next four books, under the general title of *Continuing the Philippine Revolution*.

I am deeply pleased that the entire series of books is meant to celebrate the 150th birth anniversary of Andres Bonifacio, the leader of the old democratic revolution of 1896, and is aimed at refreshing consciousness of the new democratic revolution in the period of 1968 to 1990.

May the books serve the purpose of imparting knowledge and more importantly promoting the ideas for continuing the struggle for national and social liberation of our people who suffer intolerable exploitation and oppression in the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

Mabuhay kayo!

Isulong ang rebolusyong Pilipino!

Mabuhay ang sambayanang Pilipino!

# ***National Democratic Struggle and People's Trial of US Imperialism and its Puppets***

Lecture to the New World Academy in Utrecht, The Netherlands

November 15, 2013

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Fellow artists and Friends, Good afternoon! Thank you Maria Hlavajova of the Basis voor Actuele Kunst for the warm welcome and Jonas Staal of the New World Academy for the introduction to the program.

My task today is to talk about the national democratic struggle and the people's trial of US imperialism and its puppets in the Philippines. This is in connection with the title of this session, Towards a People's Culture, which centers on the critical role of arts and artists in the struggle for national liberation and democracy in the Philippines. I am pleased that Luis Jalandoni of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines will focus on the conflict between cultural imperialism and people's culture.

I shall describe the political, socioeconomic and cultural aspects of the national democratic struggle. Thus, I provide a broad context for the conflict of cultural imperialism and people's culture and the more direct discussion by the other speakers on art and specific forms of art, like the musical, graphics, the effigy and the "people's trial" as a theatrical model, in relation to the national democratic movement of the Philippines.

I shall also give my views on how art and literature are necessary and essential in "putting on trial" US imperialism and its puppets by exposing their crimes and bringing about the condemnation and judgment of the malefactors and their crimes. Thus, art and literature contribute decisively to arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses and to advancing from the symbolic trial to the real trial of the criminals in the drama of the revolutionary process. In keeping with the theme of people's trial, I wish to present the coldblooded and systematic crimes of US imperialism and its puppets in oppressing and exploiting the people, the programmatic demands of the people for national and social liberation and the process of rendering justice. By taking up the Philippine case in a broad context, I hope to contribute to the development of a transnational "people's trial" as a major function of art against oppression and exploitation.

## ***1. The national democratic struggle in the Philippines***

The Filipino people have the distinction of being the first nation in the whole of Asia to carry out and win a revolutionary war of national independence against a Western colonial power. The Philippine revolution started in 1896 and triumphed over Spain in 1898. But after pretending to be friendly and helpful to the revolution, the US ignited the Filipino-American War in 1896 and carried out a war of aggression in order to destroy the Philippine republic and impose its own colonial rule over the Philippines.

The Philippine revolution of 1896 was anticolonial and antifeudal and had therefore a national democratic character. The bourgeois liberal intelligentsia (ilustrados) successfully provided the leadership to end Spanish colonial rule. But it failed to prevail over the newly risen modern imperialist power of the US, based on industrial monopoly capitalism, with superior military weapons and with the capacity to use the bourgeois liberal ideology to coopt the Filipino intelligentsia and deploy investments to extract superprofits.

The US carried out a barbaric war in order to defeat the Philippine republic. It killed a total of 1.5 million Filipinos out of a population of 7 million in the course of the officially designated Filipino-American War of 1899 to 1902 and further pacification campaigns up to 1914. It used a brutal strategy and tactics it had applied against the First Nation and Mexicans. It unleashed food blockades, forced relocations of entire communities and the extensive use of torture and extrajudicial killings.

The US forced the Filipino people to finance their own military conquest and subjugation. It floated war bonds in Wall Street and subsequently made the people pay for these through taxation. To extract superprofits, it made investments in the expansion of plantations, opening of mines, establishment of a few monopoly enterprises and acceleration of domestic and foreign trade. It generated a semifeudal type of social economy dependent on imported manufactures and raw material exports from a persistent feudal base.

It established an educational and cultural system that perpetuated colonial mentality but this time servile to the US instead of Spain. It superimposed bourgeois ideas and values on those feudal and religious ones previously propagated by the dominant Catholic church. It systematically used education and culture to breed a new and bigger corps of puppet politicians and to produce the professionals and clerks to serve the expanded

bureaucracy and businesses.

The social structure that has arisen from the semifeudal economy includes the basic ruling classes of the comprador big bourgeois and landlords, who are fractions of one percent of the population. The intermediate social strata are the middle bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie which are around 1 percent and 8 percent, respectively. The basic exploited classes are the workers and peasants, which are around 15 and 75 percent respectively.

Since the early years of the 20th century, the trade union movement has developed among the workers. Since 1930 upon the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI), the revolutionary idea of the working class leading the people in the national democratic revolution and consequently the socialist revolution has acquired reality and taken roots in the Philippines.

As soon as it was established in 1930, the CPPI was suppressed by the US colonial regime. It was allowed to operate legally under the auspices of the antifascist Popular Front in 1937.

It organized the People's Army Against Japan in 1942 after the Japanese invasion of the Philippines. The opportunities and prospects for advancing the Philippine revolution were undermined by strategic errors of the CPPI leadership, swinging from Right opportunism (from 1942 to 1946) to "Left" opportunism (1948 to 1952) and again to Right opportunism (1954 to 1962).

In 1946 the US granted nominal independence to the Philippines. Since then, the political system has become semicolonial, no longer ruled directly by the US but indirectly through puppet politicians who are essentially bureaucrat capitalists and who serve the US as well as the interests of the big compradors and landlords in the semifeudal economy. The US has retained its dominance and control over the economic, political, cultural and security system of the Philippines.

The Philippines was touted by the US as the show window of democracy (in fact a cesspool of neocolonialism and semifeudalism) because the duopoly of the Liberal Party and Nacionalista Party alternated in taking presidential power through periodic elections. But after getting himself reelected through fraud and terrorism in 1969, Marcos carried forward his scheme to impose a fascist dictatorship and carried it out through the proclamation of martial law in 1972.

While the socioeconomic and political crisis of Philippine society was rapidly worsening in the latter half of the 1960s, the proletarian revolutionaries who were guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought separated from the old Communist Party in 1966. They criticised and repudiated the wrong line and strategic errors of the Lavaite leaders of that party since 1942.

They clarified the character of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and the corresponding character of the Philippine revolution as national and democratic under the leadership of the working class. The motive forces of the revolution are the workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. The enemies are US imperialism, the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists. The current stage of national democratic revolution through protracted people's war is directed towards reaching the stage of socialist revolution.

Accordingly, the Communist Party of the Philippines was established under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on December 26, 1968. It founded the New People's Army on March 29, 1969. It initiated the formation of the National Democratic Front on April 24, 1973. In the progression of these events, the revolutionary cadres and the people fought the frenzied and violent preparations and imposition of the fascist dictatorship on the people.

The revolutionary advance of the CPP, NPA and NDF was the decisive factor in the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986. But since then, one regime after another has masqueraded as democratic and has oppressed and exploited the people for the benefit of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

The new democratic revolution through protracted people's war has therefore continued in order to fight for national liberation, democracy, social justice, development through land reform and national industrialization, a national, scientific and mass culture and international solidarity for peace and development. The revolutionary forces and people have gained strength through the people's war in the countryside and the legal mass movement in the urban areas.

## ***II. Crimes of US imperialism and its puppets***

For the purpose of the people in putting on trial US imperialism and its puppets, we must be aware of the comprehensive range of crimes that they are culpable for. US imperialism must be held accountable. When we

speak of US imperialism, we refer to the US federal state and its various agencies, the corporations and banks which are impelled by monopoly capitalism to engage in aggression and plunder.

1. The genocidal killing of 1.5 million Filipinos amounting to 20 percent of the Philippine population of 7 million is a horrendous crime. It was the brutal way by which US imperialism violated the national sovereignty of the Filipino people and destroyed the Philippine republic.

2. The direct colonial occupation of the Philippines from 1902 to 1946, except for the interregnum of Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945, meant the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people. The people were taxed by the colonial state to pay for the costs of US aggression and colonial occupation.

3. The US monopoly capitalists extracted superprofits from the Philippine colony by plundering its natural resources, subjecting the workers to inhumanly low wages in public works and in US enterprises, promoting the unequal exchange of raw-material exports and manufactured imports and subjecting the country to debt peonage to US banks.

4. The US used the Philippines as launching base for aggression against China and for getting a piece of the Chinese melon in the colonial game. This started the criminal use of US military bases in the Philippines for aggression against the neighboring countries of the Philippines, especially after World War II, against China, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Indonesia.

5. The US engaged in cultural imperialism and perpetuated colonial mentality. It imposed on the people not only the English language but also pro-imperialist ideas and values that obscured the blood debts of the US and misrepresented the exploitation of the people as beneficial. It bent the feudal and medieval belief system of the dominant Catholic church to serve the interests of US monopoly capitalism.

6. The US trained the bureaucrats, politicians and professionals to be servile to US imperialist power and to use the language of pro-imperialist liberal democracy to deceive the people. It was most responsible for promoting bureaucrat capitalism. It taught the children of the exploiting classes and the urban petty bourgeois to seek and hold power and amass private wealth through bureaucratic corruption

7. The US has fostered the comprador big bourgeoisie as its principal trading and financial agents in the country. This class is responsible for ensuring raw material production for export and for importing foreign manufactures and distributing them in the country. The US has also retained the landlord class for the purpose of controlling food production and agricultural production for export.

8. When the US pretended to grant independence in the Philippines in 1946, it was sure of being able to rely on its puppets: the big compradors and landlords and bureaucrat capitalists. Since then it has retained control over the economy, the politics, the culture, security and diplomatic relations of the Philippines.

9. The US is culpable for the semicolonial system of exploitation, underdevelopment and rampant poverty. The daily violence of exploitation has caused the untimely death of many more Filipinos than those 1.5 million killed from 1899 to 1913.

10. To this day, the US provides arms, indoctrination, training and strategic planning to the military and police forces of the reactionary state and is culpable for military campaigns of suppression and the gross and systematic human rights violations. It has forces of military intervention in the Philippines and uses these to dominate the Philippines and threaten neighboring countries under the US pretext of a permanent war on terrorism and the US strategic policy of pivot to East Asia.

US imperialism maintains hegemony over the Philippines because it is assisted by the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists. These reactionary puppets are complicit with the US in grave crimes against the Filipino people and they take their own initiatives to oppress and exploit the people.

1. Puppetry to US imperialism is a grave crime against the people. It is treason. It is the betrayal and violation of the people's sovereignty and national independence in an all-round way. Traitors are subject to trial by the people.

2. Bureaucratic corruption is a grave crime committed by the bureaucrat capitalists. They auction off the economic sovereignty, the national patrimony and business privileges to foreign monopoly corporations and big compradors. They impose a heavy tax and debt burden on the people and rob the national treasury through the pork barrel system.

3. The big compradors based in the cities collaborate with and assist the foreign monopoly capitalists in undertaking super-exploitation and extracting superprofits through investments, trade and finance. In

combination with US imperialism, they get the most out of the sweat and blood of the people.

4. The landlords hold sway over the countryside and impose feudal and semifeudal forms of exploitation on the masses of peasants and farmworkers. The despotic landlords wield political power and use the armed personnel of the state and private guards to suppress any form of resistance from the exploited.

5. The rights of the workers are curtailed. The law of the reactionaries is slanted against the workers' right to form trade unions and exercise their democratic rights. Violence is easily employed by the proprietors and the state against the workers' trade unions and their strikes. Thus, the wage and living conditions of workers are always deteriorating.

6. The puppet reactionary state engages in bogus land reform program to deceive the peasant masses and preserve landlordism in the Philippines. The landlords sell land to the state for the purpose of "land reform" only upon their volition and compensation at the current market price. Landlordism is rampant and so is land grabbing for the purpose of unbridled mining, logging, plantation and real estate speculation.

7. Every regime of the reactionary puppet state has a campaign plan for the suppression of peasants who demand land reform and the workers who fight for their trade union rights. The puppets receive arms and advice from their imperialist master for the purpose. The US and every puppet regime wantonly engage in human rights violations.

8. The share of public education, health, housing and other social services is ever subject to diminution while the funds flow mainly to military expenditures, bureaucratic corruption and debt service.

9. The right to self-determination of the national minorities and indigenous people is grievously violated. They are deprived of their right to ancestral domain and their land and other natural resources are grabbed from them by the local exploiting classes and by the mining, logging, plantation and real estate companies. 10. The reactionary puppet state constantly invites the US military forces to further entrench themselves in the Philippines and provides facilities to them in violation of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines. It also supports US imperialism in realizing its hegemony and strategic plans over the Asia-Pacific region.

### ***III. The Process of trying the malefactors***

Upholding, defending and promoting the people's culture is a crucial and necessary part of the comprehensive program for the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines. People's culture has a national, scientific and mass character.

By having a national character, it upholds national independence and serves the needs and aspirations of the nation. It cherishes and harmonizes all the regional and local cultures in the country. It learns from other countries but is not subservient to them or dependent on them. It contributes what it can to the advance of human civilization and international solidarity.

By being scientific in character, it is free from the shackles of medieval belief and superstition and at the same it respects the freedom of thought and belief. It adopts revolutionary ideas from the high road of human civilization. It seeks to modernize and develop society by benefiting from scientific and technological advances.

By having a mass character, it serves the rights and interests of the toiling masses of the people and not of the few who belong to the exploiting classes. The culture of the people is opposed to the culture of the exploiting few.

The arts are a great part of culture. They include architecture, sculpture, painting, creative writing, music, dance, theatre, photography and comics. All these art forms and their creations are not simply passive objects of appreciation or static reflectors of reality, they should be an active force for exposing and opposing the crimes of malevolent forces in society, for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses and for making fundamental social change.

It is fine that we have with us in this session Walkie Miraña who can explain to us the role of the cultural worker as an organizer of resistance and how the various art forms are concentrated in the theatre as a distinct form of art and done so with minimal costs but with maximum effect in activating the people against injustices and crimes. It is also fine that we have Lisa Ito who can explain to us the art of protest puppetry and how effigies of the malefactors are made and burned in an act of judgement and condemnation. We appreciate the New World Academy for inviting them and also for arranging the exhibition of the works of art that have been created to reflect and advance the national democratic struggle in the Philippines.

It will still take some time before the people's democratic revolution can overthrow the existing ruling system on a nationwide scale in the Philippines in order to put on trial the worst of criminals, mete out punishments to



them and put to an end the root causes of oppression and exploitation. But while the juridical processes of the people's democratic state system are not yet available, except in the countryside where revolutionary organs of political power and people's courts have come into existence, the cultural process of putting on trial the criminals through the various art forms can run ahead and have influence and effects on a wide scale.

In reflecting social reality and exposing and opposing the crimes of oppression and exploitation, the various art forms metaphorically, symbolically or allegorically perform the various stages and functions of the criminal trial, such as preliminary investigation, indictment and the trial proper in which facts are established on the basis of evidence and testimonies and the application of law in the judgment. It is the moral court of public opinion rather than a court of law that is addressed in the people's trial of the malefactors. The people's trial can be further invigorated and reinforced by integrating or coordinating it with artistic works and performances.

The existing courts of the oppressors are theatrical in trying and deciding cases within the parameters of the unjust ruling system. The revolutionary people and forces in the Philippines have all the right to stage people's trials of US imperialism and local reactionaries in order to expose and oppose the real criminals and fight for justice. The people's trial has been demonstrated by Philippine organizations since a long time ago. During the First Quarter Storm of 1970, the mass meetings at public squares were referred to as people's tribunals. There have also been internationally well-known indoor trials like those of the Russell Tribunal since 1967 and the Permanent People's Tribunal since 1979.

The people's trial acquires moral authority and political weight 1) because the people themselves and their organizations establish it; 2) because it takes up serious issues which affect the life of an entire nation or the entire humankind but which are ignored or suppressed by the oppressive authorities and by their courts, 3) because it has for judges those respected for moral integrity, knowledge and a high sense of justice; 4) because it adopts the process of hearing out the conflicting sides, especially the long repressed aggrieved side; 5) because it applies the principles and standards provided by international law, especially the International Bill of Rights and International Humanitarian Law; and 6) because the people further legitimize the decisions by propagating and carrying them out.

The people's trial of US imperialism and puppets by the various art forms is meant to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses for the revolutionary movement to get rid of the oppressive and exploitative ruling system and establish a new system in accordance with the people's demands for national Independence, people's democracy and social justice, economic development through land reform and national industrialization, national, scientific and mass culture and international solidarity of peoples for peace and development.

The highest and most serious purpose of the cultural people's trial is to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses and consequently to replace the unjust ruling system. Thereafter, it is the people in a just system that exercise revolutionary power to end national and class oppression and exploitation and authorize and oversee the real juridical people's trial of the criminals.

# ***Global Trends and the Philippine Political System***

## **Presentation at the Forum on Global Trends and the Philippine Political System at the University of the Philippines Baguio November 28, 2013**

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I thank the Alliance of Concerned Students, ANAKBAYAN and League of Filipino Students for inviting me to this forum as the speaker. I am happy to join you in celebrating the 150<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary of the great Andres Bonifacio and the 49<sup>th</sup> founding anniversary of Kabataang Makabayan. I am tasked to present the global trends and the Philippine political system before I receive and answer the questions in this forum.

### **A. Global trends**

1. The crisis of global capitalism and global depression continue, especially because the imperialist powers stick to the neoliberal economic policy. This has accelerated the accumulation and concentration of capital in the hands of the few through the intensified exploitation of labor, the liberalization of investment, trade and finance, privatization of public assets, anti-social and anti-environment deregulation and denationalization of the underdeveloped economies.
2. Rising mass unemployment and prolonged economic stagnation are the result of the crisis of overproduction and bursting of financial bubbles. The economic and financial crisis is further aggravated by the so-called quantitative easing or wanton printing of money by the US to cover its public deficits. Industrial capitalist countries generally have adopted austerity measures in a vain attempt to reduce their public deficits and solve their debt problem. Thus, they pass the burden of crisis to the people and aggravate the crisis of the entire economy.
3. The imperialist powers step up war production and launch wars of aggression. They consider these as stimulus to economic growth, while they consider spending for social services as counter-productive. Maintaining military superiority through more advanced weaponry, the deployment of military forces and wars of aggression is aimed at protecting and promoting foreign investments.
4. The imperialist countries whip up reactionary currents like chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, fascism and warmongering in their home grounds to deflect the people's attention from the capitalist roots of the crisis. The monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial oligarchy conceal their responsibility for the crisis through their control of the mass media and the dominant political parties.
5. To override contradictions among themselves, the imperialist powers unite against the third world countries and peoples and shift the burden of crisis to them through intensified super-exploitation, lopsided trade, currency imposition, international usury, intensified plunder and ruin of the environment.
6. The third world peoples are resisting. Mass protests are occurring daily all over the world. Those who are waging armed struggles against foreign domination and the local exploiting classes have the best chances of achieving national and social liberation. Some third world states assert national independence: DPRK, Cuba, Venezuela, Syria and Iran. They are resisting threats, provocations and blockades.
7. Despite their efforts to unite at the expense of the third world, the imperialist powers are hard pressed by the crisis. There is less space for mutual accommodation among the imperialist powers due to the addition of China and Russia. Thus, inter-imperialist contradictions are growing over economic, trade, financial, political, security, spying and environment issues.
8. The combination of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) has arisen as an economic bloc. It contributes to the multi-polarity of the global economy against the vain attempts of the US to maintain hegemony over all. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization has also arisen as a countervailing force to the US and NATO, especially in Asia.
9. The US has created politico-military quagmires for itself in West Asia, North Africa, Central Asia and South Asia and has potential trouble spots elsewhere but is pivoting to East Asia in an apparent move to contain China. The US is showing off its military power to push the Chinese authorities to further privatize state-owned enterprises and to encourage the Chinese bureaucracy to drop their residual pretenses at socialism.
10. In connection with its pivot to East Asia, the US is further entrenching itself in the Philippines militarily and

otherwise. In effect, the US has gotten back military bases under the guise of rotating ever larger military forces and accelerating the comings and goings of aircraft carriers and other vessels of war.

### ***B. The Philippine political system***

1. The crisis of global capitalism certainly afflicts the Philippine economy. Exports (especially semiconductors) have been drastically reduced. Low-value added semimanufacturing and assembly plants have shut. Agricultural production has decreased. Over-dependence on call centers or business processing outsourcing (BPO) and labor exports & remittances of overseas contract workers (OCW) can only aggravate the underdevelopment of the country. Unemployment is increasing rapidly. Prices of basic commodities and services are rising. Social services are decreasing and deteriorating.

The extraction of mineral ores is accelerated but these are being smuggled out. At the same time, luxury imports are being smuggled in. OCW remittances and BPO incomes are at risk. Budgetary and trade deficits are widening. The foreign and local debt burden is becoming heavier. OCW remittances from most countries are decreasing but appear to grow only because of nurse and caregiver remittances from North America.

2. The Aquino regime boasts of having the fastest growing economy in the whole world. But what is really the content of the GDP of US\$250 billion. It is a lie to claim a miracle economy when there is no industrialization going on. The GDP is a bubble created mainly by hot money (portfolio investments) in the carry trade and wanton government borrowing and spending for non-productive purposes. The hot money from abroad flows mainly into the stock market and at best finances a growing overcapacity and bubble in private construction.

A real estate bubble is now being replicated in the Philippines. Even families of OCWs with short-term contracts have been teased into buying condos on mortgage. The bubble can burst any time soon due to the rise of interest rates in the imperialist countries, a bust in the China bubble or a sharp fall of OCWs due to wars or social disorder abroad.

3. The underdeveloped, agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy, dominated by the imperialists, big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists, has been aggravated and deepened in the absence of genuine land reform and national industrialization.

4. As a consequence, the Philippine political system remains ever more the instrument of the US and the local exploiting classes of big comprador and landlords through the bureaucrat capitalists who themselves are members of the exploiting classes or come from the urban petty bourgeoisie and know no better than to improve their economic and social standing. The ruling system has been weakened by the privatization of its earning assets, the ever-worsening crisis and by unbridled bureaucratic corruption.

5. The bureaucrat capitalists amass private wealth in the form of capital and land by using their government offices for the purpose. They are divided into factions that take the form of political parties and coalitions and compete for power and the spoils of power. There was the duopoly of the Nacionalista and Liberal parties before the Marcos monopoly through the KBL. Now, there is a multiplicity of parties dedicated to bureaucrat capitalism. In any case, the parties use the elections for peaceful rotation in the occupation of offices and for creating the illusion that the people have the freedom of choice. The latest feature of the reactionary elections is the adoption of the automated electoral system and its manipulation by a cabal of foreigners and big compradors.

6. The elections are used to formalize the exclusion of the genuine representatives of the toiling masses of workers and peasants (more than 90 percent of the people) who are earlier excluded by surveillance and vilification by the security services and bourgeois mass media and by the high financial costs of running an electoral campaign. As a result of a Supreme Court decision, the big comprador-landlord dynasties and parties will block any progressive urban petty bourgeois to win a congressional seat through the partylist system.

7. The bureaucrat capitalists amass wealth by favoring their campaign financiers, relatives and cronies with economic privileges, by adopting policies and rules for the purpose and by cutting into business contracts and government appropriations (especially with the use of the pork barrel system). Currently, the Filipino people are outraged by the corruption involved in the manipulation of pork barrel funds like those under PDAP and DAP and in the disappearance of calamity funds, so badly needed now by millions of disaster-stricken people in the Visayas.

8. The Philippine political system has been so designed that government officials are rewarded through the corrupt practices of bureaucrat capitalism for preserving and promoting the dominance for foreign monopoly capitalism and the exploiting classes and for betraying national sovereignty, auctioning off the national patrimony

and for making constitutional amendments and laws that favor the foreign monopoly investors and the local exploiters.

9. Aquino was previously touted as the icon of good governance and economic growth. This kind of BS is in connection with the US scheme of combining psy-war, intelligence and brutal military operations under Oplan Bayanihan to destroy the revolutionary movement. Thus, he was unwilling to have serious peace negotiations with the NDFP on basic social, economic and political problems and, if only to insult the NDFP, practically demanded the scrapping of all previous agreements and the surrender and pacification of the revolutionary forces and people under the guise of an indefinite ceasefire.

10. The Aquino regime is depending on US military intervention for the perpetuation of the oppressive, exploitative and corrupt ruling system. Thus, it welcomes every move of the US to entrench its military forces and expand US economic, political and cultural dominance in the Philippines. It is betraying and violating the national sovereignty of the people, selling out the national patrimony and letting the US use the Philippines as a base of aggression in East Asia and as a base of rapid deployment on a wider scale.

# ***Speech at Forum and Launch of Five-Book Series, Continuing the Philippine Revolution***

December 22, 2013

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As author, I am deeply pleased and honored that this forum and the launch of the five-book series under the general title, *Continuing the Philippine Revolution*, is a major part of the program of the Informative and Cultural Gathering. I thank the International Network for Philippines Studies and the Linangan Art & Culture Network for arranging this event. And I also join them in thanking the New World Academy and the Basis voor Actuele Kunst for facilitating it.

I am elated by the coincidence with and relevance of the book launch to two major events. First, the Filipino people continue to celebrate the 150th birth anniversary of Andres Bonifacio, who founded the Katipunan and launched the initial battles of the Philippine revolution of 1896. Second, the Communist Party of the Philippines is now celebrating the 45<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its reestablishment under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism in 1968.

*Continuing the Philippine Revolution* encompasses the following books: *Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution*, *Defeating Revisionism, Reformism and Opportunism*, *Building Strength through Struggle, Detention and Defiance Against Dictatorship* and *Continuing the Struggle for National and Social Liberation*. The contents of these books span the years 1968 to 1990.

Available for sale in the current launch are *Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution* and *Defeating Revisionism, Reformism and Opportunism*. It is fine to have these two books at the same time. They are complementary.

The first book presents comprehensively the principles, policies and program of action of the Communist Party of the Philippines in leading the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against their barefaced and frontal adversaries, US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The second book shows the adversaries on the flanks, such as revisionism, reformism and opportunism, which if unchecked could be detrimental to the people and the revolution.

*Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution* contains the founding documents of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), such as its Constitution and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution; and of the New People's Army, such as its Declaration and its Rules. It contains the articles that I wrote in the period of 1968 to 1972. These reflect the circumstances and initial efforts of the Filipino people and the Party to continue the Philippine revolution.

The CPP was reestablished under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It adopted the general political line of the Filipino people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. This is aimed at fully reizing national liberation and democracy and thereby putting an end to the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and paving the way for the socialist revolution. The CPP and other revolutionary forces strengthen themselves by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people in their millions.

The leading force of the revolution is the working class, which is the most advanced productive and political force. The CPP is its advanced detachment. The main force of the revolution is the peasantry, especially the landless peasants and farmworkers. The workers and peasants constitute the basic revolutionary alliance. This is augmented by the urban petty bourgeoisie; and further by a patriotic alliance with the middle bourgeoisie. All together they confront and seek to defeat US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. They also take advantage of contradictions among these reactionaries under certain conditions.

The program of the CPP is to complete the struggle for national independence and empower the workers and peasants in a people's democratic state system, carry out land reform and national industrialization, achieve social justice, promote a national, scientific and mass culture, uphold proletarian internationalism and develop relations of international solidarity among the peoples and their institutions.

From the book you can gain insights into why and how the revolutionary movement has been able to win the support of millions of Filipinos, withstand the brutal campaigns of suppression designed by US strategic planners and unleashed by the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the post-Marcos pseudo-democratic regimes and to grow in strength and advance from one stage to another.

After 45 years of revolutionary struggle, the CPP has increased from only 80 members to around 150,000 and

has become national in scale and is deeply rooted among the workers and peasants. It leads the New People's Army which has thousands of Red fighters in more than 110 guerrilla fronts in large parts of 71 provinces. It also leads the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, which includes 17 revolutionary organizations of various social classes, professions and causes. It has established the people's democratic government in the form of local organs of democratic political power in order to supplant the reactionary state.

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### ***The struggle against revisionism, reformism and opportunism***

The CPP and the Filipino people have demonstrated that they can make revolutionary advances despite the dismal turn of events on the world stage in the years of 1989 to 1991 when the socialist cause was put on a strategic retreat as a result of the full blast restoration of capitalism in what were then revisionist-ruled countries. At that time, China was in social turmoil, the revisionists of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe sped up their privatization of state assets and the Soviet Union no less collapsed and disintegrated.

The imperialists and their camp followers declared the death of socialism forever. Francis Fukuyama became an ideological shooting star by proclaiming that the end of history is capitalism and liberal democracy. The US was overbrimming with arrogance as it became the sole superpower and pushed further its ideological, political, economic, military and cultural offensives. The anticipated so-called peace dividends from the end of the Cold War became a license and big financial allowance for the US to instigate wars of aggression.

In the Philippines, the political and ideological agents of US imperialism and the local reactionary classes were beside themselves with glee and boasted that the CPP, NPA, NDF and the revolutionary mass movement would wither away for lack of external support because of the integration of China and Russia into the world capitalist system.

Conveniently, they obscured the fact that the CPP arose from the revolutionary tradition of the Filipino people (starting fully from the anti-colonial and democratic revolution of the Katipunan and Andres Bonifacio) and adopted a program of people's democratic revolution based on the needs and demands of the Filipino people against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. The basic documents and successful revolutionary practice of the CPP prove this point.

US imperialism and its camp followers pretended not to know that the CPP was reestablished in opposition to modern revisionism centered in the Soviet Union, in opposition to the long line of opportunism of the Lava revisionist clique in the old Communist party and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique in the old people's army and in opposition to the reformism peddled by the Jesuitic anti-communists and paid hacks of every passing regime in the Philippines, who were usually drop-outs or betrayers of the national democratic movement. In this connection, it is important to read and study the second book, *Defeating Revisionism, Reformism and Opportunism*.

The CPP took seriously Mao's critique of modern revisionism as well as his theory and practice of continuing revolution under the proletarian state through cultural revolution in order to combat revisionism, prevent capitalist restoration and consolidate socialism. Even as it was defeated in China itself after some years of victory in the period of 1966 to 1976, the anti-revisionist struggle of Mao has a strong influence on the CPP in terms of firming up the revolutionary will and inspiring the militancy of cadres and members; and most importantly it explains why and how socialist societies degenerate from within and disintegrate without suffering any defeat from an imperialist war of aggression.

The Filipino proletarian revolutionaries are confident that they can win the democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution and can further develop the theory and practice of continuing the revolution in socialist society against the danger of revisionism and capitalist restoration. Remember that the Paris Commune of 1871 won and was defeated but it yielded the lessons for Lenin to win the first socialist revolution. To obfuscate the fact that modern revisionism was the main cause of the degeneration and disintegration of previous socialist societies is to becloud the road of advance for the proletariat in the continuing era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

While it might still be difficult for some people to appreciate the continuing and long-term value of the anti-revisionist struggle, let us puncture from another angle the arrogant claim of the imperialists and their puppets that socialism is dead forever because even the big socialist countries of the past have turned capitalist and have become absorbed by the world capitalist system. In fact, the addition of two big capitalist powers now cramps the global ruling circle and hampers the expansion of the prior imperialist powers.

The former big socialist countries acquired a high sense of national sovereignty (within the framework of proletarian internationalism) and developed an industrial base while they were still engaged in socialist revolution and construction. Now two additional big capitalist powers are competing with the previous imperialist powers. They are nationally wilful and have expanded their capitalist base. They now pose an increasingly big problem for US imperialism and the world capitalist system.

Many strategic planners and pundits of US imperialism are now most worried about China. They regret that in

a big way the US manufacturing base has been undermined by outsourcing the production of consumer goods to China to take advantage of cheap labor in the Chinese sweatshops. They realize that concentration on the high-end production of big items and the financialization of the US economy cannot compensate for the loss of jobs in the decline of the manufacturing sector.

Even as a large part of the export income of China belongs to US and other foreign multinational firms, China has been able to use for its own purposes the foreign exchange holdings of the Chinese Central Bank: to buy US treasury securities and thus put the US in debt to China; finance the expansion of Chinese economic activity domestically and externally; increase military expenditures at home; and directly seek out sources of fuel and other raw materials abroad.

In the 1990s and in most years of the first decade of the 21st century, the US enjoyed the status of sole superpower and used this to the hilt in waging wars of aggression in the Balkans, the Middle East and Central Asia. China and Russia went along with the US in its so-called war on terror in the wake of 9/11. But they have eventually tended to look after their own interests and declared a preference for a multipolar world.

Thus, they have formed the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the BRICS economic bloc and they have taken positions divergent from the US position in the UN Security Council and in various multilateral agencies over major economic, financial, trade, political, security and other issues. The big capitalist powers still try to maintain their unity against the working people and the third world countries. But contradictions among the big capitalist powers are being fueled and driven by the current crisis and self-serving US impositions.

### ***Crisis of global capitalism and protracted global depression***

Even before the years of 1989 to 1991, the US and other imperialist powers were already confronted with the problem of the recurrent and worsening crisis of overproduction. They thought that the problem of stagflation could be solved by the neoliberal economic policy. This puts the blame for the crisis on rising levels of wage incomes and social spending by government and prescribes maximizing and accelerating the accumulation of both productive and finance capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie which is misrepresented and magnified as the creator of wealth and jobs.

Now we see the ever-worsening crisis of the world capitalist system. A global depression has gripped the world. The imperialists and their puppets are once more afraid of the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movements. Gone are the days when the ideologues and propagandists of imperialism could boast of capitalism and liberal democracy as the end of history and the presumed death of socialism. Nowadays, even Pope Francis is strongly critical of capitalism, openly takes a friendly look at the theology of liberation and suggests that communists who do good can also go to heaven.

The neoliberal economic policy has brought about the worst economic and financial crisis since the Great Depression by accelerating the accumulation and concentration of capital in the hands of a few through the most vicious means of pressing down wages; the wanton liberalization of investments, trade and finance; the most corrupt privatization of state assets; the reckless deregulation of social and environmental restrictions; and the overbearing denationalization of the economies of underdeveloped countries.

In a vain attempt at concealing the capitalist roots of the crisis, the imperialist powers are whipping up ultra-reactionary currents, such as chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, anti-migrant bias, fascism and war mongering. The imperialist powers are also saying that war production is a stimulus to economic recovery and that the overseas deployment of military forces is the way to expand the sources of cheap natural resources and cheap labor, the market, field of investments and spheres of influence. Thus, they are more prone than ever before to engage in military intervention and unleash wars of aggression against third world countries.

We see how workers, migrant workers, women and youth and the rest of the people are adversely affected by the crisis of overproduction and the bursting of one kind of financial bubble after another in the capitalist countries. States are afflicted by the public debt crisis and impose austerity measures on the people in order to further pass the burden of crisis to them. Mass unemployment is rising, wage incomes are further declining even as the costs of living are rising, social services are deteriorating and yet becoming more expensive.

As a result of the financial meltdown and economic crisis since 2008, a global economic depression has gripped the entire world, especially the underdeveloped countries. In the Philippines, the export income from semimanufactures and raw materials has fallen while the costs of imports have risen. Mining is being done all over the country and the mineral ores extracted are underdeclared and undervalued. The widening trade and



budgetary deficits are further increasing the debt burden. The tax burden is increasing, with most of the state revenues going to counterproductive programs and projects, bureaucratic corruption through the pork barrel system, military overspending and debt service.

The US-Aquino regime boasts of economic growth in the Philippines. But this is generated by hot money (portfolio investments) from abroad which go mainly into the stock market and the money market and at best encourages the private construction bubble and consumerism of a small part of the population. The lack of genuine land reform and national industrialization keeps the Philippines underdeveloped and impoverished. Unemployment has risen abruptly, incomes have plunged and the costs of basic goods and services are soaring.

A great number of Filipinos continue to seek employment abroad in the absence of jobs at home. But the worsening crisis of global capitalism, the turmoils in an increasing number of host countries and the ultrareactionary political campaigns against migrant workers prejudice and put the migrant workers at great risk. According to a report, overseas employment of Filipino has actually decreased but the increase of money remittances from them are accounted for mainly by the nurses and caregivers in North America.

Under conditions of worsening economic and social crisis, the people are made to suffer rising levels of exploitation and oppression. They are driven to fight for their basic democratic rights and legitimate interests. We therefore see the spread of mass protest rallies and general strikes in both developed and underdeveloped countries. In the underdeveloped countries, armed revolutionary movements are gaining ground. In the Philippines, the revolutionary forces and people are determined to advance from the strategic defensive and strategic stalemate in the people's war.

The broad masses of the Filipino people cherish their revolutionary tradition. Thus, they are joyously celebrating the 150th birth anniversary of Andres Bonifacio. They understand their own needs and they want to liberate themselves from foreign and feudal domination. Thus, they celebrate the 45th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party and they resolutely and militantly participate in the ongoing democratic revolution for national and social liberation. They draw confidence from the resurgence of the antiimperialist and socialist movements as a result of the protracted and ever-worsening crisis of global capitalism. Thank you.

# **Remarks at Netherlands Launch of *Building Strength through Struggle***

February 9, 2014

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I am happy that *Building Strength through Struggle*, the third book in the series of five books titled Continuing the Philippine Revolution, is now being launched in The Netherlands in conjunction with the celebration of my 55 years of service to the revolutionary cause of the Filipino people as well as my 75 years of existence outside of the womb.

This book extends, reinforces and further develops the principles, policies and major lines of action for carrying out the people's democratic revolution, as put forward by the earlier two books in the series, *Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution* and *Defeating Revisionism, Reformism and Opportunism*. It includes the major documents of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), which I drafted and the major articles that I wrote under the nom de guerre Amado Guerrero, from the formal declaration of martial law on September 21, 1972 to my capture on November 10, 1977.

The book is indispensable to understanding why and how under the leadership of the CPP the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces successfully fought and defeated the US-instigated fascist dictatorship of Marcos. The dictatorship was designed to destroy the revolutionary movement but instead served to incite the people to rise up further against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. Let me cite the major contents of the books to show how the CPP guided the revolution.

When Marcos imposed fascist dictatorship on the people and outlawed all types of legal opposition, the CPP was already ideologically, politically and organizationally prepared to lead the people in the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy. Soon after the declaration of martial law, the Party issued the comprehensive statement, "Overthrow the US-Marcos Dictatorship to Achieve National Freedom and Democracy." It condemned the dictatorship as an ultra-reactionary instrument of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes and called for its overthrow through people's war. It described the fundamental and fatal weaknesses of the fascist state and the conditions for its eventual downfall notwithstanding its appearance of overwhelming power and invincibility.

Basing itself on the nationwide spread of the Party, the New People's Army, the underground mass organizations and the local organs of political power, the Party issued the "Guide for Establishing the People's Democratic Government," to lay down the principles, policies and methods for building the revolutionary government in the countryside in order to replace the counterrevolutionary state of the big compradors and landlords based in the urban areas. It was in the period from 1972 to 1977 that the revolutionary forces struck deep roots among the people, especially among the toiling masses, on a national scale.

The Party issued "Specific Characteristics of Our People's War in the Philippines" on the basis of the rich experience already accumulated by the New People's Army from 1969 to 1975. This historic document creatively applies Chairman Mao Zedong's principles, strategy and tactics of people's war to concrete Philippine conditions by taking into account the relatively wide countryside and the archipelagic and mountainous character of the country as well as the domestic and international situation. The comprehensive and profound formulation of the strategy and tactics has guided the New People's Army and the revolutionary movement in growing in number and all-round strength and frustrating the enemy campaigns to destroy the armed revolution.

The Party issued "Our Urgent Tasks" to sharpen the general political line as one of combating fascism, feudalism and imperialism and called on the revolutionary forces to carry out the urgent tasks and the proper methods and steps in building the local organs of political power and the mass organizations of various types and waging the mass campaigns for land reform and other social purposes. Since then, the mass base of the armed revolution has been growing wave upon wave. The requisite of mass work has ensured the mass base for carrying out a protracted people's war.

The "10-Point Program of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP)" was first outlined in 1973. It was eventually elaborated upon in 1977, spelling out in major detail the method for overthrowing the Marcos autocracy. It shows how the national and democratic rights and interests of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie can be realized and harmonized and how the united front of the basic

revolutionary forces must be built. The NDFP has been consolidated thereby as a united front of the basic revolutionary forces serving as a reliable base for engaging in broader alliances in order to isolate and destroy the enemy at every given time.

The decisions taken by the CPP Central Committee were resolutely and militantly implemented by the Party rank and file, the New People's Army and the masses. The ground for fighting and defeating the Marcos fascist dictatorship was well laid on a national scale from 1972 to 1977. Thus, even after I was captured by the enemy on November 10, 1977, I continued to be confident that the Filipino people and their revolutionary cause would prevail over the enemy.

It is necessary to read and study all the contents of *Building Strength through Struggle* in order to understand why and how the people's democratic revolution had led to the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, how it has continued to fight and win victories against the pseudo-democratic regimes, how it has frustrated subjectivist and opportunist trends and how it has excelled as a torchbearer of armed revolution led by the proletariat amidst the dominance of neocolonialism in the underdeveloped countries, the full restoration of capitalism in former revisionist-ruled countries and the neoliberal plunder and aggression of the imperialist powers worldwide.

The CPP, NPA, NDFP and the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines enjoy the respect, appreciation and support of the world anti-imperialist movement and the international communist movement. This book *Building Strength through Struggle* illumines the path to understanding this fact.

# ***Sum Up your Experience, Know your Strengths and Plan your Advance as a Chapter***

## **Keynote Speech at the General Assembly of ILPS-Philippines**

**May 28, 2014**

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I extend to you warmest greetings of solidarity from the International Coordinating Committee (ICC) and the whole of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) on the holding of the ILPS- Philippines General Assembly. It is an opportunity for you to sum up your experience, assess and measure your current strength, make plans and resolutions and elect the new National Coordinating Committee (NCC), Chairperson and General Secretary.

We are immensely happy to know that you are holding your General Assembly as part of the preparation for the ICC Meeting on June 5-7. We are glad that the leading organizations based in the Philippines are preparing the reports of the Commissions for the ICC Meeting. We expect these reports to be processed, finalized and sent to the ILPS General Secretariat.

We are glad that among the content of the reports would be the plans of action and campaigns until 2015. We expect that by imparting your plans to your assembly, all the ILPS member-organizations in the Philippines would consider them in their own planning. The reports can also serve as basis for the resolutions of the assembly.

The resolutions may deal with the important and priority campaigns, conferences, and globally coordinated actions; with revitalizing, operationalizing or improving the work of the Commission secretariats; or with strengthening the cooperation and coordination with other national chapters in the region, especially in the face of the growing interest and focus of the US and other imperialists in East Asia and Oceania.

We welcome and will seriously consider the proposal for your chapter to serve as the host country committee for the 5<sup>th</sup> International Assembly (5<sup>th</sup> IA). We will be ever-grateful for your excellent hosting of the 4<sup>th</sup> IA. The Netherlands has shown how to host two consecutive assemblies of ILPS. We can hold the coming assembly to coincide with your protest actions against the APEC Summit in 2015.

You are holding your assembly at a time that the worsening global crisis of the capitalist system and the ruling system in the country are generating the worst of evils that US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism have meted out to further oppress and exploit the broad masses of the people, especially the toiling masses of work-hing to amend the 1987 constitution in order to allow the US and other foreign corporations to own land and all types of businesses up to 100 percent. It is tightening the grip of the US on the Philippine economy by tying it up to another trade agreement, the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement, which is calculated to strengthen US economic hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region.

US imperialism is also further entrenching its military forces in the Philippines through the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement in conjunction with the US pivot to Asia to ensure US military hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region. In addition to its so-called war on terror, the US is using also its so-called efforts to make China act according to law. In fact, it pretends to be neutral between China and the Philippines in their territorial dispute but pursues its own national interest through a dual policy of collusion and contention with China.

The Aquino regime's class character is that of an inveterate big comprador and big-landlord. It adheres to the imperialist policy of neoliberal globalization to intensify and deepen the feudal and semifeudal conditions of exploitation. It is aggravating the land problem through the widespread expansion of plantations for export and bio-fuel production as well as of mining and logging firms that damage agriculture and the environment.

The regime shows its antagonism to land reform through the attempts of the Aquino-Cojuangco family to sabotage, divert, and nullify the distribution of land to farm workers and peasants in Hacienda Luisita. The reduction of land devoted to food production goes together with the reconcentration of land in the hands of a few landlords and agrocorporations. The violent reversal of land reform and the unhampered export of raw mineral materials serve as obstacles to national industrialization.

The Aquino regime is hypocritically using the slogan of "the right eous path." It brazenly practices bureaucrat capitalism. It uses public office as a means for its relatives, friends, classmates and presidential shooting buddies to accumulate private wealth. The latter use state loans, tax evasion and other privileges to expand their private businesses. They milk or privatize state corporations for their selfish benefit. They earn from contracts of

businesses owned by others. They steal public funds through the pork barrel system. They engage in smuggling through official ports and so-called free ports or export processing zones.

In order to maintain the rotten ruling system, the regime perpetrates for Aquino's relatives and cronies gross and systematic human rights violations, including extrajudicial killings, illegal arrests and detention, torture, violent displacement of the people from their urban or rural shanties and land grabbing. The regime has been using the state system's organized violence for further concentrating its own power, wealth and arrogance and deliberately paralyzing the peace negotiations to force the surrender of the revolutionary forces and avoid the needed social, economic and political reforms for a just and lasting peace.

In its shameless reactionary display of puppetry to foreign monopoly capitalism and feudal interests and its deep contempt for the masses of workers and peasants, it has publicly declared its disavowal and opposition to land reform and national industrialization as part of the agenda in the peace negotiations with the NDFP in accusing the latter of being "too ideological" and "obsolete." The regime is utterly steeped in its neocolonial and neoliberal mentality and ways.

The objective conditions are excellent for creatively and effectively combining the campaigns to systematically expose, fight and completely isolate the US-Aquino regime before 2016 while intensifying the anti-imperialist campaigns leading up to the protest actions against the 2015 APEC Summit. We are fully confident that the ILPS-Philippines Chapter will significantly contribute to this undertaking.

We call on the ILPS-Philippines Chapter to carry out more frequent and bigger anti-imperialist demonstrations and other protest actions, as well as many education and information activities. These can be done through various means: (1) through its own efforts and initiatives, (2) through coordination and cooperation with BAYAN or any of the member-organizations in the Philippines, (3) in coordination with chapters in Australia, Hong Kong and Indonesia, (4) in cooperation with other anti-imperialist formations like IMA, IWA, WORKINS, RESIST, APC, Ban the Bases Coalition, AWC, IAC and others and (5) as part of globally coordinated actions under ILPS initiative.

We call on the Philippine chapter to make more frequent statements on the major issues in the Philippines and the Asia-Pacific region for the information of the ICC, for posting on the ILPS website and for mass actions. The US has declared that it considers the region far more important than any other region, where it has expended a lot of resources in wars of aggression, and it is determined more than ever to exert more effort to ensure its hegemony in the region in the whole of the 21st century.

Let us muster and use all our efforts and resources to further expose and oppose all the current and future maneuvers of US imperialism and its lackeys in the Asia-Pacific region in their evil scheme to intensify plunder and aggression. The ILPS is ever committed to the struggle of the people for national freedom, democracy, social justice, progress and enduring peace. Let us concretize this commitment until victory!

# ***Statement at the Forum after the Screening of The Guerrilla Is a Poet***

**August 29, 2014**

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A militant patriotic greetings to you, particularly Sari and Kiri Dalena, directors of *The Guerrilla is a Poet* (TGIP), Karl Medina who played my character, to the other actors, Keith Sicat and other members of film production, Tudla Productions and others in charge of the present Pandayan festival, all film viewers and forum participants.

The showing of the movie *The Guerrilla is a Poet* during the 6<sup>th</sup> Pandayang Lino Brocka Film and New Media Festival is a big honor for Julie and me and the movement of patriotic and progressive forces of the Filipino people. We thank all those in charge of the film showing and this forum.

We salute Tudla Productions for organizing this at the Pandayang Lino Brocka, and the National Commission on Culture and the Arts and the UP Film Center for their support of Pandayan.

We are deeply pleased that *The Guerrilla is a Poet* was chosen to be one of the films whose theme on social movement suited the present Pandayan. We also greet the producers of the different films participating in the festival.

The film TGIP focuses on Julie and me as husband and wife and as comrades in struggle. It depicts how we participated in the revival of the mass movement against imperialism and feudalism in the 1960s, in the promotion of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general line of the people's democratic revolution, and in the formation of the revolutionary party of the working class, the people's army and the united front.

We thank all comrades and friends, the toiling masses and the patriotic and progressive forces. Whatever we have contributed in advancing the revolution is due to their trust and support. We have overcome hardships in the struggle, as well as the deliberate and malicious torture by the enemy because we always strive to serve the Filipino people and advance the Philippine revolution.

The problems that we faced still remain. These problems are foreign monopoly capitalism, local feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The Filipino people also persist in their desire to achieve national and social liberation and continue to socialist revolution to eliminate the exploitation of one class by another and by a few countries of other countries.

We hope the film helps you to explain the problems of our country and provides lessons and inspiration for you to continue the people's revolutionary struggle towards complete victory in a truly independent and democratic country where social justice, all-sided development, peace and solidarity among all the peoples of the world reign.

## ***Greeting Gelacio Guillermo on the Launch of his Book, Mga Tula***

September 15, 2014

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It is my pleasure to convey my revolutionary greetings to Gelacio Guillermo on the launch of his book, *Mga Tula* (Poems) and on owning that he and Kris Montañez are one. It is praiseworthy that he authored using his real and his pen name the beautiful poems that illustrate and give worth to the lives of the toiling masses and their struggle for liberation from oppression and exploitation.

It is fitting to honor him on the occasion dedicated to the farmworkers and peasants of Hacienda Luisita and commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Hacienda Luisita massacre. Born in Obrero, Central Azucarera de Tarlac in 1940, he resided ahead of the Cojuangcos and Aquinos in Hacienda Luisita. He grew up, studied and worked in the environs of the hacienda.

I remember that when I first met Gelacio in the University of the Philippines, he was interested in literature and poetry and in presenting social truth through art. However, the following semester he disappeared from campus and I thought at first that he was just around but had cooled off from revolutionary discussions and activism.

The fact was he disappeared from the campus for one semester to work and earn his tuition and expenses for the next semester. Thus, Ka Gelacio had an advantage over me in grasping the viewpoint of the oppressed and exploited. He directly experienced and felt oppression and exploitation. On the other hand, I had to start only from observing and learning the conditions of the toiling masses.

Comrade Gelacio is the original poet of the toiling masses of Hacienda Luisita. I first knew him as a poet from his poems about Hacienda Luisita. His first published book was entitled *Azucarera*, a collection featuring the life and struggle of the farmworkers and peasants of Hacienda Luisita.

Although Ka Gelacio was born and took roots in Hacienda Luisita the significance and scope of his writings as a poet and critic has become national, pro-proletarian and universal, serving the Filipino people and the proletarian leading class under the current people's democratic revolution and onward to socialist revolution

The poems of Ka Gelacio are a Philippine literary treasure. He is one of the most outstanding authorities on Philippine revolutionary literature since the 1960s due to his thoroughgoing and diligent study and compilation of narratives and poems of his fellow writers who participate in the revolution.

I am grateful for his being the first to translate my collection of poems entitled *Prison and Beyond*. We all thank him for all his writings and other deeds as teacher and activist in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the toiling masses and the entire Filipino people for their liberation.

# ***An Introduction to the Role of Activism in Relation to Philippine Development Issues***

**Read at the International Development Studies  
at the Utrecht University, November 17, 2014**

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I thank Prof. Robert Fletcher and the International Development Studies Program for the invitation to speak on the role of activism in relation to development issues in the Philippines.

Let me try to give you a brief introduction on the basic problems of economic underdevelopment in the Philippines and the program of action for economic development being proposed and demanded by three types of activism associated with the legal national democratic movement, the people's democratic revolution and the movement for a just and lasting peace.

Mr. Luis Jalandoni, Chief International Representative and Chairperson of the Panel of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) Negotiating with the Panel of the Government of the Philippines (GPH), will speak on the minimum and maximum programs of land reform in relation to the people's democratic revolution which integrates armed struggle, land reform and mass base building.

Ms. Julieta de Lima, Chairperson of the NDFP Committee on Social and Economic Reforms negotiating with its counterpart in the GPH-NDFP peace negotiations, will speak on economic sovereignty, genuine land reform, national industrialization and social justice being demanded by the peace movement and the people.

The Philippines is an archipelagic country east of the Asian mainland, north of Indonesia and south of Japan. It has a population of more than 100 million and a workforce of 59 million. It has rich natural resources, including 14 out of the 16 mineral ores necessary for industrial development. But the Filipino people are poor consigned to an underdeveloped, agrarian, pre-industrial and semifeudal economy, despite the abundance of Filipino professionals, scientists, technologists and skilled workers. More than 10 per cent of the population or more than 20 per cent of the workforce have to look for work abroad and are in more than 120 countries.

The Philippines has a current GDP of US\$272 billion. The GDP per capita of US\$2790 puts the Philippines at the 126th spot. Because of the inflow of hot money or portfolio investments, there was a rise of the GDP by 6.8 percent in 2012 and 7.2 percent in 2013. This has led the multilateral agencies, hedge funds and the business journalists to hype the Philippines as a newly-industrialized country, an emergent market or a tiger cub economy. The false illusion of industrialization is conjured by teaming up the output values of the service and industry sectors at 54.4 percent and 33 percent respectively against that of agriculture at 12.3 per cent and the work force distribution of 52 percent and 15 percent in the service and industry sectors against 33 percent in agriculture. But the service and industry sectors are heavily dependent on foreign debt and imported equipment and fuel, add low values and are consumption-oriented.

Let me give you a bit of history. The Filipino people underwent more than three centuries of Spanish colonial rule and became the first Asian people to overthrow a Western colonial power in 1898. But the US launched an imperialist war of aggression in 1899 and imposed colonial rule on the Philippines. Despite the nominal grant of independence in 1946, the US continues to dominate the Philippines as a semicolony (if you wish to stress political control) or as a neocolony (if you wish to stress the economic and financial control). The domination is done through unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements in the political, economic, financial, security and other spheres.

Let me give you a view of the social structure. The ruling classes in the Philippines are the comprador big bourgeoisie based in the big cities and the landlord class based in the expanse of the countryside. They are the main exploiting classes and are merely 1 per cent of the population. The intermediate social strata are middle bourgeoisie and urban petty bourgeoisie which are 1 and 7 percent of the population, respectively. The basic exploited classes are the working class and the peasantry, which are 16 and 75 per cent, respectively.

The high officials of the Philippines are essentially political representatives of the aforesaid ruling classes. They do compete as factional groups in periodic elections but they are bound to adopt and implement social and economic policies that harmonize the interests of the US and multilateral agencies and the local exploiting classes. They have been called the bureaucrat capitalists serving as brokers between the foreign monopoly capitalism and domestic feudalism. Whether they take the form of autocracy or an oligarchy, these bureaucrat capitalists



equally oppress and exploit the people.

Under the auspices of neocolonialism, we have some industries dependent on imported equipment and fuel. We have undertaken reassembly and repacking enterprises, token land reform and graft-ridden infrastructure building since the 1950s. We have gone through the First UN Development Decade of the 1960s and the Second Development Decade of the 1970s, with the IMF looking after the financial subordination of the Philippines to the US and other developed countries and the World Bank financing graft-ridden infrastructure programs and projects to facilitate the traditional exchange of raw material exports and manufactured imports. The UN development decades coincided with the Marcos fascist dictatorship prolonging the import-substitution assembly plants and eventually paving the way for the reexport-oriented semimanufacturing enterprises in export-processing zones.

The basic problems of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism have persisted. These have been aggravated under the auspices of neoliberalism which has resulted in increased investment privileges for multinational firms and banks, privatization of public assets, deregulation and denationalization of the economy. Under the neoliberal policy dictated by the US to the post-Marcos regimes, the WTO has drawn the Philippines to “free trade” agreements at the global and regional levels, multilaterally and bilaterally. The Philippines to some extent has been one of those underdeveloped countries favored at times with money and credit flows for private construction booms and reexport-oriented semimanufacturing of semi-conductors and basic consumer goods like garments, footwear and subsequently hard hit by the global financial and economic crisis.

The Philippines is chronically beset by foreign trade deficits and mounting foreign debt because of the unequal exchange of imported manufactures on one hand and the exported raw materials and semimanufactures on the other hand. The construction of high rise buildings, the accelerated export of mineral and plantation crops and the remittances of overseas contract workers have not resulted in industrial development but in further underdevelopment. Budgetary deficits have also grown because of economic stagnation and wastage of public funds in bureaucratic corruption and military expenditures.

The underdeveloped Philippine economy is in a chronic state of crisis. This is well manifested by widespread poverty, high rates of unemployment, landlessness, ever decreasing levels of income, soaring prices of basic goods and services, grossly inadequate social services (in education, health, housing, poverty alleviation, disaster relief and so on) and the ever deteriorating infrastructure. The dire economic and social conditions, the exploitativeness and repressiveness of the ruling system have made the Philippines a fertile ground for social activism.

In 1958 when I was a graduate student and teaching fellow at the University of the Philippines, I was among the students who wrote patriotic and progressive articles and formed a student organization to demand full national independence and democracy, social justice, economic development through land reform and national industrialization, a patriotic and progressive culture and international solidarity with peoples fighting against imperialism and reaction. We succeeded in reviving anti-imperialist and antifeudal protest actions and generating a significant national democratic movement among students nationwide by 1961.

We proceeded to bring our political and organizational work to the toiling masses of workers and peasants. In 1962 we joined the research and education department of the Workers’ Party and we conducted seminars among the trade unions. We were also able to establish connections with peasant associations and provided them with refresher courses on land reform and the national democratic movement. By 1964 we were able to establish the Patriotic Youth, a comprehensive organization of students and young workers, peasants, teachers and other professionals.

By 1966 we formed a united front organization for workers, peasants, youth, women, professionals, patriotic businessmen, bourgeois national members of Congress and progressive religious. We were able to hold mass actions with as many 25,000 participants. We consistently demanded the abrogation of unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements with the US, especially in the economic and military spheres, and the adoption of policies for land reform and industrialization. We joined the workers in their strikes against particular employers and against government policies. We also joined the peasants in demanding genuine land reform.

Our demands were not heeded by those in power, although we were allowed extremely limited time to express our views in public congressional hearings and in the bourgeois mass media. By 1968 we were confronted by increasingly repressive measures. We raised the level of our activism from entirely legal forms of struggle to revolutionary armed struggle without giving up or opposing the patriotic and progressive forces that carry out legal

struggle, including electoral struggle and struggle in court against human rights violations in the political, civil, economic, social and cultural fields.

We reestablished the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and we issued the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. We have consistently called for economic sovereignty, social justice and economic development through land reform and national industrialization. We have considered land reform as the main content of the democratic revolution because it spells the economic, social and political liberation of the peasant majority of the people. We stressed the complementary relationship of land reform and national industrialization. The open secret about the CPP being able to wage a protracted people's war is the persistence of gross exploitation and rampant poverty and the success of the CPP and the peasant movement in carrying out agrarian revolution in stages.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, the mass organizations and the local organs of political power grew in strength as fascist dictatorship was imposed by Marcos on the people from 1972 to 1986. As soon as Marcos fell, the revolutionary forces were ready to negotiate peace with those who came to power. But the worst reactionaries have so far succeeded in fouling up the possibility of peace by being far more interested in the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary than in addressing the roots of the civil war with agreements on social, economic and political reforms.

Even then, the NDFP as representative of the revolutionary forces and people is ever ready to resume formal talks in peace negotiations. It appreciates the rise of one more form of activism undertaken by peace advocates and people from various classes and sectors who demand that the Manila government and the NDFP pursue the peace negotiations seriously in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and succeeding agreements. The peace movement reflects the clamor of the people for social, economic and political reforms as the basis of a just and lasting peace.

As the social and economic crisis is worsening in the Philippines, it is urgent to resume the negotiations on social and economic reforms. The NDFP has submitted its 50-page draft of the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms since a long time ago. Development issues are addressed in this draft. They refer to the problems of foreign economic domination, persistence of feudal and semifeudal exploitation and bureaucratic corruption.

The solutions are spelled out, such as upholding economic sovereignty, conservation of the national patrimony, wise utilization of natural resources, land reform, national industrialization, immediate provision of livelihood and employment and expansion of social services. The NDFP continues to hope that said solutions can be realized by the combined strength and cooperation of the now conflicting forces.

**November 29, 2014**

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I am elated that *Struggle for National Democracy (SND)* and *Philippine Society and Revolution (PSR)* are republished in both English and Pilipino to celebrate the 50<sup>th</sup> founding anniversary of Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth).

These two books are historical documents of the period when they were first published. At the same time, they have continuing relevance and validity. They continue to shed light on the persistent semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system of the big compradors and landlords under US hegemony. They confront the problems of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and they point to the people's revolutionary course of action.

*SND* consists of articles and speeches that I wrote in the 1960s. Most of these were done in my capacity as the Chairman of the Kabataang Makabayan. Subsequently, the book became a basic reading material for all KM members. It became known figuratively as the bible of the KM and the youth movement for national liberation and democracy. To this day, it is read and studied avidly by the young men and women interested in fundamental social transformation through the national democratic revolution.

*PSR*, which I wrote in 1969, is an even more comprehensive and thorough presentation of the essential history of the Filipino people, the three basic problems that afflict them and the people's democratic revolution as the solution. The general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war is clearly set against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

The motive forces and the enemies of the revolution are clearly defined. The socialist perspective of the revolution is made clear. The motive forces of the Philippine revolution include the working class as the leading force, the peasantry as the main force, the urban petty bourgeoisie as the swing force and the middle bourgeoisie as additional supplementary force in a national united front. They confront and struggle against the local reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords in a revolutionary civil war and are prepared to wage a war of national liberation against the escalation of US military intervention to the level of an aggressive war.

The basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry is at the foundation of the revolutionary united front. The urban petty bourgeoisie is one more progressive and revolutionary force and the middle bourgeoisie is one more patriotic and positive force in the united front. Under certain conditions, the united front may be further broadened to take advantage of the contradictions among political forces of the exploiting classes and hasten the isolation and defeat of the reactionary diehards who are the enemy.

As the most progressive political and productive force in Philippine society, the working class leads the national democratic and socialist stages of the revolution. By winning the national democratic stage in combination with the peasantry through people's war, the working class acquires the strength to proceed to the socialist stage of the revolution.

Through the people's democratic revolution, with the working class and the Communist Party as its advanced detachment, the people's democratic state system is built, economic development is propelled through land reform and national industrialization, a national, scientific and mass culture flourishes and international solidarity is promoted for the just cause of peace and development against imperialism and reaction.

Since the first editions of *SND* and *PSR* in 1966 and 1969 respectively, there have been great advances in the development of the people's democratic revolution and in the further production of revolutionary literature enriched by the actual life and death struggle between the self-reliant revolutionary forces and the parasitic reactionary forces enjoying the fruit of oppression and exploitation and the support of US imperialism.

The new editions of *SND* and *PSR* must be read and studied in connection with the practical and theoretical development that has been achieved. This point cannot be missed if we keep in mind at the very start that many of the activists of Kabataang Makabayan that were guided by *SND* proceeded to study *PSR* thoroughly and advanced to become proletarian revolutionaries. Guided by both *SND* and *PSR*, the KM expanded nationwide and took roots among the youth, including the students and young workers, peasants and professionals.

The Communist Party of the Philippines owes much to the KM for its role as assistant of the working class and as training school for revolutionaries. Those who took the lead in reestablishing the CPP under the guidance of

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in 1968 came from the KM. And many of those responsible for expanding the CPP nationwide and taking deep roots among the toiling masses of workers and peasants came from the KM.

The KM has been enlightened and motivated by SND and PSR. Thus, it has become a major part of the revolutionary struggle of the people and has contributed greatly to its advance. The revolutionary victories achieved by the KM and its veterans have been paid for with hard work and sacrifices. The record of the KM is outstanding in fighting the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the succeeding pseudodemocratic regimes and the entire ruling system since the 1960s.

Despite the fall of the Marcos fascist regime, the KM has remained in the urban revolutionary underground and in the field of armed struggle. It continues to play the role of the Communist Youth League and make significant contributions to the development of the revolutionary struggle.

I am glad that in this foreword I have the opportunity to cite the role and achievements of Kabataang Makabayan in connection with the celebration of its 50th founding anniversary and the latest editions of the *Struggle for National Democracy* and *Philippine Society and Revolution*.

# ***Message on the Launch of Detention and Defiance against Dictatorship***

**December 15, 2014**

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As the author of the book being launched today, *Detention and Defiance against Dictatorship*, I am extremely pleased and deeply grateful to the organizers of this activity, Anakbayan, BAYAN and Aklat ng Bayan.

I take pleasure in extending my greetings to the guests. I am sure they belong to generations of revolutionaries: my long-time comrades in the struggle and younger comrades. This event forms a meaningful part of the celebrations of Kabataang Makabayan's golden history. In this regard, I am delighted as the founding chairman of KM.

It is fine that you have made time to attend this event in the middle of your busy schedules in defending human rights and fuelling the desire to overthrow the ruling system of big compradors and landlords and replace it with a national-democratic system of the toiling masses and middle social strata.

The book covers my prose from the time of my arrest and detention in 1977 up to my release from prison as a result of the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986. It was a time of personal and daily confrontations and intense struggle with the dictator and his minions inside their camp.

The book includes my statements and writings condemning the torture that I suffered, defending basic civil and political rights, advocating the people's democratic revolution, explaining the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, expounding on the mode of production in the Philippines, assailing the assassination of Ninoy Aquino and calling for a united front to overthrow the fascist dictatorship.

I can only give you tidbits about the book's contents, and will not elaborate. I hope that you will read the book to restudy the fascist dictatorship and the successful struggle within and outside prison and draw lessons relevant to the people's current situation and struggle.

Let us expand, consolidate and strengthen the people's struggle for national freedom and democracy. Let us achieve bigger victories until we attain total victory.

Long live the revolutionary role and contributions of the Kabataang Makabayan!

Long live all of the patriotic and progressive forces!

Long live the Philippine revolution and the Filipino people!

# ***Foreword to Louie Jalandoni Revolutionary: An Illustrated Biography***

January 17, 2015

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I am delighted and honored to give the foreword to this book on the pre-revolutionary background and revolutionary record of my beloved comrades, Louie Jalandoni and Coni Ledesma. I have personally known and worked with them since 1974, more than forty years ago. Their struggles, sacrifices and achievements in the service of the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses, are comprehensively covered, filled with gripping insights and presented in a unique artistic way through illustrations.

Even before meeting Louie, I had known about his revolutionary commitment and dedicated work from Jorge Cabardo, the Eastern Visayas regional secretary of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), when he came to Luzon to report to the CPP Central Committee in January 1973. I was therefore jolted and saddened when after a few months I would hear over the radio the report about his arrest together with Coni.

After more than a year, I learned that that they were released from prison upon the intercession of the religious. I was greatly relieved and I asked comrades in Manila to bring them to Nueva Ecija, where Julie and I met them for the first time in 1974. It did not take long before we teased them that they looked more like a love team in the movies than a priest and nun. They impressed us right away that they were serious and resolute but were imaginative and creative and enjoyed revolutionary work.

They were clearly tempered by the revolutionary struggle and by a stint of detention. They had advanced from being Christian militants in social action among the farm workers of Negros to being full-fledged revolutionaries by raising the level of their social consciousness through studies and mass work, becoming candidate members of the Communist Party of the Philippines and becoming founders and officers of the Christians for National Liberation.

In our first encounter with Louie and Coni, the pleasantries and exchange of information shifted to the discussion of work to be done to advance the mass movement against the Marcos fascist dictatorship. In further meetings, we developed concrete plans to defend and assist the political prisoners, carry out a people's referendum to isolate the regime, encourage the bishops to uphold human rights, promote social investigation and produce educational materials for the workers and peasants. Louie and Coni conscientiously implemented the plans with great success in cooperation with other comrades. Since the beginning of our cooperation with them, Julie and I have observed their revolutionary resoluteness and courage, their high level of intelligence and education, their militancy and diligence, their sense of self-sacrifice, their humility and simple lifestyle and readiness for anonymous revolutionary work. They have all the attributes of excellent communist cadres.

To augment and strengthen the communications system of the CPP between Luzon and the Visayas as well as with Mindanao, Louie organized the Frogmen who belonged to foreign religious orders. They were effective not only in nationwide communications but also in special operations to secure the safe accommodation and mobility of responsible comrades. Taking instructions from Louie, they assisted me a number of times to move from one region to another as well as to escape enemy encirclement operations.

In the eyes of ordinary Filipinos and likewise in those of the enemy agents, the European comrades among the Frogmen were Amerikano and were not prone to being suspected as revolutionary and checked on the road. They sometimes drove for Julie and me to rendezvous with Louie and Coni and other comrades for work or study meetings. They also arranged excursions with our relatives and friends. The late Jack Hynes was the most active in serving as a liaison between Louie and me. We enjoyed drinking Irish coffee and eating Irish stew with him.

Louie and Coni maintained close but discreet relations with the assigned responsables in the CPP organizations in the national capital region and the Visayas. They provided help whenever necessary and possible within their capacity. Louie handed to me a large amount of money, consisting of cash gifts at his wedding with Coni. The amount helped the revolutionary movement in the Cordillera. Louie was also chiefly responsible for initiating the development of partnership between people's organizations and foreign institutions interested in supporting community and other social projects.

Louie and Coni were highly qualified to become the international representatives of the National Democratic

Front. Thus, the leadership of the CPP and the NDFP duly appointed them for international work in Europe, with Louie as the chief international representative of the NDFP. Julie and I had the distinct honor of confirming their appointment and bidding them goodbye at a barrio in Mexico, Pampanga in 1976.

We had continuous communications with them until we were captured in November 1977. We knew about their successful initial efforts at establishing solidarity relations in several countries in Europe. We were able to send them the elaboration of the NDFP Guidelines into a full program. When Julie was released from detention in 1982, we came to know about the great success of Louie in organizing the overseas Filipinos, developing solidarity relations with foreign friends and undertaking projects like the trial of Marcos and his fascist cohorts before the Permanent People's Tribunal in Antwerp in 1980.

We reunited with Louie and Coni when we came to The Netherlands in January 1987 in the course of our global lecture tour. They were the most responsible for our lecture tour in Europe. We were able to go to the universities, Filipino communities and solidarity organizations in more than 20 countries in Europe from 1987 to 1988. We presented the basic history of the Philippines, the current problems, struggles and prospects of the Filipino people.

The NDFP international office became our base for our tour. A Dutch comrade close to Louie and Coni helped me to get a position as research consultant in a department at the University of Utrecht. I had the opportunity to write a book and articles. Then in September 1988, the Cory Aquino government cancelled my Philippine passport for the purpose of shutting me up and forcing my return to the Philippines. Louie and Coni advised me and helped me to get an asylum lawyer and to apply for political asylum.

Within the framework of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines NDFP, we have worked with them in undertaking and participating in information and educational meetings, press conferences, seminars and conferences on Philippine and global issues and in issuing publications in the form of periodicals, books, articles and web postings. We have promoted the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation. We have played our respective roles in connection with the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations since the initial approaches of the Cory Aquino regime in 1989.

As chairperson of the NDFP negotiating panel, Louie has adhered to revolutionary principles and exercised flexibility on policy matters and brilliantly and fruitfully led the negotiations and come to a number of agreements with the Manila government. We worked together for the success of the Second Great Rectification Movement in the 1990s. We upheld the basic principles and strategic line of the revolutionary movement and fought hard against those who wanted to condone and cover up serious errors of line and crimes like Kanpang Ahos which were committed in the 1990s.

Louie and Coni have given me and Julie the strongest support by generating campaigns in my support whenever I am under vicious enemy attack, such as the frequent campaigns of vilification, the persistent refusal of the Dutch government to grant me political asylum (despite judicial recognition as a political refugee since 1992), the assassination plots directed from Manila in 2000, the blacklisting as a terrorist and violation of certain rights and withdrawal of social benefits since 2002 and my arrest, seizure of personal papers and my detention on false charges of murder in 2007.

At this point, after trying to show how Julie and I have worked with Louie and Coni and have been the beneficiary of their cooperation and support, let me round up and state some of the outstanding contributions that they have made so far to the struggle of the Filipino people for national liberation and democracy.

1. Before and after falling in love with Coni, Louie demonstrated how to do mass work and strike deep roots among the sugar workers in sharp contrast to the failure of the first team dispatched by the CPP to organize in Negros in 1969.

2. Louie and Coni excelled in united front work, encouraged and developed priests and nuns to join the Christians for National Liberation, cooperated well with those belonging to other Christian denominations and inspired a significant number of the religious to join the CPP and the NPA.

3. They helped in strengthening the secure communications system of the CPP Central Committee in the crucial year of 1975 when the National Liaison Committee was practically dismantled by the enemy.

4. They showed determination and courage when they were arrested and imprisoned and used their detention as a revolutionary school for raising their theoretical and political level and for developing lasting comradesly relations with other political prisoners.

5. They excelled in the representation of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines among overseas

Filipino and in relations with foreign parties, organizations, movements and government agencies and in building solidarity relations in Europe in contrast to the Bruce Occeña clique, which disorganized the work of the Katipunan ng Demokratikong Pilipino from 1977 onwards.

6. They stood up and fought for the Second Great Rectification Movement and fended off the attacks on the basic principles and strategic line of the revolutionary movement and the attempts to con- done and cover up serious errors and crimes. In this connection, they worked for strengthening the international work of the CPP and NDFP.

7. Louie as chairperson of the NDFP negotiating panel and Coni as panel member, international spokesperson of Makibaka and head of the NDFP Special Committee on Children have set the highest standard for negotiating and making agreements by being firm on revolutionary principles and flexible on matters of policy.

The book succeeds in presenting all the foregoing achievements in the service of the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution. It is a necessary, enlightening and interesting read for all those who wish to know and understand more the advance of the revolutionary forces in the Philippines and the international work done on their behalf.



January 18, 2015

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I wrote the contents of *Continuing the Struggle for National and Social Liberation* in the five years following my release from military detention in 1986. As the book title indicates, the theme calls for the continuance of the people's democratic revolution against the US-dominated ruling system of big compradors and landlords. It goes against the propaganda of the US and the local exploiting classes that democracy had been restored in the Philippines upon the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The period covered by the book may be divided into three sub-periods: 1) March to August 1986 when I was in the Philippines with a hectic schedule of giving talks, press interviews and writing articles; 2) September 1986 to August 1988 when I was on a lecture tour in several countries and having less time for writing; and 3) September 1988 to October 1991 when I was prohibited from making trips out of the Benelux countries as a result of my application for political asylum in The Netherlands and I gained time to write.

In the period from March to August 1986, I had an ultra-hectic schedule of press interviews and mostly extemporaneous university lectures and public speeches in Manila and the provinces. My most important written work was the series of ten lectures on the Philippine crisis and revolution which I delivered in April to May at the UP Asian Center in my capacity as faculty member. It was an update of *Philippine Society and Revolution*. I presented the historical roots of the Philippine crisis and the basic problems in the socioeconomic, political and cultural fields, the possible solutions in each field and the prospects of the Philippine revolution.

I read my written papers on various topics before academic and non-academic audiences. The topics included the following: the social basis of the fascist state, the new situation and the new tasks, the nature and problems of the Aquino regime, the contending political forces, the question of ceasefire in the civil war, the need for a national and democratic constitution, the class nature of the constitutional commission, the continuance of semifeudalism, the role of the church in social change and the US military bases.

On my first trip abroad, specifically to Singapore, on June 7, 1986, I spoke on the current questions concerning the Communist Party of the Philippines at a symposium on Philippine Trends at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. After I returned to the Philippines, I devoted much time chairing the Preparatory Committee for the founding of Partido ng Bayan on August 30, 1986. I delivered the report to the founding Congress. At the end of the congress, I proceeded to the airport to fly to Australia for the start of my lecture tour of universities in Oceania.

The two-year period from September 1986 to August 1988 involved a whirlwind of travels to twenty-five countries and of giving mostly extemporaneous university lectures, press interviews and public speeches to trade unions, Filipino communities and solidarity organizations. For the most part of the tour, I traveled with Julie who as international relations secretary of Partido ng Bayan was on her own speaking tour while introducing and linking Partido ng Bayan with progressive political parties in Asia, Europe and Latin America. Julie and I visited several major cities in every country that we toured. We were able to go to a total of more than 70 universities. But I managed to write down some speeches, articles and answers to written questions from major newspapers.

I continued to write on current developments in the Philippines, including the national situation, the ceasefire negotiations and agreement between the NDFP and Aquino regime, the Aquino constitution, the coup threats and the need to continue the Philippine revolutionary struggle. I also wrote on the relations of the Filipino and Japanese peoples, the peak and decline of US power and the rise and prospects of the third world. Sometime in the autumn of 1987, I started writing sessions with Dr. Rainer Werning on the biographical book, *The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View*, to be published in 1989.

I was in New Zealand in the first half of September 1986 and reunited with Julie in Australia up to early October 1986 and then we proceeded to Thailand for me to receive the Southeast Asia WRITE Award for poetry. We went back to the Philippines for a week, October 15-22, to pick up our visa to Japan and we learned from insiders in the Reform the Armed Forces of the Philippines that this group was preparing to implement Oplan God Save the Queen to oust Aquino from power and kill communists associated with her. In Japan, we learned in November about the kidnapping and murder of Partido ng Bayan Chairman Rolando Olalia and his driver. We held memorial meetings to honor them and protest their murder.

After we fulfilled our commitments in Japan, we proceeded to Hong Kong in December 1986 and further on to India in early January 1987. After traveling long distances to give university lectures and speeches in several Indian cities, we left for The Netherlands and arrived here on January 23, 1987. We based ourselves in Utrecht to be able to go to Sweden, Norway, Italy, Belgium, United Kingdom, Ireland, Switzerland, Germany, France, Denmark, Yugoslavia, United Kingdom, Ireland, Spain and Portugal. From The Netherlands, we were also able to travel to Algeria, Yugoslavia, Albania, China, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Nicaragua, Cuba, and Mexico.

In the period from September 1988 to October 1991, I slowed down on my travels because President Cory Aquino canceled my Philippine passport on September 16, 1988 under the pressure of the military on the basis of a trumped-up charge of subversion. On October 15, I had to apply for political asylum and came under travel restrictions. I was subjected to an intensified campaign of vilification directed by the US and carried out by the Philippine authorities, the military psy-war experts and the pro-US agents in the Manila mass media, starting in 1988.

I issued statements against the baseless cancellation of my passport and the falsity of the charge of subversion. I made an open letter against the psywar campaign by the Philippine military misrepresenting a speech of mine in Brussels on the legal national democratic movement as supposedly admitting its connection with the CPP, NPA and NDFP. I denounced the offer of reward money by the Philippine authorities for my capture or death. I wrote articles against the attempts of the US Central Intelligence Agency and the Philippine military to shift the blame from Marcos to me for the 1971 Miranda bombing.

The now defunct *Manila Chronicle* front-paged a series of articles on the basis of a CIA-funded anti-CPP and anti-Sison book to blame me for said bombing or grenade-throwing. I exposed immediately the publisher Westview Press and the author as CIA assets. The military pushed the same charge against me in the joint investigation conducted by the blue ribbon and justice committees of the Philippine Senate in 1989. The investigation did not make any conclusion to recommend me for prosecution.

But the military filed a charge against me before the Manila regional prosecution office in 1991. Ultimately in 1994, the prosecutors made a joint resolution dismissing the charge as based on sheer speculation. Earlier in 1992, the 1988 subversion charge against me was declared baseless, especially because the Ramos regime repealed the Anti-Subversion Law. The military psywar intrigue that I had implicated the legal mass organizations as "fronts" of the revolutionary forces did not find any serious taker among the patriotic and progressive forces. Since 1992, I have been recognized as a political refugee in the Netherlands, under the protection of the Refugee Convention and the European Convention on Human Rights, especially its Article 3.

Even while the campaign of vilification against me was running, a series of Aquino emissaries came to visit me in The Netherlands and offered peace negotiations in 1990 because the socioeconomic and political crisis kept on worsening in the Philippines. The NDFP chief international representative Luis Jalandoni and I agreed, provided the negotiations would be held in a neutral venue abroad because of bitter lessons from ceasefire negotiations in Manila in 1986. Aquino backed out after the Noble military uprising in December 1990. She was reportedly advised by her defense secretary that peace negotiations would further enrage the anti-Aquino elements in the military.

While my adversaries tried to preoccupy me with their propaganda offensives in the years from 1988 to 1991, I was able to carry out a number of responsibilities other than defending myself. I could send messages and statements to the patriotic and progressive forces in the Philippines. I could deliver occasional university lectures and attend conferences in the Benelux countries. I completed the aforementioned book project with Dr. Rainer Werning and promoted the book. Together with Julie, I made my deposition for the human rights litigation in the US against the Marcos estate. My testimony was highly significant in winning the case because I was the only plaintiff whose torture was perpetrated under the direct responsibility of Marcos.

In 1991 Sen. Wigberto Tañada came to The Netherlands to urge the NDFP to persevere in its determination to engage in peace negotiations with the Manila government. He gave a picture of the Senate in relation to the issue of whether or not letting the US-RP Military Bases Agreement lapse. He advised the NDFP that the 17 senators who had already indicated their intent to let the agreement lapse would be further encouraged if at a certain point he would announce on the Senate floor a declaration that the NDFP would immediately declare a ceasefire upon the passing of the Senate resolution letting the bases agreement lapse.

The Senate passed the resolution and in effect terminated the US-RP Military Bases Agreement. The NDFP

reiterated its desire to engage in peace negotiations and declared a ceasefire as a token of appreciation. The long-running movement to end the bases agreement was realized, with the endorsement and cooperation of the NDFP. This was a victory of the Filipino people and all patriotic and progressive forces in asserting national sovereignty and territorial integrity. But so long as US hegemony and the ruling system of big compradors and landlords persist, there are always ways for the US and its rabid puppets to push such new agreements as the Mutual Logistics Support Agreement, the Visiting Forces Agreement and the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement within the frame of the persisting US-RP Mutual Defense Pact. Even when they make certain significant advances, like the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the termination of the US Military Bases Agreement, the Filipino people must strive for total victory in the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. Upon the basic completion of the new democratic revolution, they can begin the socialist stage of the Philippine revolution.

Jose Maria Sison  
Utrecht, The Netherlands  
January 18, 2015

**February 24, 2015**

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The most definitive end of the Marcos fascist dictatorship came February 25, 1986, when the despot Marcos and his family had to be flown out of the presidential palace by US helicopter. There was no other way for them to escape the wrath of the people because tens of thousands of progressive workers and students belonging to Kilusang Mayo Uno and League of Filipino Students respectively had already massed up around the palace.

Since Feb. 22, 1986, hundreds of thousands of people, peaking at 2 million, had occupied the EDSA highway in order to support the breakaway of a military group from the dictatorship and in order to effect the complete isolation and downfall of the autocratic regime. The progressive multisectoral alliance BAYAN served as the hard core of the mass uprising.

Mass uprisings organized and spearheaded mainly by BAYAN also burst out in provincial capitals, cities, and towns outside of Metro Manila. The most dramatic among these was the one in Angeles City, which blocked the tanks of General Palafox from Camp Aquino in Tarlac. The mass uprisings in the provinces served to neutralize and paralyze the civilian and military followers of Marcos.

The doom of the Marcos fascist regime began in 1979 when international credit for the Philippines as well as for the third world countries started to tighten. As a result, the state corporations and the crony corporations—all big comprador enterprises—started to collapse in 1981. More and more groups of big compradors and landlords started to openly criticize Marcos and his cronies who were the only ones bailing themselves out of the crisis with state financial resources.

The regime had difficulties providing funds for the over-expanded military establishment. The fascist dictatorship had failed to suppress the armed revolutionary movement. Instead, it succeeded in causing its accelerated growth in strength. The legal democratic movement had by then started to make conspicuous advances in the form of new militant mass organizations, increasing indoor and outdoor rallies and workers' strikes.

In 1983 Benigno Aquino, who had been in exile in the United States since his 1980 release from prison, thought it was time for him to return home and seize the political initiative from Marcos. He decided to fly to the Philippines on Aug. 21, 1983. The Marcos clique got into a political panic and decided to have Aquino assassinated.

The Aquino assassination proved to be the biggest political mistake of the regime until then. The outrage over it unlid the long pent-up hatred of the broad masses of the people and resulted in unprecedentedly huge mass actions in urban areas and further intensification of the armed struggle from 1983 up to the fall of Marcos. At the core of the revolutionary mass movement was the Communist Party of the Philippines.

It was the revolutionary mass movement that had consistently and vigorously isolated and weakened the Marcos dictatorship over a long period of time. And it was fear of this revolutionary mass movement already making large strides that drove the United States and the majority of the big compradors and landlords, including the Catholic Church, to decide on preparing the way for Marcos' replacement in anticipation of the whitewash of the Aquino assassination.

If we single out the most decisive factor that brought about the fall of Marcos, we must point to the revolutionary mass movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines. This fact is, however, obfuscated by the rise of Corazon Aquino and her pro-imperialist and reactionary cohorts to government positions. The balance of forces was such that the revolutionary movement could cause the downfall of Marcos but could not as yet seize political power or get a major share of power in a government headed by Aquino.

The EDSA uprising, which went far beyond the scale of the EDSA highway, was a sovereign act of the Filipino people in order to overthrow the Marcos fascist dictatorship, which had been instigated and supported by the United States. For a while, the Filipino people were euphoric about having liberated themselves from tyranny. They expected national independence and democracy to flourish. They hoped that violations of human rights would cease as political prisoners were released and a ceasefire agreement was forged between the new government of Aquino and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

But from month to month in 1986 and 1987, the Aquino government exposed itself as the chief agent of US

imperialism and the anti-Marcos section of the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords to which Aquino herself belonged. She upheld as valid the anti-national decrees of Marcos favoring US economic and security interests. She agreed to pay the odious foreign debts incurred by Marcos. She retained and applied the anti-labor decrees of Marcos and she gave the go signal to her military minions to massacre the peasants in front of the presidential palace. Thereafter, she unleashed the so-called low-intensity conflict strategy against the people and the revolutionary forces.

The successors of Marcos, from Corazon Aquino to her son Benigno Aquino III who is the current president of the Philippines, have proven to be fundamentally no different from Marcos as oligarchs of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. Their only difference is that Marcos blatantly proclaimed martial law to oppress the people, whereas his successors employ pseudo-democratic embellishments on the chains of the people. The EDSA uprising succeeded in overthrowing an autocrat but not the entire ruling system of big compradors and landlords beholden to US imperialism.

As a consequence, to this day the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces continue to wage the people's democratic revolution through a protracted people's war. They celebrate the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the EDSA uprising to call for the intensification of the revolutionary struggle, while the oligarchs headed by the ruling Aquino family celebrate the continuance of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines.

1. *The post-war era to pre-martial law period (1945-1972) is called the golden age of Philippine journalism. Do you agree with this? Why or why not?*

JMS: From the viewpoint of a Filipino patriot and progressive, I do not agree with the glittering generality of golden age. The imperialists and the local reactionaries could boast of a free press but not the toiling masses and their revolutionary organizations. In most of the period of 1945-1972, the Philippine press was quite free to report and sensationalize charges and countercharges of graft and corruption and incompetence among the reactionary politicians, and occasionally to level charges of violations of civil liberties against ruling politicians up to the level of the president.

Anti-communist propaganda was rampant in the Philippine press. It was used to viciously silence patriotic and progressive organizations and personalities and to vilify the enemies of US imperialism on an international scale. The forces of the national democratic movement, which arose in the 1960s to expose and oppose US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, gained prominence mainly through their protest mass actions and limited publications.

2. *Could you describe the atmosphere during these years, specifically how the media practitioners reacted to the liberation from the Japanese?*

JMS: The media practitioners followed their pro-US press lords and editors. In the years just after World War II, the US was glorified as the savior and liberator of the Filipino people. In general, the pro-US puppet politicians took over from the pro-Japanese puppets. But in the outstanding case of Manuel Roxas, a pro-Japanese puppet, the US supported him to become president in 1946 because President Osmeña had aligned himself with the Democratic Alliance to oppose the prospective Parity Amendment.

Anti-communist propaganda was strong, because the Hukbalahap and the communist-socialist merger party had become strong in Central Luzon, Manila and Southern Tagalog regions in the course of armed struggle against the Japanese occupation. After World War II, the US and the American advertisers controlled and influenced the Filipino press lords. US wire service agencies poured in anticommunist news and articles from abroad, which were published in toto in the Manila and provincial press.

3. *How did you participate in the movement for a freer press?*

JMS: We exposed and opposed the control of the big mass media by the US, the foreign advertisers and the big comprador-landlords. We did so on the campus and in intellectual circles outside of the campus. We published the little magazines *Fugitive Review* and the *Diliman Observer* in the years 1960-62. In 1962, I founded the *Progressive Review* which lasted up to 1968. I was the editor-in-chief. These publications had a print run of anywhere between 1,000 to 5,000 copies depending on demand for the issue but normally 1,000 or 1,500. These were distributed to key political leaders, trade union leaders, academics, columnists and key journalists of the bourgeois press.

In the 1960s, the student and youth mass movement became far stronger than in the previous decade of extreme reaction connected with McCarthyism and the Cold War. Patriotic and progressive editors ran the Philippine Collegian and published articles of mine and others against US domination and the ruling system. We considered the Collegian important and influential because it had a weekly circulation of 15,000 copies and carried the prestige of the University of the Philippines. The influence of the *Collegian* went beyond the campus, because it published articles that took up the issues that were of national significance, that galvanized the student youth movement and that were sometimes reprinted or endorsed by progressive journalists in the big media.

Progressive journalists arose in the major mass media. Among them were Antonio Zumel, Satur Ocampo and Antonio Nieva. One after the other, progressive journalists became presidents and officials of the National Press Club. As a matter of course, they defended press freedom as in previous decades. But in the 1960s, they supported the mass struggles of the youth and toiling masses, and insisted to their publishers and editors to give more space to these mass struggles and their cause, to use the press statements and press releases of the

patriotic and progressive mass organizations and to allow fair and accurate reporting of their protest actions.

4. *What actions were done by you or other practitioners when you heard of the rumors of the implementation of martial law?*

JMS: Starting 1969, we exposed the indications that Marcos was scheming to impose martial law in the Philippines. He became more violent in suppressing the protest mass actions and openly threatened to declare martial law in 1970. Thus, the mass protesters in the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and thereafter cried out, "People's War is the answer to martial law!"

The mass organizations issued their own leaflets and other publications. *Ang Bayan*, the central news organ of the Communist Party of the Philippines Central Committee, exposed and condemned all the machinations of Marcos to pave the way for martial law from 1969 to the proclamation of martial law in 1972. Progressive journalists shared with the mass movement their information about the martial law scheme of Marcos. Some of them prepared to go underground in case of a widespread crackdown on the anti-Marcos media.

5. *Tell us something about the Progressive Review and how it contributed to the shaping of public opinion at that time.*

JMS: The *Progressive Review* carried serious analytical articles concerning the major issues in the political, socioeconomic and cultural life of the country, and the foreign relations of the reactionary state. Despite its small circulation, the *Progressive Review* was avidly read by the student activists, teachers, labor leaders, artists, writers, journalists and other professionals. It served to enlighten them on the issues and encourage them to spread further the national democratic line of analysis and action.

6. *What influenced you to found Kabataang Makabayan?*

JMS: Andres Bonifacio, the Katipunan and the Philippine revolution of 1896 influenced and inspired me to continue the struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign and feudal domination. I also read the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, and learned more about the principles and methods of waging the people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

7. *What is the most defining or relevant instance or happening that this era contributed to the formation of the Philippine press?*

JMS: The illusion that there was a free press in the Philippines from 1945 to 1972 became exposed and unraveled. At first, the national democratic movement of the youth and the people in the 1960s exposed the control of the major mass media by foreign and local reactionary interests. Finally, Marcos wiped out the "free press" that reflected the internal contradictions of the Philippine exploiting classes, and subsequently established the media monopoly under his fascist dictatorship. This was still beholden to the US imperialists and the pro-Marcos section of the big compradors and landlords.

8. *What lesson should future generations of media practitioners never forget during this era?*

JMS: The lesson is that the Philippine press cannot be truly free if the major print and electronic media are owned and controlled by the bourgeois press lords and are dependent on advertising income from the big foreign and local corporations.

The progressive press has an important role in advancing the cause of national and social liberation, in promoting press freedom, and in defending the exploited people who have no access to the so-called mainstream. The underground press made a major contribution to the effort to overthrow the Marcos dictatorship. And to this day, it perseveres to advance the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local reactionaries, whether this takes the form of a multi-party bourgeois dictatorship, fascist dictatorship or an oligarchy.

I suggest to the UP Journalism Club to honor and perpetuate the memory of Antonio Zumel and other journalists who played key roles in upholding, defending and promoting freedom of the press in order to serve the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy and fight the Marcos fascist dictatorship. In particular, Zumel is most outstanding because he made the National Press Club the sanctuary of mass activists in the 1960s and demanded that the mass media widen the space for the youth and the toiling masses. When martial law came, he went underground to develop the revolutionary press against the dictatorship.

You can institute a semestral Antonio Zumel Lecture Forum with the UP Journalism Club, the Antonio Zumel Foundation, and the UP College of Mass Communications cooperating. You can feature outstanding patriotic and progressive Filipino journalists to inspire the semestral flow of journalism students. Thus, the life and work of

Zumel will be perpetuated from generation to generation.



# ***Message at Launch of Continuing the Struggle for National and Social Liberation***

**August 27, 2015**

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I am very happy at the first launch of the Continuing the Struggle for National and Social Liberation in our country. I am grateful to the Bagong Alayansang Makabayan (New Patriotic Alliance, BAYAN), Aklatang Bayan and the Liga ng Kabataang Propagandista (Propagandist Youth League) as organizers of this gathering. At the same time, I convey my patriotic greetings and solidarity to everyone here at the auditorium.

The common idea binding the content of the book is the need to continue the struggle for national and social liberation, even though Marcos's fascist dictatorship was overthrown in 1986, as the semicolonial and semifeudal system dominated by the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats subservient to US imperialism has not changed.

The regimes succeeding the Marcos regime have done nothing to change the ruling system. They have further aggravated the oppression and exploitation of the people, especially to the toiling masses. Until now, the cacique president Aquino is similar to Marcos as the keeper of foreign and feudal domination and as the puppet executioner who is most responsible for continuing gross and systematic violations of human rights.

The circus of presidential candidates in the puppet republic is blaring nowadays. Until now, there is no candidate presenting a comprehensive program for full national independence, people's democracy and not oligarchy, economic development through national industrialization and genuine land reform, patriotic and progressive culture, free education and international anti-imperialist and democratic solidarity of the peoples of the world.

The pro-US exploiting classes control the electoral system of the reactionary state. This is a way for the exploiting classes to monopolize political power and opportunity for their further enrichment. Presidential candidates compete on personalities and shallow popularity in the mass media and in poll surveys, in conjunction with the control of the automated electoral system and the accumulation of big money for the campaign.

The necessity of national democratic struggle continues. The oppressed and exploited have nothing to rely on for their liberation but their own strength and actions. Through the unity and struggle of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the strong foundation of national unity is built, in order to take advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries and to fight the worst reactionary faction at a time.

Within the Philippines and in the East Asia region, the US and China collude and contend. The two conspire in pursuing the neoliberal policy to exploit the Philippines. They argue because the US wants to have more benefits and to make the pro-US big bourgeoisie dominant within China itself.

In the upcoming APEC meetings, we will see the conflict and collusion of the US and China. They will conspire in pursuing the neoliberal policy while they also compete for its benefit. The US has first demonstrated its exclusion of China from the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement because the US was keen to push for the privatization of strategic state-owned enterprises in China.

The US also has pushed a policy of deterring China by shifting or increasing US military power to East Asia. Due to the greedy claims over 90 percent of the South China Sea, China has negated the claim for the exclusive economic zone and the extended continental shelf of the Philippines, upon which the US opportunistically pounces to restore its military bases in the Philippines. In the face of this complexity, the Filipino people must insist on the national sovereignty and territorial integrity in the face of these two greedy imperialists.

While the US and China are astir in East Asia, the crisis of global capitalism continues to worsen. The damage wrought by the 2008 crisis has not yet ended, but the signs of a bigger crisis have begun to emerge. Over a broad range, production, especially in China is falling and various types of financial bubbles are bursting, including debt bubbles of states and in stock and bond markets. Whether money and debt are raised or austerity is imposed, the working people are increasingly losing income and employment, further resulting in the aggravation of the economic and financial crisis.

The imperialists do not solve the problems of their system. The oppression and exploitation of the toiling masses in both imperialist and undeveloped countries are intensifying. The imperialists themselves contend and collude while passing the burden of the crises on the working people and on poor countries. The depredations on

toiling masses have nowhere to go but spark and inflame their struggle.

I invite you to the forthcoming Fifth International Assembly of the International League of Peoples' Struggle on November 14 to 16. Its theme is: For a Socially Just World, Strengthen the Unity of the Peoples and Intensify the Struggle against Imperialist Plunder, Crisis and War. It responds to all the schemes, manoeuvre and aggression of the imperialists.

At the conclusion of my message, I would like to honor Comrade Leoncio Pitao or Ka Parago. I would like to say a few words in my full statement.

It is fitting and proper that all of us accord him with the Red salute and the highest respect and honor for serving the Filipino people and the international proletariat. He is a great patriot, outstanding communist fighter and revolutionary commander. He has made significant contributions and the supreme sacrifice in the Filipino people's democratic revolution for national and social liberation against foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Comrade Leoncio Pitao (Ka Parago) was devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and applied it successfully together with other comrades and the people in Southern Mindanao Region. He excelled as a cadre of the Communist Party of the Philippines and as a commander of the New People's Army. He adhered to the Second Great Rectification Movement and carried forward the building of the Party, the people's army and the united front.

There is no way for the imperialists and the local reactionaries to stop the growth of the CPP, NPA, the mass organizations and organs of political powers, because the crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system of big compradors and landlords is ever worsening and the broad masses of the people detest the intolerable conditions of oppression and exploitation and are desirous of revolutionary change.

Long live the memory of Comrade Leoncio Pitao!

# ***On the 2016 Presidential Elections***

**Interview by Prof. Sarah Raymundo of CONTEND-UP**

**September 4, 2015**

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*1. What positions would you or the CPP want a party or presidential candidate to advance in their platform?*

JMS: The CPP's program for a people's democratic revolution is well-known and its positions on current issues can be read in *Ang Bayan*. It would please me if a candidate or party would favorably address the following people's demands.

First, advance national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Second, respect human rights and allow full-blown democracy.

Third, advance economic sovereignty anew and protect the national patrimony.

Fourth, undertake national industrialization as the main content of economic development and as the key to resolving unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment.

Fifth, implement land reform as a matter of democratic right and social justice, and as a means of liberating landless peasants, rechanneling capital, advancing rural development and building and developing the domestic market.

Sixth, improve the workers' wage and living conditions, protect and develop all possible livelihoods, and raise the people's levels of living.

Seventh, expand social services, especially education, health and housing, and develop public utilities such as transport, water and electricity.

Eighth, put a stop to corruption and all forms of anomalies and punish the perpetrators; stop the pork barrel system and rechannel public funds to planned economic development, infrastructure building and expansion of social services.

Ninth, reduce military expenditures and rechannel savings to economic development and social services.

Tenth, advance a patriotic, democratic, scientific and progressive educational and cultural system.

Eleventh, advance gender equality in all arenas of social life and fight gender discrimination.

Twelfth, ensure the judicious use of natural resources and the protection of the environment.

Thirteenth, respect the rights of national minorities to self-determination and development.

Fourteenth, resume the peace talks between the Manila government and the NDFP and complete that with the MILF.

Fifteenth, implement an independent foreign policy and build the closest cooperation with all neighboring countries to achieve international solidarity, peace and development.

*2. What can the CPP do or you as CPP founding chair to show whether you are pleased or not with the positions taken by a party or presidential candidate on issues?*

JMS: I may publicly praise the endorsement or acceptance by any party or candidate of any of the 15 people's demands I have mentioned. And I may criticize their refusal of any of these demands. I may compare parties and candidates with each other on the basis of their acceptance or refusal of these demands. I cannot speak for the CPP in this interview, but you can monitor the latter's views and positions on the election if you go to the website: [www.philippinerevolution.info](http://www.philippinerevolution.info).

## ***Author's Preface (Crisis Generates Resistance)***

**October 24, 2015**

I am elated that the International Network for Philippine Studies is publishing a new book series of my writings under the general title *Peoples' Struggle against Oppression and Exploitation*, covering the period from 2009 to 2015.

The books in the series bring together the most significant articles, statements, messages and interviews that I have made from year to year in such capacities as Chairperson of the International League for Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, Chief Political Consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines in peace negotiations with the Manila government and Founding Chairman of Kabataang Makabayan.

By way of opening the new series, I now make the preface to Volume I, titled *Crisis Generates Resistance*. This covers the period from January 2009 to June 2010, when the Arroyo regime ended and the Aquino regime was inaugurated. The book reflects the Filipino people's resistance to the Arroyo regime and to the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, whose rottenness is well manifested by naked puppetry, ruthless plunder, impoverishment of the people and atrocities under Oplan Bantay Laya within the framework of the US global war of terror.

The book presents the people's resistance on a global scale amidst the total bankruptcy of neoliberal economic policy, the ever-worsening crisis of monopoly capitalism and the relentless wars of aggression unleashed by US imperialism and its NATO and Zionist subalterns. It describes a global situation in which the US mortgage meltdown of 2008 unfolds quickly in 2009 and 2010 as a global financial and economic crisis. Bank bailouts in trillions of US dollars and summits of imperialist powers cannot solve the crisis, which is comparable in scale and severity to the Great Depression that broke out in 1929 and led to World War II.

Since its inception in 1970-80, the neoliberal economic policy pushed by the US has generated a series of crises leading to the crisis of 2008, hitting the very centers of global capitalism. My paper at the Forum on the Global Economic and Financial Crisis at De Balie in Amsterdam on January 30, 2008 traces the development of the crisis and proposes what the people can and must do about the crisis.

The US and other capitalist powers used to boast of the full restoration of capitalism in China and Russia as the final death blow to the socialist cause. But in fact the increase of imperialist powers on the world scene has helped to intensify plunder, state terrorism, inter-imperialist contradictions and wars of aggression. The people of the world are suffering more oppression and exploitation and are being driven to resist their oppressors and exploiters. The proletarian revolutionaries of today are leading the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle towards the goal of socialism.

The need to uphold and emphasize the role of revolutionary parties of the working class to lead the mass movement of all oppressed and exploited working classes and sectors of various nationalities is very urgent. Attention is given to the workers, peasants, women, youth, indigenous peoples and national minorities and migrant workers that have flowed out of the underdeveloped countries to the developed ones.

The direction of the people's struggle is set by the demands for national liberation, democracy and socialism against the crisis of monopoly capitalism and the destruction of the environment. The unbridled imperialist plunder of human and natural resources, the ruthless repression of the people and the recurrent wars of aggression have set the stage for the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movements.

As ILPS Chairperson, I pay much attention to global events and issues. I describe the status and trends of imperialist domination, crisis and wars and the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles of the people of the world towards to goal of socialism. And as the CPP Founding Chairman and the NDFP Chief Political Consultant in peace negotiations, I often speak up on the Filipino people's suffering under foreign and feudal domination and their struggle for national liberation and democracy.

I adhere consistently to the people's demand for a new democratic revolution and hold to account the reactionary regime in the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines for puppetry to imperialism, exploitativeness, corruption and brutal violations of human rights. I take all opportunities to encourage the people to wage all possible and necessary forms of struggle. The people's war for national and social liberation is necessitated and justified by prior systematic use of state violence by the exploiting classes.

At the same time, I continue to support and assist the peace negotiations between the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the Manila government. I stand for the national and democratic rights of the Filipino

people. I serve them in demanding basic social, economic and political reforms in order to address the roots of the ongoing civil war and lay the basis for a just and lasting peace.

I agree with the NDFP proposal for an immediate truce and alliance between the contending sides of the civil war in order to confront the common problems and common adversaries of the Filipino nation. All that is needed is a joint declaration of common intent to end foreign and feudal domination, while the comprehensive agreements are being worked out at an accelerated pace.

The book contains not only my expressions of basic principles and critique of imperialism and local reaction but also the reflections of my personal share of the Filipino people's suffering and struggle. Contrary to the propaganda of the imperialists and reactionaries that I am comfortably safe from hardships and oppression, I have been subjected to ceaseless vilification, assassination attempts, terrorist listing, false murder charges and detention in the Netherlands.

The current volume carries some articles referring to my legal victories against false accusations. I comment on the dismissal of the false charges of murder by the Dutch prosecution office on March 31, 2009 and likewise on the removal of my name from the EU terrorist list by the European Court of First Instance on September 30, 2009.

I celebrate with the Filipino people how the national democratic movement of the youth was conceived and incubated in the Diliman campus of the University of the Philippines from 1959 onwards and how the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and Diliman Commune of 1971 laid the ground for the nationwide revolutionary resistance against the Marcos fascist dictatorship until this was overthrown in 1986.

I always extend the Red salute to the revolutionary martyrs and heroes who fight and die in the battlefield in order to defend and advance the people's democratic revolution. I pay tribute to a number of Filipino patriots and revolutionaries who passed away in the period covered by the book. Among them are Crispin Beltran, Wilson Baldonaza, Beato Lacaba and Jake Abad. I also pay tribute to my eldest brother Dr. Ramon C. Sison who participated in the struggle of the US-based Filipinos against the Marcos dictatorship. This tribute can give you a glimpse at my family relations.

Further, I pay tribute to friends within the reactionary government who somehow contributed to the people's movement for national independence and democracy. I refer to Ambassador Norberto Basilio, who was a co-founder of Kabataang Makabayan and who remained loyal to the movement. I also refer to the late Governor Jose V. Yap who persevered in exploring peace negotiations between the Manila government and the NDFP and in realizing with the NDFP The Hague Joint Declaration and subsequent major agreements, up to the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law.

I hope that the book can be enlightening, informative and interesting to readers. I would be satisfied if somehow and to some extent it helps to increase their knowledge and to widen and deepen their understanding of the current suffering and struggles of the people in my homeland and the world at large.

Jose Maria Sison  
Utrecht, The Netherlands  
October 24, 2015

## ***Polls a Farce but Don't Boycott It***

Interview by Gideon Lasco, November 1, 2015

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*Amsterdam—Jose Maria Sison, the founding chair of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), has been in exile here since 1987. Even though he has already long stepped down from the position of CPP chair, his voice remains significant, especially in light of recent attempts to revive the protracted peace talks with the government. In July, Speaker Feliciano Belmonte visited and they had a “friendly and informal” meeting to talk about the negotiations. Sison’s views on Philippine politics have attracted attention. Recently, his reported endorsement of Davao City Mayor Rodrigo Duterte’s presidential candidacy made it to the news—even though he had to refute it. In perhaps an ironic way, he has become an “elder statesman”—one of the few people in the political world who have lived long enough to talk about President Aquino as a teenager or Vice President Jojo Binay as a young human rights lawyer. And while many would quarrel with his ideology, few would question his steadfastness to them. In a nation of “balimbing” (turncoats) and political adulterers, such authenticity is a breath of fresh air. Here are excerpts from an interview which began in Utrecht, Sison’s home of exile where I went to visit him, and continued through e-mail correspondence:*

*Throughout the years, you have maintained that elections are a show put up by the government to create a semblance of democracy. Do you still hold this position?*

Sison: I still hold the position that the elections are controlled by the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords and even by foreign interests that wish to be shielded from the people’s view and outrage. The people are limited to a choice of reactionary politicians and cliques that will exploit and oppress them. Control of the elections by the exploiting classes is achieved though the large amounts of money needed to run a campaign, the use of the big media owned by the press lords, access to private and official armed personnel and since 2010 preprogramming of the automated electoral system.

*If so, should Filipinos exercise their right to vote, or should they boycott the elections?*

I share the view of the revolutionary movement that reactionary elections are a farce. But there is no need to apply a policy of boycott on these elections by progressives and allies, unless the process is as bad as the 1981 and 1984 elections of the Marcos dictatorship, in view of the fact that progressives and allies can manage to get some executive and legislative seats and expose from the inside what is wrong with the ruling system. The elections of 1986 were also bad but critical participation by legal progressives and allies was necessary for the subsequent claim that Marcos cheated and deserved to be overthrown by the people’s uprising. Communists can work within reactionary institutions and processes, including the electoral process, but cannot declare themselves publicly as such because to do so would invite repressive measures, notwithstanding the legal argument that it is no longer illegal to be a communist from the time the Anti-Subversion Law was repealed in 1992. But no real communist will declare that the electoral process of the reactionary system is the way to social revolution. A communist can appreciate the noncommunist and progressive Makabayang Koalisyon ng Mamamayan (Makabayan) for participating in the elections, getting some seats and more importantly doing its best to uphold the rights and interests of the people and raise their level of consciousness toward patriotic and progressive principles and goals.

*There have been instances when the ruling family failed to secure positions, as in the electoral fights involving Grace Padaca vs the Dys of Isabela, or Ed Panlilio against the Pinedas and Lapids of Pampanga. Aren’t they proof that it is possible to subvert the system?*

Your examples have not subverted the ruling system. Instead, they (the Padacas and Panlilios) are subverted by the ruling system. Ultimately, they become the target of charges of corruption and other kinds of venalities. But if you look deeper at their starting points in the business of elections, they became well known for something popular but they were also supported in their electoral campaigns by bureaucrats and landlords who competed with their fellow bureaucrats and landlords. Padaca became popular as a radio broadcaster hitting hard the Dy dynasty for corruption, land grabbing, closing down public hospitals and so on. But she also relied on landlord politicians in all of the Isabela towns. Panlilio delivered strong sermons against the rich and had a simple lifestyle. But he relied also on landlords close to the Church who had been disgusted by the bigger and more powerful landlords.

*You have been active on Facebook. What are your reflections on how social media is affecting the political process? Can the participatory nature of social media undermine traditional media that in your writings you have described to be*

*controlled by the ruling class?*

Social media are by far more open, especially in terms of space, than the traditional media. But traditional media have invaded social media. Like any tool, social media can be used for good or for bad. The political operatives of the exploiting classes can hire communications experts and troll brigades to churn out pro-imperialist and reactionary propaganda. The traditional media have resorted to online editions to reach the social media users. TV and radio broadcasting stations remain strong in relation to social media and can be easily accessed by the portable gadgets. They remain strong especially in broadcasting sports and entertainment.

*Amid internal turmoil, the Iglesia ni Cristo (INC) recently attempted to make a show of force at EDSA. How do you think this incident will affect their voting in 2016?*

I think that the INC leadership is maintaining its hold on most of the INC following. But it has lost a significant part of its membership and might be swamped by financial problems because of its extraordinary expenses. The attempt to make a show of force on EDSA offended quite a number of people.

*Do you believe in their power as a voting bloc?*

I think that the voting power of the INC is not so big even at 1.5 or 2 million people. Makabayan has more people.

*What about the Left? Does it constitute a voting bloc?*

The Makabayan is at the moment a coalition of eight progressive partylist groups. They have a common platform. They can agree to support common candidates for executive and legislative officials at all levels, even as each of the Makabayan progressive partylist groups must seek votes for the general electorate and certain sectors for their candidates. In the Lower House, their elected officials constitute a patriotic and progressive voting bloc in accordance with common principles and policies.

*Very recently, Binay was "grilled" by students at University of the Philippines Los Baños but two very different discourses emanated from this event: one lauded the students for their courage to ask hard questions, but the other depicted Binay as once again persecuted by the elite. Is he? In what way or ways is Jojo Binay different from the ruling class?*

As mayor of Makati, Jojo Binay is known to have expanded social services for the people. But he has been subjected to Senate and Ombudsman investigation on charges of corruption and is also reported to be eventually the subject of a warrant of arrest. There are those who think that Binay has been subverted by the ruling system, instead of subverting it, and has become a full-fledged member of the bureaucrat capitalist elite.

*How does Binay resonate with the masses?*

Coming from the lower class, Binay knows how to campaign in a manner appealing to the CDE crowd. He knows the populist phrases to turn them on. He is capable of playing the underdog against Aquino and Mar Roxas. He has a national system of scoutmasters and sister cities and sister municipalities that helped him become the Vice President. His problem is that he will be further discredited when the warrant of arrest is issued against him.

*Mar Roxas comes from one of the privileged families of the country. Does this fact rule him out in your eyes as an eligible candidate?*

Indeed, Mar Roxas comes from one of the most privileged families of the country. He is the grandson of President Manuel Roxas and the son of the late Sen. Gerry Roxas. He is being held responsible for several bunglings, like the transport mess, the Zamboanga City military operations, the lack of timely and adequate relief to the victims of the Super typhoon "Yolanda" and some involvement in the Mamasapano incident. He is also being criticized for mimicking the poor and yet advocating nothing to lift the people from unemployment and poverty. He is known as a dyed-in-the-wool neoliberal in economics.

*Grace Poe's campaign poster in 2010 featured a silhouette of FPJ in the background. What is your opinion on the influence of show biz in politics?*

I think that Grace Poe benefited in 2010 from being the daughter of a presidential candidate who was widely considered the winner in 2004, if not for (President Gloria) Arroyo's cheating. It does not speak well of a social system that a movie superstar can turn his celebrity status to political capital because the general run of high politicians are corrupt and incompetent and can offer no one better than a neoliberal economist who has to cheat in order to be reelected. In fairness to her, I should add that Poe has proven her mettle in the Senate on major issues like Mamasapano, Purisima and the MRT mess and, as a result, has earned the position of No. 1 in presidential poll surveys.

*Is Miriam Santiago's late entry to the field a game-changer? How would you compare her run now with that 23 years ago?*

She is not a game-changer. She is more of someone trying to catch up with the front-runners. She is now attracting flak by having Bongbong Marcos as her running mate. In this regard, she has made a mistake. She must be desperate for campaign resources. She was far fresher and probably had bigger resources 23 years ago.

*Will the fact we have had two female Presidents (Cory, GMA) in recent history affect Grace Poe or Miriam Santiago's candidacy?*

I do not think that any of the male Presidential candidates will directly attack Poe or Miriam as predetermined to be no better than Cory Aquino or Gloria Arroyo. Lower-level campaigners may satirize them in order to appeal to patriarchalism or male chauvinism. But this will not count much in a competition of platforms and track records.

Many Filipino pinned their hopes on a Duterte candidacy. How can you explain this clamor for a strong leader?

The Philippines has had Presidents strong on puppetry to the US, corruption and violations of human rights. Marcos has been considered the strongest and worst for being a fascist dictator. But his successors have been strong on servility to the US, corruption and brutality, despite the existence of legal opposition parties. Duterte has been strong on offering peace and a coalition government with the NDFP (National Democratic Front of the Philippines) and also on federalism and fighting criminality and corruption. There is nothing wrong if a President is strong against powerful adversaries on the issues of upholding national sovereignty, the democratic empowerment of the working people, economic development through land reform and national industrialization and the promotion of a patriotic and progressive culture. Thus, he or she wins the strong support of the people. While vacillating on whether to run for the presidency, Duterte has manifested a number of good advocacies but has not shown any full and comprehensive platform that manifests a justly strong leadership responsive to the people's strong demands for national and social liberation.

*Bongbong Marcos' candidacy has reminded people of martial law— which for many is bad thing, but for others a good one. How will his being a Marcos affect his chances?*

Bongbong has his Ilocos Norte and Leyte bailiwicks. On a nationwide scale, he can probably get some 15 percent of the voters who are impressed by the Marcos fascist regime and by Bongbong himself and disgusted with the Aquino record. I think that at least 80 percent of the voters can remember and therefore detest the extreme corruption and brutality of the Marcos fascist regime. The people, especially the many Marcos victims of human rights violations all over the country, will denounce Bongbong as principal beneficiary of the ill-gotten wealth of his parents and he will be held to account for scheming to prettify the corrupt and brutal record of his father.

*Do you see a second Marcos presidency?*

I predict that Bongbong will not become Vice President and therefore will not become President after being Vice President. He himself is aware of his vulnerabilities. That's why he scaled down his presidential ambition to VP.

*What do you think of the vice presidential candidates?*

They are too many VP candidates for me to describe and weigh each one. I presume that each one thinks of having a good chance of winning because the vote for the VP will be fragmented. But I think that Chiz Escudero is the strongest because of his own standing and his being teamed up with the No. 1 presidential candidate. The poll surveys prove my point.

*How will the 2016 elections affect the prospects of a peace deal between the CPP-NPA (New People's Army) and the government?*

Poe, Duterte and Binay have made declarations in favor of resuming the formal talks. I estimate that Miriam will be for the resumption of talks. Roxas has not made any public declaration to resume the formal talks. Even if he makes such a declaration, he has to clarify whether he will continue Aquino's policy of seeking only the surrender and pacification of the revolutionary forces and the people and disregarding the demands of the people for social, economic and political reforms as foundation of a just and lasting peace.

(The author is a doctor of medicine currently working on a post doctorate degree at the University of Amsterdam.)



# ***Message at the Launch of Crisis Generates Resistance***

**December 5, 2015**

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As author of the book, *Crisis Generates Resistance*, I wish to thank the International Network for Philippine Studies for publishing the book, the Philippine Chapter of the International League of Peoples' Struggle and the Kilusang Mayo Uno for organizing this book launch, and the book reviewers, the cultural performers, the distinguished guests and all the compatriots and friends for participating in this book launch.

*Crisis Generates Resistance* is the first book of a new series of volumes under the general title Peoples' Struggles against Oppression and Exploitation, covering the period from 2009 to 2015. These volumes consist mostly of significant articles, statements, messages and interviews that I issued as Chairperson of the International League for Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, Chief Political Consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines in peace negotiations with the Manila government and Founding Chairman of Kabataang Makabayan.

The current volume covers the period from January 2009 to June 2010, when the Arroyo regime was on the last leg of its tenure until the Aquino regime replaced it. The book reflects the persistence of the rotten semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system as well as the perseverance of the Filipino people in their struggle for national and social liberation. It also presents the struggle of the people of the world against the recurrent and worsening economic, financial, political, social and environmental crises of global capitalism and the aggravation of state terrorism and the wars of aggression.

The bankruptcy of neoliberal economic policy is totally exposed. Following the US mortgage meltdown of 2007-2008, a global depression unfolded from 2009 and 2010. The governments of major capitalist powers failed to revive production and employment, despite bank bailouts in trillions of US dollars and the endless stream of summits of government leaders.

Since then, a global crisis and depression of scale and intensity comparable to the Great Depression that began in 1929 and led to World War II has continued to this day. It is worthwhile to read my paper at the Forum on the Global Economic and Financial Crisis at De Balie in Amsterdam on January 30, 2009, which traces the development of the general crisis of capitalism since the inception of the neoliberal economic policy in 1979-80.

The US and other capitalist powers used to interpret the full restoration of capitalism in China and Russia as the final death blow to the socialist cause. They boasted that humankind could not go beyond the limits of capitalism and bourgeois democracy. But in fact the increase of capitalist powers has helped to intensify plunder, state terrorism, inter-imperialist contradictions and wars of aggression.

The people of the world are suffering more oppression and exploitation and are thus driven to wage various forms of struggle against their oppressors and exploiters. On a global scale, the anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles of the people are resurgent, with the proletarian revolutionaries striving to show the way to the goal of socialism.

As regards the Philippines, I seek to articulate the Filipino people's suffering under foreign and feudal domination and their struggle and aspirations for national liberation and democracy. I adhere steadfastly to the people's demand for a new democratic revolution against the ruling system of the comprador big bourgeoisie, landlord class and bureaucrat capitalists who know no bounds for their servility to foreign monopoly capitalism, exploitativeness, corruption and brutal violations of human rights. These have relentlessly pushed the Filipino people to wage the revolutionary war for national and social liberation.

January 11, 2016

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*Prof. Sarah Raymundo: Good afternoon to the good children of the country! Good afternoon to listeners of Itanong Mo kay Prof [Ask Prof]! Our program is a mix of old and new. New year, old problems. New hopes ahead of the old and rotting system. How shall we assess the past year? What indeed do we view and ought to view for the year 2016?*

*We will again face and fight many of the economic and political problem. Aquino 's boasts of Philippine economic growth rate, is it nonsense or true?*

*Whom shall we consider allies. There are the defenders of human rights serving the people but being imprisoned. There also are compatriots taking chances in other countries because of being unable to find work here, is there new hope waiting for them?*

*What happened to Aquino 's counterinsurgency program Oplan Bayanihan, did this defeat the revolutionaries as the regime estimated? Aside from Oplan Bayanihan, the Aquino regime also used conditional cash transfer or Pamana Program to suppress the progressive and advancing people 's uprising toward real change, has Aquino 's conditional cash transfer accomplished anything?*

*If the Aquino regime has Oplan Bayanihan and conditional cash transfer, the NDFP and the Filipino people on the other hand has called for peace talks. What is the news on the peace talks? How does the NDFP position itself between the elections and waging revolution. It is important to know so we can understand.*

*Good day Prof. Sison and Happy New Year!*

*Before you answer the questions Prof. Sison, please greet the listeners and followers of our podcast.*

JMS: Ardent patriotic greetings to all listeners and followers. More success to all your efforts for family and country. It would be fine to sum up the past year and look forward to our tasks for the year 2016.

SR: *How do you view the course of our economy for the whole of 2015? Is there something to satisfy the Filipino people during the year with regard to their condition in life?*

JMS: In the past year living conditions of ordinary people, especially the working classes further deteriorated. The under-development of the economy worsened, the absence of jobs and the spread of poverty. The condition of having no industrialization and no genuine land reform remained. Those who benefited from the economy were the foreign monopoly corporations, the big compradors and landlords, and the corrupt high officials.

The GNP growth rate is bandied as being higher than that of the imperialists. But more than 45 percent of the gross national product are debts primarily to sustain consumption. Foreign corporations and big compradors like Henry Sy, Andrew Tan, Eduardo Cojuangco, Ramon Ang, Lucio Tan, the Ayalas, Aboitiz and Razons are the ones benefiting from the type of enterprises existing in the Philippines, such as banks, real estate, shopping malls, mines, plantations, logging, infrastructure, power generation and others.

These are the ones wallowing in the blood and sweat of the working classes. They are the ones who grab the remittances of overseas contract workers and they are also the collaborators of Aquino and his fellow yellow politicians in looting the national treasury. The Philippines continues to be sank in debt. Its external debt of US\$77 billion and internal debt is 164 billion or six trillion pesos, including internal debt. Borrowings from the time of Cory Aquino to here son Abnuy are so many times over what Marcos borrowed.

What bloats the GNP is 'hot money' or portfolio investments. These are not being used to put up factories. These are only speculative, flowing into the stock, bond and money markets. But since 2014, they have started to flow out from the Philippines. A US\$2.9 billion deficit has appeared in the balance of payments since 2014.

SR: *What can the Filipino people expect in 2016? Will they be better off? Can you tell us about the main trends in the local and global economy?*

JMS: The Filipino people will further suffer in 2016. The Philippine economy will worsen from internal and external causes. The effects of the Aquino regime 's monstrous corruption, the outflow of huge profits and capital of foreign corporations and the huge expenses of the government and big compradors for the electoral campaign of Mar Roxas will surface and bear upon the economy. The rate of inflation will rise due to pay outs of the candidates in the electoral campaign.

The capitalist global crisis as a result of the US mortgage meltdown in 2008. The effect of the China bubble as

a result of extreme credit expansion for private and public construction is bearing down on the economy. Now local governments are unable to pay their loans. China's finances and production are down. What China buys from the Philippines will fall.

The impending rise of US interest rates and the drop of the Philippine economy will accelerate the outflow of hot money or portfolio investments from the Philippines. The Philippines will have difficulties importing consumer goods and paying the huge foreign debt. Should Mar Roxas win by cheating, by pre-programming the automated electoral system, there would be big adverse effect on the economy.

*SR: What can you say about the past standing and direction of the Aquino regime in governance and politics? There were many events last year to which the Noynoy Aquino government's response cannot be denied as total fiascos and violations of human rights.*

JMS: The Aquino regime is akin to the Marcos and Arroyo regimes on the issues of corruption, looting huge pork barrel funds, serving the interests of US imperialism and the big compradors and landlords, having no concern for the working classes, violating human rights and lying to the people.

Aquino and his presidential peace adviser Deles sabotaged the peace negotiations between the Manila government and the NDFP by kidnapping, illegal detention and killing of suspected revolutionaries and ordinary masses. In their desire to grab land and national resources, Aquino at the behest of his imperialist and big comprador bosses, deploy his military and police forces to kill, kidnap, torture, rape and abuse the Lumad communities in Mindanao.

The Lumad indigenous people launched their Manilakbayan-long protest marches from their communities in Mindanao to Manila but Aquino and his bureaucrats refuse to face and listen to their demands and instead confined them at Baclaran so that they would not be seen by the delegates to the APEC Summit conference. Aquino and the Department of Social Welfare and Development also hid the street children and vagrants from all over Manila during the arrival of the APEC Summit delegates as during the Pope's visit. Aquino loves to cover up the truth.

Aquino has no concern even for his own personnel. He allowed the SAF 44 and others only because he was mad that one of their two targets escaped and also because Deles advised him not to launch any rescue. He and his personnel abandoned Mary Jane Veloso. She was about to be executed had not human rights activists and the people acted to take up her case. Aquino's cohorts at the Department of Foreign Affairs even tried to block those who wanted to rescue Mary Jane.

*SR: Why have the peace talks between the GRP and the NDFP stalled and appear to have vanished? How is this related to the proliferation of human rights violations under the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) and Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) both agreed upon by the parties.*

JMS: The Aquino regime has this old illusion that it is capable of routing or rendering inutile the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people in the belief that it is sufficient to use the Oplan Bayanihan intelligence, psy-war and combat operations and the lie about good governance and military peace and development operations as a result of the inflow of huge amounts of portfolio investments, conditional cash transfer and PAMANA and ceasefire with the MILF and MNLF.

In first face-to-face meeting with the NDFP negotiating panel in Oslo in 2011, the negotiating panel of the Aquino regime said that they had no respect for the previous agreements in the peace negotiations. They called The Hague Joint Declaration as a document of perpetual division and forthwith disrespected the agreements borne out of the said Declaration.

It is no surprise that the Aquino regime has completely violated the JASIG and declared this inoperative. They pejoratively called CARHRIHL as a propaganda document.

NDFP peace talks consultants are arrested and detained even if they show their identification document in accordance with the JASIG. At every opportunity, they kill NDFP peace consultants as during the period of Arroyo. To indefinitely detain NDFP peace consultants and other people, trumped up charges of common crime are imposed on them. This violates CARHRIHL. Thus, as was the practice of Marcos and Arroyo, Aquino accumulates so may political prisoners.

*SR: It saddens all those who knew Eduardo Serrano, an NDFP peace consultant imprisoned for 11 years that he died on January 8 from a disease that he acquired in prison. It was a heart disease. He died without seeing his freedom even if*

*the courts had proven that he was not Rogelio Villanueva, a supposed criminal upon the insistence of the military for his illegal detention since 2004. How do you view this incident, Prof. Sison?*

JMS: We see from the case of the NDFP peace consultant Eduardo Serrano that Benigno S. Aquino III is more brutal than Marcos. Marcos during his time, had Fidel Agcaoili imprisoned for 10 years but allowed the legal actions to advance towards the latter's release. But Benigno S. Aquino III is an altogether different monster on the case of Eduardo Serrano. Aquino is clueless that his acts of injustice create more revolutionaries.

*SR: Last year, 2015, the national elections were already very palpable in the entire archipelago, is there still something for Juan de la Cruz to hope for from those aspiring for state power this 2016? Especially among those aspiring for the presidency, there are many to choose from, but the resonant ones are Senator Grace Poe and Mayor Duterte. What is your view in this regard?*

JMS: The people cannot have any hope from these elections. This is a process of the exploiters. The powers that be are seeking the disqualification of the relatively good candidates like Grace Poe and Rodrigo Duterte. Whether allowed to run or not, they face electoral fraud in the form of pre-programming of the automated election system.

*SR: How will the elections turn out? On the basis of conditions, who would win as president? Whoever wins, what else can happen?*

JMS: Most likely, Aquino would have Mar Roxas win so that his own crimes, such as the pork barrel corruption and putting the SAF 44 in harm's way in Mamasapano, can be covered up. Aquino wishes to avoid jail as in the cases of Estrada and Arroyo. It is within his power to have the election results pre-programmed. Should elections be clean, should Grace Poe and Rodrigo Duterte not be disqualified, Binay might win. But there will be cheating.

*SR: Is there a candidate whom the NDFP support? What is its policy on elections? Would there be a ceasefire during the electoral campaign period?*

JMS: The NDFP does not side with any candidate because it is outside the electoral process of the ruling system and its electoral process. However, in the spirit of the united front, it does not oppose patriotic and progressive candidates, parties and coalitions to strive to win. By the statements of the Aquino regime at its military cohorts, it is clear that they have no interest in a ceasefire during the election campaign period. Every election, the origin of trouble are the reactionary military forces themselves and their associate private armies of some politicians and dynasties.

*SR: What would you like to say to our listeners and the Filipino people on the new quest this 2016?*

JMS: I wish to ask the Filipino people to be vigilant to what happened in the elections. They should oppose the cheating that would likely happen. They should prepare themselves against the worsening of the economic and political crisis. And they should participate in the struggle for national independence, democracy, progress and social justice against the oppressive and exploitative rulers in our country.

*SR extro: Thank you very much Prof. Sison. Thank you very much to our listeners. This is Sarah Raymundo, teacher in the University of the Philippines and member of the Congress of Teachers for Nationalism and Democracy (CONTEND) and the Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT).*

# ***Author's Preface (to Develop the People's Power)***

January 30, 2016

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*Develop the People's Power* is a comprehensive and richly concrete book on arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people against US imperialism and local reaction in the Philippines and many other countries. People's power can develop only through the struggle of anti-imperialist and progressive forces against the powerful adversaries under certain global and local conditions which are presented in the book.

The book covers the period from July 7, 2010 to December 22, 2011. But a number of articles present brief historical background. A full-length recollection of the past pertains to where I came from as a political activist, the University of the Philippines, and where the foundation for a sustained development of the national democratic movement in the Philippines was laid in the 1960s.

Every year I am asked by various types of legal mass organizations in the Philippines to give messages of solidarity. I am presumed to know political work intimately as a result of having been a mass activist, founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and currently as chief political consultant of the National Democratic of the Philippines.

I present the national and democratic line of struggle on Philippine and global issues and give advice on the conduct of political education, organizational work and mass campaigns. In this book, one interview focuses on the task of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people. Messages of solidarity to organizations of Filipino workers, peasants, women, youth, human rights activists, cultural workers and the migrant workers also contain suggestions regarding political work.

Academic friends in The Netherlands have asked me to lecture on the people's war in the Philippines and how the CPP, the New People's Army and the people carry out the revolutionary mass movement and build organs of people's self-government in the countryside. The book contains a full lecture on people's war showing how the reactionary army is defeated stage by stage and how people's democratic power steadily displaces counterrevolutionary state power in the countryside before the general offensive on the cities.

I assert that class struggle is the key link to revolutionary social change. I uphold the leading role of the proletariat and its revolutionary party and the necessity of alliance with other exploited classes and sectors in isolating and defeating the class enemy. I stress the need to strengthen the Communist Parties and revolutionary mass movements in confronting the worsening global capitalist crisis and in striving to achieve national liberation, democracy and socialism.

As Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I have had the honor and opportunity to discuss major global issues and address various types of oppressed and exploited classes and sectors on a global scale. In this regard, I invite you to read my report to the Fourth International Assembly of the ILPS which was held in Manila in 2011. This gives you an idea on how we pursued anti-imperialist and democratic struggle for ten years since the founding of ILPS in 2001.

I urge you to read the definitive articles on the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization, the recurrent economic and financial crisis, the prolongation of the crisis, the imperialist plunder of the underdeveloped countries, state terrorism, wars of aggression, global warming and environmental disasters. These are also reflected in the messages of solidarity to the ILPS member-organizations, ILPS allies and the founding assemblies of national chapters of the ILPS and in the statements of support for mass struggles of various forms in various regions of the world.

Within the period covered by the book, the ILPS and I as Chairperson supported the protest mass actions of the people in the US and other imperialist countries against the monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial oligarchy for generating the severe crisis, shifting the burden of crisis to the people, undertaking state terrorism at home and abroad, stepping up war production, unleashing wars of aggression and making serious war threats and provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and other countries. We supported the Japanese people in holding the Japanese monopoly capitalists to account for the Fukushima nuclear plant disaster and joined the worldwide demand for banning nuclear reactors and weapons.

We supported the people's movements and uprisings against autocratic regimes in the service of US

imperialism in Tunisia, Egypt and Saudi Arabia even as we were aware of the active presence of powerful reactionary religious groups and the absence of strong revolutionary parties of the working class there. We consistently held US imperialism responsible for committing the worst acts of terrorism and for having sponsored Islamic fundamentalism whenever useful for imperialist purposes. We condemned the war of aggression launched by the US and NATO to overthrow the Gaddafi government in Libya. We paid special attention to and upheld the right to self-determination of oppressed peoples and nations and we have issued the strongest statements of condemnation against the barbaric attacks on the people of Palestine, Kurdistan, West Papua and many others. We have stood in support of the women and LGBT, the racial, ethnolinguistic and religious minorities and the refugees and migrant workers who suffer discrimination and injustices. We took a stand and acted to oppose acts of oppression and exploitation by US imperialism, its NATO allies, Zionist Israel and puppets in the dominated countries. We initiated or joined campaigns to uphold, defend and advance the full range of human rights for the benefit of oppressed and exploited peoples in the civil, political, economic, social and cultural fields. Within the period covered by the book, we achieved a certain measure of success in advocacy and action on all the major concerns of the ILPS.

As in *Crisis Generates Resistance*, Volume 1 of the current book series *Peoples' Struggles against Oppression and Exploitation (Selected Writings, 2009-2015)*, I take the opportunity in *Develop People's Power* to express the highest admiration for exemplary individuals, who to their last breath do their best to serve the people and the cause of justice, like the following: the leader of Filipino transport workers Medardo Roda, the CPP national spokesman Gregorio "Ka Roger" Rosal and the revolutionary cadre Eliseo Cadiang, the Indian Maoist leaders Azad and Hem Pandey, Chairman Ludo Martens of the Belgian Workers' Party, the American human rights lawyer Leonard Weinglass and the American communist and labor leader Philip Koritz.

The Filipino people are suffering the most intolerable forms of oppression and exploitation under the evil forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. By waging resolute and militant struggle, they can develop people's power and win victory in the new democratic revolution and consequently in the socialist revolution.

On behalf of the Filipino people and all their revolutionary forces, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines has engaged in negotiations with the Manila government for a just and lasting peace and has offered truce and alliance on the basis of a mutually satisfactory declaration of common intent while comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms are still being negotiated. But since the formal peace talks in Oslo in February 2011, the Aquino regime has made clear that it has no respect for agreements made between previous regimes and the NDFP. It is hellbent on carrying out Oplan Bayanihan in the vain attempt to destroy or force the surrender of the revolutionary forces and the people. In the meantime, the crisis of the world capitalist system continues to worsen and aggravate the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines. The conditions for revolution in the Philippines and in other countries have become more favorable now than in 2010 and 2011. The Filipino people have the distinct honor of holding high the banner of revolution while the contradictions between capital and labor, between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations and peoples and among the imperialist powers are intensifying.

Jose Maria Sison  
Utrecht, The Netherlands  
January 30, 2016

# ***A New Crisis Comes on Top of the Previous One, Greater Resistance by the People Is Needed***

February 7, 2016

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I wish to thank the sponsoring organizations, the speakers in the forum on the people's resistance—the heroine and leader of the Palestinian people Leila Khaled of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Luis Jalandoni of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and Bob Scholte of Revolutionair Eenheid, the cultural performers and the book reviewers Consie Lozano Taguba and Thomas van Beersum—and all others present. I appreciate deeply your high sense of solidarity in our coming together this afternoon.

Let me say a few words about *Crisis Generates Resistance*. This consists of statements, articles and speeches that I made in the years between 2009 and 2010 either as Chairperson of the International League of People's Struggle, as Chief Consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines or as a resource person of the national democratic movement in the Philippines. I was able to comment on the varied global and Philippine issues in the aforesaid years.

But I wish to draw your utmost attention to the contents of the book that present and analyze the financial and economic crisis that burst out in 2008 and calls on the people to wage resistance. The said crisis was the worst in a series of crises since the adoption of the neoliberal economic policy by US and other capitalist powers and was immediately comparable in severity and scale to the start of the Great Depression in 1929. It resulted in a global depression, which continues to this day.

So many initiatives of the US, so many summits of the capitalist powers and so many conferences of their multilateral agencies have failed to revive production and employment. Now coming on top of the persistent economic and financial crisis of 2008 is a new one that has begun to burst in earnest in this year of 2016. This coincides with the increasingly serious concerns about the wars unleashed by the US and NATO and about the degradation of the environment and global warming.

The monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the financial oligarchy, clings to the fundamentals of the capitalist system and the neoliberal dogma of unbridled greed because these continue to bring superprofits to the monopoly banks and firms. According to Oxfam, the 1 percent richest is wealthier than 99 percent of the world population. And only 62 individuals of the super-rich now own assets equivalent to those of 3.5 billion people or 50 percent of humanity. In the last ten years, the former have increased their wealth by 44 percent and the former have lost 41 percent.

Aside from creating one financial bubble after another and devising bailouts and credit expansion after every big burst of the bubble, the monopoly bourgeoisie and its puppets are employing more state terrorism to suppress the proletariat and the rest of the people who are restless because of high levels of unemployment and widespread poverty. The imperialist powers are unleashing more counterrevolutionary wars and wars of aggression in connection with the increasing struggle for a division of the world.

There is the need to further understand the continuing and ever-worsening crisis of monopoly capitalism and to further strive to arouse, organize and mobilize the people's resistance against imperialist plunder and war. *Crisis Generates Resistance* can be relevant and helpful to those who wish to understand the root causes of the crisis that burst out in 2008 and the worse crisis that is now bursting out in 2016 and the dire consequences to the broad masses of the people in the homegrounds of imperialism and in the underdeveloped countries.

The frequent and worse recurrence and protraction of the crises escalate the exploitation and oppression of the people and the spread of state terrorism and war by the imperialist powers and their puppets. The people are therefore impelled more than ever before to wage greater revolutionary resistance. This is needed to achieve greater freedom, democracy, all-round development, social justice and peace.

# ***Message of Solidarity and Gratitude to the Hosts and Participants in the Book Launch at the University of the Philippines-Mindanao***

February 22, 2016

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I thank the Department of Social Sciences of the University of the Philippines-Mindanao and the Alliance of Concerned Teachers-SMR for hosting the launch of the books *Crisis Generates Resistance* and *Louie Jalandoni: An Illustrated Biography* in Davao City. I express warmest greetings of solidarity to the hosts and to all the participants in this book launch, including faculty members and students (from UP and other schools), professionals, church people, social activists and others.

I am deeply pleased that amidst or above the hubbub of the current election campaign period, you find the time and place for launching the two books with the purpose of fostering a deeper understanding of Philippine society and politics and broadening awareness of the national democratic struggles in mainstream discussions. Both books present the fundamental problems of Philippine society as well as what Louie and I consider the fundamental solutions, which you can fully comprehend from the program for a people's democratic revolution.

I am gratified that the social scientists in your school and other schools seek to elevate the level of discussion from the low level to which the pronouncements of presidential candidates characteristically sink. The candidates are not presenting comprehensive programs of action by which they assert and promote national independence and democratic rights, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization, social justice, a patriotic, scientific and pro-people culture and international solidarity for peace and development against imperialism and reaction.

My book deals mainly with the Philippine and global events and issues from July 2010 to December 2011. But there are parts of the book, which recall and celebrate historic events, trace further developments and show continuing relevance. Thus, you can read about how the sustainable foundation of the national democratic movement was laid in the Diliman campus of the University of the Philippines from 1959 onwards. You can also read about how the books *Struggle for National Democracy* and *Philippine Society and Revolution* have inspired the Filipino youth until now.

In the book contents that focus on the Philippines, you will find repeated references to the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and the need to carry out a new democratic revolution in order to get rid of oppression and exploitation being perpetrated and perpetuated by US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism; and thus pave the way for a socialist future. I address various types of mass organizations that belong mostly to the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

I respond to current questions of political line and how to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people. I put forward the leading role of the working class and the need for various types of alliances such as the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, the progressive alliance of these toiling masses with the urban petty bourgeoisie and the patriotic alliance with the middle bourgeoisie in order to take advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries and isolate and defeat the worst of them, the enemy.

The revolutionary armed movement has already spread in the Philippines far beyond the dreams of the founders of the revolutionary party of the proletariat in 1968. It is founded on an ever-expanding and deepening mass base. This has allowed the people's army to grow by waging intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare and carry out revolutionary land reform. It has made possible the establishment of democratic organs of political power in the more than 110 guerrilla fronts covering extensive portions of 71 provinces.

Despite the long-term probability of the people's democratic government of workers, peasants and the intelligentsia displacing the reactionary government of big compradors and landlords through people's war, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines continues to engage in peace negotiations, work for comprehensive agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms and offer a truce and alliance with the Manila government in order to establish a government of national unity, peace and development.

Whoever shall become president after the May elections shall have to reckon with the rapidly worsening crisis of the Philippine ruling system and the world capitalist system and the irrepressible growth of the revolutionary movement. My book presents the crisis of the Philippine ruling system in 2010 and 2011 and the path of



worsening up to this time. I suggest that you study the domestic crisis within the context of the global economic and financial crisis, which broke out in 2008.

The book contains several major articles about the causes and trends of the crisis of global capitalism. The mortgage meltdown of 2006-2008 exposed the excessive debt of banks, corporations and households that caused bankruptcies. The capitalist powers have not solved but have aggravated this crisis by clinging to the neoliberal economic policy regime. They have merely overlaid it with even more excessive central bank borrowings, trade and budgetary deficits and austerity measures at the expense of the broad masses of the people. Now, a new global economic and financial crisis has broken out and comes on top of the previous crisis.

A perfect storm is about to descend on the Philippines after the May elections. It will be a combination of economic and financial crisis, higher cost of foreign debt, the inflationary consequence of excessive election spending, social turmoil on the streets, the simultaneous rise of armed resistance by the Filipino people and Bangsamoro and the lack of credibility for the prospective probable victory of the presidential candidate backed up by the US-Aquino regime. There is widespread concern that the US-Aquino presidential candidate would be able to win, not just because of the billions of pesos of pork barrel but because of the regime's control of the Smartmatic automated electoral system.

Ahead of us are interesting times, starting in the second half of this year and proceeding to subsequent years. A study of my book can provide us some light on the gathering storm and some guidance in performing our respective roles and tasks in the service of the Filipino people. Thanks to the US-Aquino regime for being so servile to big business and landlord interests and for being so corrupt and brutal and thus for unwittingly paving the way for the further advance of the national and democratic forces of the Filipino people.

Long live!

# ***Significance and Consequences of the 'People Power' Uprising in the Philippines***

**On the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the EDSA Uprising  
that Overthrew the Marcos Dictatorship  
February 25, 2016**

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The most definitive end of the Marcos fascist dictatorship came on February 25, 1986, when the despot Marcos and his family had to be flown out of the presidential palace by US helicopter. There was no other way for them to escape the wrath of the people because tens of thousands of progressive workers and students belonging to Kilusang Mayo Uno and League of Filipino Students, respectively, had already massed up around the palace.

Since February 22, 1986, hundreds of thousands of people, peaking at two million, had occupied the EDSA highway in order to support the breakaway of a military group from the dictatorship and in order to effect the complete isolation and downfall of the autocratic regime. The progressive multisectoral alliance BAYAN served as the hard core of the mass uprising.

Mass uprisings organized and spearheaded mainly by BAYAN also burst out in provincial capitals, cities, and towns outside of Metro Manila. The most dramatic among these was the one in Angeles City, which blocked the tanks of General Palafox from Camp Aquino in Tarlac. The mass uprisings in the provinces served to neutralize and paralyze the civilian and military followers of Marcos.

The doom of the Marcos fascist regime began in 1979 when international credit for the Philippines as well as for the third world countries started to tighten. As a result, the state corporations and the crony corporations – all big comprador enterprises – started to collapse in 1981. More and more groups of big compradors and landlords started to openly criticize Marcos and his cronies who were the only ones bailing themselves out of the crisis with state financial resources.

The regime had difficulties providing funds for the over expanded military establishment. The fascist dictatorship had failed to suppress the armed revolutionary movement. Instead, it succeeded in causing its accelerated growth in strength. The legal democratic movement had by then started to make conspicuous advances in the form of new militant mass organizations, increasing indoor and outdoor rallies and workers' strikes.

In 1983 Benigno Aquino, who had been in exile in the United States since his 1980 release from prison, thought it was time for him to return home and seize the political initiative from Marcos. He decided to fly to the Philippines on August 21, 1983. The Marcos clique got into a political panic and decided to have Aquino assassinated.

The Aquino assassination proved to be the biggest political mistake of the regime until then. The outrage over it unlid the long pent-up hatred of the broad masses of the people and resulted in unprecedentedly huge mass actions in urban areas and further intensification of the armed struggle from 1983 up to the fall of Marcos. At the core of the revolutionary mass movement was the Communist Party of the Philippines.

It was the revolutionary mass movement that had consistently and vigorously isolated and weakened the Marcos dictatorship over a long period of time. And it was fear of this revolutionary mass movement already making large strides that drove the United States and the majority of the big compradors and landlords, including the Catholic Church, to decide on preparing the way for Marcos' replacement in anticipation of the whitewash of the Aquino assassination.

If we single out the most decisive factor that brought about the fall of Marcos, we must point to the revolutionary mass movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines. This fact is, however, obfuscated by the rise of Corazon Aquino and her pro-imperialist and reactionary cohorts to government positions. The balance of forces was such that the revolutionary movement could cause the downfall of Marcos but could not as yet seize political power or get a major share of power in a government headed by Aquino.

The EDSA uprising, which went far beyond the scale of the EDSA highway, was a sovereign act of the Filipino people in order to overthrow the Marcos fascist dictatorship, which had been instigated and supported by the United States. For a while, the Filipino people were euphoric about having liberated themselves from tyranny. They expected national independence and democracy to flourish. They hoped that violations of human rights would cease as political prisoners were released and a ceasefire agreement was forged between the new

government of Aquino and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

But from month to month in 1986 and 1987, the Aquino government exposed itself as the chief agent of US imperialism and the anti-Marcos section of the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords to which Aquino herself belonged. She upheld as valid the anti-national decrees of Marcos favoring US economic and security interests. She agreed to pay the odious foreign debts incurred by Marcos. She retained and applied the anti-labor decrees of Marcos and she gave the go signal to her military minions to massacre the peasants in front of the presidential palace. Thereafter, she unleashed the so-called low-intensity conflict strategy against the people and the revolutionary forces.

The successors of Marcos, from Corazon Aquino to her son Benigno Aquino III who is the current president of the Philippines, have proven to be fundamentally no different from Marcos as oligarchs of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. Their only difference is that Marcos blatantly proclaimed martial law to oppress the people, whereas his successors employ pseudo-democratic embellishments on the chains of the people. The EDSA uprising succeeded in overthrowing an autocrat but not the entire ruling system of big compradors and landlords beholden to US imperialism.

As a consequence to this day, the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces continue to wage the people's democratic revolution through a protracted people's war. They celebrate the 30th anniversary of the EDSA uprising to call for the intensification of the revolutionary struggle, while the oligarchs headed by the ruling Aquino family celebrate the continuance of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines.

# ***Remarks at Launch of Building People's Power***

April 10, 2016

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I thank the organizers, the NDF Information Office, the International Network for Philippine Studies and ILPS-Netherlands, for launching my book and timing the event with the end of the meeting of the International Coordinating Committee to allow the ICC members to attend. This is appropriate because most of the contents of the book consists of speeches and statements I made in the years between 2010 and 2011 in my capacity as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

The title of the book lays the emphasis on building people's power by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses. Indeed, quite a number of the contents directly deal with the building of the mass movement, including the legal mass struggles and the people's war, and express support for major mass struggles as well as condemn imperialist plunder and war and state terrorism in various countries.

Several times the book gives a comprehensive picture of the world. To the ILPS-USA Chapter are addressed notes on the outstanding features of the international situation, such as the crisis of global capitalism, the wars of aggression and the people's suffering and resistance. My report to the 4<sup>th</sup> International Assembly of the ILPS in 2011 presents the conception, struggles and achievements of the League, the ever-worsening crisis of global capitalism and the constant and new tasks of the League.

As the crisis of the world capitalist system is currently plunging to a new depth this year, it is worthwhile to review in the book the critique of the capitalist system and neoliberal policy and how this has accelerated the grave economic, financial, social and environmental crises. We expose as aggravation of the crisis the unbridled profit-taking, the wanton expansion of the money supply and credit, the bank and corporate bailouts, the rising public debt and the austerity at the expense of the people.

To a major ILPS member-organization, the Kilusang Mayo Uno, we describe the crisis of imperialism and the peoples' struggles and set forth the tasks of Filipino workers in concert with the workers of the world. The book expresses solidarity and support for the mass actions in 2010 and 2011, such as the Europe-wide day of action against austerity for jobs and real economic growth, the general strike in Greece against austerity measures and the troika impositions, the national demonstration organized by the Italian metal workers and the protest of the youth and working people in the UK against the ruling system.

The book carries statements urging the people of the world to intensify the struggle against imperialist exploitation and plunder in order to attain development and end poverty, expressing militant solidarity for the New Social Congress in Mexico City, condemning the massacre of migrant workers in Tamaulipas, Mexico near the US border, supporting the migrant workers all over the world, supporting the people of Latin America in their struggle against imperialism and reaction and advocating peasant unity in Asia and the need to intensify the struggle. We condemned the Indonesian authorities for harassment and intimidation of AGRA members and for the barbaric attacks on the people of West Papua.

In 2011, the tenth anniversary of 9/11 was commemorated. We condemned the self-confessed Al Qaeda perpetrators as well as the far bigger crimes of terrorism perpetrated by US imperialism. We regard 9/11 as the blowback of the megaterrorism of the US. We also condemned the mass killing of young people by the rabid anti-Marxist Brevik in Norway as a manifestation of ultrareactionary currents in capitalist society. We supported the heroic acts of Julian Assange and Wikileaks in exposing the documented unlawful acts of US imperialism.

The so-called Arab spring broke out in Tunisia in 2011 and spread to Egypt and elsewhere. We supported the people in their mass uprisings against the autocratic regimes aligned with the US and NATO. In the absence of a strong revolutionary party of the proletariat, the people could not carry their revolutionary movement through to the end. Their uprisings would be hijacked by sectarian movements like the Salafi and the Muslim Brotherhood and the persistent bourgeois agents of the Western powers could eventually bounce back.

We condemned and opposed the US and NATO in their aggressive attacks on Libya and military intervention in Syria. The imperialist powers succeeded in overthrowing the Gaddafi government but to this day violent anarchy would follow at the expense of the people. The imperialist powers have so far failed to overthrow the Assad government in Syria but as in Iraq and Libya have inflicted on the people the destruction of lives and homes and

displacement by the millions.

Turkey is among the puppet governments used by the US in military intervention and has a special interest in carrying out barbaric attacks against the Kurdish people. We have therefore condemned the Turkish government and supported the Kurdish people. Zionist Israel has a special interest in the overthrow of anti-Zionist governments in West Asia and Northern Africa. We are determined more than ever before to support the just cause of the Palestinian and Arab peoples against imperialism and Zionism.

We recognize the urgent need for the revolutionary parties of the proletariat to resurge in the face of the ever-worsening impositions of imperialism and the spread of imperialist-instigated war and state terrorism. We have therefore encouraged the rise of such parties as a necessary factor in the victory of the revolutionary mass movements. We have also recognized the high importance of the women's movement, as reflected in the ILPS statement of 2011, celebrating the centennial of the First International Toiling Women's Day and the leadership of communist women like Clara Zetkin.

As manifested by ILPS statements in the book, we supported the rallies of the United National Anti-War Committee in New York and San Francisco in 2011. We joined the Global Day of Action against nuclear reactors and nuclear weapons. We demanded immediate action on global warming and climate justice. We called for the shut-down of nuclear plants on World Climate Day in cooperation with Asia Wide Coalition and the ICOR. We condemned the US-South Korea war provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and we demanded that the construction of naval base on Jeju Island be stopped.

We welcomed the founding of the ILPS country chapter in Canada. We urged the ILPS chapter in Australia to strengthen itself and help build the ILPS in the Asia-Pacific region. We called for the strengthening of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces to oppose imperialist plunder and war preparations and provocations in the region as well as the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement as a US scheme to further control Trans-Pacific trade.

The book has much to say about the Filipino people and the Philippines, even as it has more to say about the ILPS and the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles of the people of the world. But it must be noted that the US and its imperialist allies have strategic interests in the Philippines for the purpose of economic, political and military hegemony, especially in the Asia-Pacific region. The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces are therefore conscious of waging revolutionary struggles and conducting peace negotiations in the interest not only of the Filipino people but also all peoples of the world who desire greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development and international solidarity and peace against imperialism and reaction.

# ***Celebrating 15 Years of Struggle***

**May 28, 2016**

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I wish to thank the Philippine chapter of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) for celebrating the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the ILPS, for launching on this occasion my book, *Building People's Power*, and for inviting me to give this video message on celebrating the previous 15 years of struggle conducted by the ILPS on a global scale.

For making their contributions to the celebration, I wish to thank the other speakers, the ILPS General Secretary Malcolm Guy and ILPS-Philippines Chairperson Elmer Labog, the book reviewers Dr. Carol P. Araullo and Karlo Mongoya, the cultural artists Jess Santiago and Chikoy Pura and cultural groups Sining Bugkos, Sinagbayan and Musikang Bayan and all the participants in the celebration and open forum.

I am confident that our event can help consolidate ILPS-Philippines, whose members in Metro Manila and nearby regions are present. It is appropriate to include in the program the launch of *Building People's Power*. Most of its content are statements and articles in my capacity as ILPS Chairperson and they reflect the character, concerns, acts and degree of development of the ILPS in the years 2010 and 2011.

The ILPS was conceived of and planned from 1998 to 2001 by the International Initiative Committee of which I was the Chairperson. It was founded on May 25 to 27, 2001 in Zutphen, The Netherlands in its First International Assembly. Ka Bel, Crispin Beltran of Kilusang Mayo Uno was elected Chairperson by the first International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS and I became the General Consultant.

Since then, the ILPS has remained steadfast and militant as an anti-imperialist and democratic formation. By word and deed, it has promoted, supported and developed the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles of the peoples of the world against imperialism and all reaction. You can review quickly the positions taken by the ILPS on major global developments and issues and the struggles initiated and joined by the ILPS by examining the reports of the Chairperson and other ICC officers in the ICC meetings and International Assemblies.

The ILPS has a broad mass character. Its members are mass organizations. They belong to various classes and sectors of the people. They have various concerns and enjoy equality within the ILPS. They do not seek the subordination of the ILPS to any political party, government or religion and affords equality to all participating organizations. But they strive to realize the unity, cooperation and coordination of anti-imperialist and democratic forces and struggles throughout the world.

The ILPS has the following 17 concerns:

1. The cause of national liberation, democracy and social liberation;
2. Socioeconomic development and social justice;
3. Human rights in the civil, political, economic, social and cultural fields against state violence, national oppression, class exploitation and oppression, gender oppression, fascism, casteism, racism and religious bigotry; and justice and indemnification for the victims of illegal arrest and detention (especially political prisoners), violations of due process, torture, extrajudicial executions, disappearances, mass displacement, and other blatant forms of human rights violations.
4. The cause of just peace;
5. Independent trade union and workers' and toilers' rights and reduction of working hours at full pay against mass unemployment and decreasing wage levels;
6. Agrarian reform and rights of peasants, farm workers and fisher folk;
7. The cause of women's rights and liberation;
8. Rights of the youth to education and employment;
9. Children's rights against child labour, sexual abuse and other forms of exploitation;
10. Rights of indigenous peoples, oppressed nations and nationalities against chauvinism and racism;
11. The rights of teachers, researchers and other educational personnel;
12. The right of the people to health care and the rights of health workers;
13. Science and technology for the people and development, and environmental protection;
14. Arts and culture and free flow of information in the service of the people and the rights of artists, creative

writers, journalists and other cultural workers against imperialist and reactionary propaganda and oppression;

15. Rights and welfare of homeless persons, refugees and migrant workers displaced by imperialism and local reactionaries;

16. Rights of elderly and other differently-abled people to a life of dignity and secure existence; and

17. Rights of gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgendered people against discrimination, intolerance and homophobia.

The ILPS has sought to realize the following aims and objectives: 1. To stimulate, facilitate and coordinate common lines of action and undertake definite actions on the aforesaid concerns and issues, 2. To cooperate with all possible organizations, institutions and personages in the attainment of the aims and purposes of the League, 3. The activities of the League include: advocacy, research, publications, conferences, seminars and social and political action.

The ILPS came into being at a time when the imperialist powers headed by the US were boasting of the defeat of socialism and the national liberation movements and the perpetuity and invincibility of monopoly capitalism and were carrying out simultaneously various types of offensives against the peoples of the world, such as the ideological offensive in the form of various anti-communist subjectivist philosophies, the economic and social offensive under the policy of neoliberalism and political and military offensive under the policy of neoconservatism, which whipped up state terrorism and wars of aggression.

The ILPS has clarified the issues and laid bare the recurrent and ever-worsening economic and financial crisis of the world capitalist system as a result of the fundamental laws of motion of capitalism, accelerated by the adoption of higher technology and the neoliberal policy of unbridled greed and plunder. The betrayal of socialism in the Soviet Union and China and the increase of capitalist powers competing for the expansion of their economic territory have also aggravated, further complicated and made more volatile and violent the inter-imperialist struggle for a redivision of the world.

From one international assembly to another, the ILPS emerged as the strongest anti-imperialist and democratic formation of its kind. It has provided the analyses, general declarations and timely statements to guide the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles of the world. It has initiated particular activities and sustained campaigns on major concerns and issues. And it has always been ready to engage in coordinated actions with all other forces that are willing to cooperate in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of people on the road of struggle for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development, international solidarity and peace against imperialism and all kinds of reaction.

Long live the International League of Peoples' Struggle!

Onward with the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle!

Long live the solidarity of all peoples of the world!

# ***Message at Davao City Launch of Building People's Power***

July 22, 2016

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As author of the book, *Building People's Power*, I wish to express solidarity and gratitude to the distinguished guests, the organizers and all the participants in this book launch.

I am sure that Prof. Aya Rragio will emcee the program very well, that Rep. Ariel Casilao of Anakpawis will rouse you with his opening remarks, that the book reviewers Luz Ilagan, Stella Estrenera and Myfel Paluga will give enlightening book reviews, that Don Pagusara will enrapt you with his cultural presentation, that Megue Monteverde will react to incite further discussion and that Prof. Nelson Maniego will happily close a successful event.

I hope that the buyers and readers of the book will find it interesting and instructive regarding Philippine and global issues and how to build political power by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people. The book tries to explain the workings, implications and consequences of the US-instigated neoliberal economic policy, the spread of state terrorism and wars of aggression and the people's resistance.

Building people's power is necessary in the face of the ever-sharpening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and the ever-worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation. The Filipino people can achieve national and social liberation only through their self-reliant, resolute and militant mass struggles.

After the anti-people, corrupt and brutal Aquino regime in the service of US imperialism and the local oligarchy, the Filipino people have high expectations that the Duterte administration will create and provide the condition for solving the social, economic and political problems that they suffer. They have to develop their own strength in order to strive for better conditions and a brighter future and prepare for any eventuality in relation to the new administration and the forces of imperialism and reaction.

The worsening crisis of the ruling system offers to us all challenges and opportunities to overcome grave social, economic, political and cultural problems. The peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines can be a crucial process for addressing the roots of the armed conflict and arriving at comprehensive agreements to lay the basis for a just and lasting peace.

Inside and outside the peace process, we must work and fight for full national independence, human rights and the democratic empowerment of the workers and peasants; economic development through national industrialization and genuine land reform; social and environmental justice; a patriotic and progressive culture; equality of the ethnolinguistic communities and genders; and international solidarity with peoples and countries against imperialism and all reaction.

While we aim for a government of national unity, peace and development on the basis of the broadest possible alliance, let us continue to build the people's power by strengthening the forces within the framework of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the revolutionary organs of political power. All of us desire and must work hard to achieve national and social liberation and a new Philippines that is truly independent, democratic, prosperous, progressive and peaceful.



# ***Patriotic Education Must Have a National, Scientific and Mass Character***

## **Keynote Speech for the National Conference**

### **on Patriotic Education**

**October 14, 2016**

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It is my honor and pleasure to be invited by you to give a keynote speech for the National Conference on Patriotic Education in Social Science, Science and Technology, Filipino, Literature, Politics, Culture, Economy, Music, Media and other areas.

I thank the organizers of the conference: the Department of Filipinology of the Polytechnic University of the Philippines (PUP), Alliance of Concerned Teachers – Philippines (ACT-Philippines), Alliance of Defenders of the Filipino Language (TANGGOL WIKA), National Association of Linguistics and Philippine Literature (PSLLF), and Alliance of Defenders of History (TANGGOL KASAYSAYAN).

You have a comprehensive and profound interest in patriotic education. The conference program lays down the wide range of topics, high knowledge and rich experience of the keynote speakers coming from the different disciplines. I extend my greetings to them and to the 1,000 participants consisting of teachers, professors, employees in the education sector, and the education students from various parts of the country who are participating in the conference and who will share their knowledge.

We are confident of the success of your conference that aims to lay down the basis for an alternative program of education that is nationalist, scientific and for the masses.

How can education have a patriotic character? It recognizes, respects and promotes the history of the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people. National consciousness was formed and spread as a result of the oppression and exploitation of Spanish colonialism. In more than three centuries, the colonial and feudal system, was imposed on the nation. This was because there was yet no national consciousness and the Spanish colonialists were able to centralize the administration of the separate communities in the various islands.

National consciousness was formed and spread when oppression worsened and the struggles intensified in the last three decades of the 19th century. But even before this, there were more than 200 local and sporadic struggles. This showed that the people could no longer accept the domination of the foreign oppressors. Subsequently, the Filipino people asserted their national sovereignty and independence and democratic aspirations which were taken up by the Katipunan and the Philippine revolution on a nationwide scale.

The national and democratic consciousness of the Filipino people developed even further in the process of waging struggle against different forms of oppression. We won the victory against Spanish colonialism. But US imperialism intervened and we entered into a more bloody struggle. The US imperialists used extreme violence and deception. They prevailed and imposed a colonial and semifeudal system on the Philippines. Next came the invasion by the Japanese fascists during World War II. We defeated them but we were reconquered by the American imperialists.

Before World War II, the rise in national consciousness was signalled by the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines in 1930. Under the guidance of Marxist-Leninist theory, the Filipino workers learned how capitalism turned into monopoly capitalism or imperialism, how plunder continued against the oppressed classes in the entire world, and recognized the need to fight it through a new democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. The era of imperialism and proletarian revolution had transcended the old democratic revolution under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie.

When the US granted nominal independence in 1946, the Philippines became a semicolonial and semifeudal country. Since then US domination has persisted due to the unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements in the economy, politics, security, education and culture. What is most corrosive to our national consciousness is the excessive domination and influence of US imperialism in our society. We can overcome imperialist domination if we constantly remind ourselves about our revolutionary tradition and proclaim the current tasks of the new democratic revolution.

Our national consciousness is strengthened if we cherish our national language and literary heritage, arts and culture, and respect our local and indigenous languages, literature, arts and culture. If we do not respect our own

culture, it results in the worship of foreign culture and the disregard of our national dignity and rights. We must respect our own culture and not be burdened by a colonial mentality. We must have mutual respect for our own culture and for the culture of nations with whom we relate. We must be open to learning from the cultural achievements of other nations. But we always strive to learn the lessons that serve the country's needs and promote its wellbeing.

How can education be scientific? The scientific viewpoint and method must be used in confronting issues in the social and natural sciences. In the study of Philippine society, we must study the internal contradictions in the form of the contradictions between the exploiting and exploited classes and their relation to the foreign forces that are most responsible for the backwardness or progress of society. In solving social problems, we must study how to use science and technology to develop the country.

We must leave behind us the period in which religion and superstition are used by the reactionaries to block ideas and policies that serve to develop the country. We underwent the period of colonialism and feudalism under the Spaniards. They set up a theocratic system which merged colonial administration with the Catholic church. In the democratic revolution of 1896, the Malolos Constitution of 1899 effected the separation of state and church and significantly reduced the obscurantism that opposed science and sowed confusion in the secular affairs of the people. The friars and religious corporations lost their power but the patriotic clergy were able to take part in the revolution.

But the imperialists and their local cohorts continue to use obscurantism even if they say that they are for democracy and science. During their colonial rule, the US imperialists said that the Philippines would not develop unless the Filipinos were first taught about self-rule. When nominal independence was granted to the Philippines, the US cited anticommunism and defense of free enterprise to further promote a colonial mentality and worship of the US as the supposed savior of the Philippines against what it considered as the new evils in the new democratic revolution and socialism or in any effort to cut free from the clutches of imperialism.

In the development of social science, the world and the Philippines have now come to an understanding regarding scientific socialism as the alternative to capitalism that constantly breeds crisis and war. The working class is the principal factor in the building of socialism. This has been proven in a number of countries. And in the Philippines, the revolutionary party of the working class is still trying to overthrow the state of the big compradors and landlords and replace it with a people's democratic state in order to complete the bourgeois democratic reforms and enter the stage of socialism.

In our efforts to achieve economic development under the new democratic revolution or under the united front of proletarian revolutionaries and the national bourgeoisie, we cannot but make use of science and technology to carry out national industrialization and genuine land reform that leads to cooperatives and mechanization. The Philippines is blessed because it has almost all the natural wealth needed for industrialization and many Filipino scientists, engineers, technologists and skilled workers in the different branches of industry. If we need additional help from outside the country, we can get help through solidarity with other peoples and from the normal course of trade among nations.

How can education be for the masses? Education must be used to serve the Filipino people especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants. Education must be used to stop exploitation and oppression. Whatever knowledge and skill learned by the educated in school must be used to serve the toiling masses. The professionals and educated must understand that the toiling masses are the creators of what sustains the life of society and the surplus product that sustains those who are engaged in politics and culture.

Education must not be used to take advantage of those who have little or no formal education. It is wrong for parents to teach their children to study well in order to climb up the social ladder and not fall to the position of the toiling masses. This patronizing attitude is easily imbibed because when one reaches high school and college or the university the cost of education rises so that you have to belong to at least the middle strata of society to pursue your studies.

The system of public education must be expanded at all levels and school fees must not be required from the children of workers and peasants in order to enter school. For the adults from the toiling masses, there must also be a program of education in the community halls and through the mass media. Their education will be effective if it gives them meaningful information about the situation of the country and the world, values their role in the development of society and is related to their productive activity.

Because the country bears the cost of education of students in the public schools, service to the people would be instilled in their consciousness. They would find it deplorable to seek work outside the country just because there is a scarcity of jobs inside the country. They would prefer to work in their own country to serve their people and not be separated from family and friends. Thus, the best kind of education for the masses is one that inspires them to engage in revolution and to change the conditions inside the country that breed enslavement or force the educated to leave the country.

The best kind of education for the masses is one that follows the program of the people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class. In carrying out this revolution, all the professions, knowledge and skills can be utilized to serve the country. Upon the victory of this revolution, these can be used even more effectively for the country. Opportunities for the education of the toiling masses would also be expanded.

Long live the advocates of patriotic education!

Advance the national, scientific and mass education!

Long live the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution!

**May 9, 2017**

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**A. From Isabel De Leon, MB News Editor**

*1. If you are given a chance to relive your life, would you choose the same path? And why?*

JMS: I will continue to take the same path of fighting for the national and social liberation of the Filipino people. Since grade school, at the age of nine, I have always admired the revolutionary struggles of the Filipino people against Spanish colonialism, US imperialism and the Japanese fascist occupation. I have also always been sympathetic to the poor, exploited and oppressed people. I am committed to the continuation of the Philippine revolution of 1896 and to the attainment of full national independence, people's democracy and socialism.

*2. What is your biggest regret in life?*

JMS: The biggest setback I had was being captured in 1977 and being tortured and detained until 1986. But I do not regret it. It is part of the revolutionary struggle against the US-instigated Marcos fascist dictatorship to make sacrifices, get arrested and imprisoned or even killed. I have never felt any kind of regret that makes me abandon my principles and conviction.

*3. Being (from the) Left, what is Right to you?*

JMS: Being Right and reactionary is to oppose the following rights and interests of the Filipino people: national sovereignty and independence, democracy, social justice, economic development through land reform and national industrialization, a patriotic and progressive culture, international solidarity with other peoples and independent foreign policy for world peace and development.

**B. From Tonyo Cruz, MB Digital Supervisor**

*Then President-elect Duterte asked the NDF to submit its nominees for his Cabinet. He named Taguiwalo, Mariano and Maza to Cabinet posts, but Duterte backtracked on also assigning an NDF nominee to the DENR portfolio. Has Duterte reached out again to the NDF for potential nominees to replace Gina Lopez? Or has the NDF taken the initiative to make recommendations for the next DENR Secretary?*

JMS: Duterte publicly offered four cabinet posts to the Communist Party of the Philippines: DOLE, DAR, DENR and DSWD. But I advised him that the leaders of the CPP, NDFP and NPA cannot accept job offers from the GRP, while peace negotiations are still going on. I suggested to him to appoint those who have a legal status, highly qualified, competent and honest from the ranks of those who are patriotic and progressive.

The NDFP emissary Fidel Agcaoili gave to Duterte the names and resumes of the recommendees of the NDFP to four cabinet posts. Two of the recommendees, Rafael Mariano and Judy Taguiwalo would be appointed to DAR and DSWD, respectively. Silvestre Bello showed interest in DOLE and the NDFP agreed to his appointment. Duterte took the initiative of offering DENR to Gina Lopez and the NDFP agreed that she was a good choice.

As far as I know, Duterte has not asked the NDFP to give a recommendee for the DENR post vacated by Gina. And as of this moment, neither has the NDFP made a recommendation. If asked for this, the NDFP can give the name and resume.

**C. From Ina Cabreza, a millennial from MB Social Media**

*With all the peace negotiations, do you think there will finally be a truce between the Communists and the government?*

JMS: There may be a ceasefire or truce after the signing of the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms (CASER) and the amnesty and release of the political prisoners listed by the NDFP. The NDFP cannot agree to any prolonged or indefinite ceasefire before the signing of CASER and the amnesty and release of the political prisoners. The GRP will no longer be interested in the accelerated negotiation of CASER after getting first a prolonged and indefinite kind of ceasefire.

**D. From Sonny Valencia**

*What to you would be the minimum level of socioeconomic reforms the NDF will accept as a condition, sine quo non, to forge peace with the government?*

JMS: CASER should include agrarian reform and rural development, national industrialization and economic development, protection and wise utilization of the environment, people's rights pertaining to political and

economic sovereignty, expansion of free social services (education, health and housing), indigenous people, and women, sources of funding for the reforms and equitable international economic and financial relations. All these are in the draft of the NDFP.

#### **E. From News Desk**

1. *Why has there been an escalation of attacks by your ground forces despite ongoing peace talks? Have you any orders to restrain or advice them against launching such attacks, if only to fortify the goodwill that should be generated for the talks? Do you exercise some form of control over the ground forces?*

JMS: The NDFP Negotiating Panel and its consultants do not control the NPA in the same way that the GRP Negotiating Panel does not control the AFP, PNP and the paramilitary.

In the first place, it is the GRP which is carrying out an all-out war policy against the revolutionary forces and the people. It is blindly and foolishly using aerial bombs and artillery fire at the expense of the civilian population. Duterte himself has a number of times raved about pulverizing the NPA, the forests and hills. Lorenzana has already declared that he is no longer interested in peace talks.

In the second place, the GRP backed out from the March 11 backchannel agreement for a simultaneous and reciprocal exchange of unilateral ceasefire declarations before the start of the fourth round of formal talks on April 2. In the face of the barbaric attacks of the AFP, PNP and its paramilitary auxiliaries, the NPA has no choice but to fight back and engage in self-defense and counter-offensives.

The collective leading organs of the CPP, NPA and NDFP, which are based in the Philippines, are the principal of the NDFP Negotiating Panel. They give orders and instructions to the NDFP Negotiating Panel and to the NPA in the battlefield. No one in Utrecht can give orders to the CPP, NPA and NDFP in the Philippines. Also, no one in Utrecht has ever claimed to control the revolutionary forces and people in the Philippines. And so far, the authorization and credentials of the NDFP Negotiating Panel from its principal in the Philippines stand and remains valid unless withdrawn by the principal.

It is the collective leading organs of the CPP, NPA and NDFP that decide whether to continue, accelerate, delay or exit from the peace negotiations being pursued by the NDFP Negotiating Panel, depending on the circumstances and reasons for whatever mode of action.

There is nothing the NDFP Negotiating Panel can do if the order from its principal in the Philippines is to disengage from the peace negotiations because the GRP, the peace spoilers and the ultra-reactionaries wish nothing but a prolonged and indefinite ceasefire in order to effect the surrender and pacification of the revolutionary forces.

2. *If you really are the voice of the masses, why are you living in luxury (in Europe) while your followers are having a great deal of difficulty (here in the Philippines) trying to uphold your idealism?*

JMS: Your question carries a series of false judgmental premises. You cast aspersion on the validity and integrity of my advocacy. You presume that it has been my free choice that I am in exile as political refugee for the last 30 years. You do not take into account that my Philippine passport was canceled by Cory Aquino in 1988.

You do not mention the fact since I was put on the EU terrorist list in 2002 until now, despite my legal victory in having my name removed from the list in 2009, I have been deprived of living allowance, housing, health insurance and pension that refugees are entitled to. My wife and I have to support ourselves on her single account as permanent resident and with assistance from relatives and friends.

It is unfair and unjust to conjure an image of me living in luxury and compare me with the revolutionaries and people living in hardship, as if I did not have a share of hardship in fighting the Marcos dictatorship in the battlefield for nine years, enduring torture and imprisonment for another nine years and now undergoing already 30 years of exile. Consider finally that with my exploiting class origin, family political background and personal qualifications, I would have lived a life as comfortable as that of my wealthy relatives, classmates and friends had I taken the easy way within the ruling system. But no regrets. With modesty aside, I daresay that they have nothing like my wealth of revolutionary experience and more than 30 volumes of essays and poems.

#### **F. From Rocky Nazareno**

1. *Spokesperson Abella said yesterday that federalism will be Duterte's legacy to the Filipino people. How role do you see the CPPNPA-NDF playing under the new government, how do you see it being in the mainstream of a federal form of government?*

JMS: The NDFP has already offered to co-found with the GRP the Federal Republic of the Philippines. This will

resolve questions about a single government, territory, revolutionary taxation and other governmental functions. The CPP and NDFP may enter a coalition government. The NPA may be integrated in a national defense system. All these matters will be negotiated and agreed upon in the forging of the Comprehensive Agreement of Political and Constitutional Reforms after CASER is signed and approved by the principals.

*2. What is your message to President Duterte at this point of the peace negotiations, which have been marred by encounters on the ground?*

JMS: In the following sequence, CASER, the amnesty and release of all political prisoners and the Joint Interim Ceasefire Agreement (JIFCA) must be finalized, signed and approved as soon as possible by the negotiating panels and then by their principals. In the meantime, there may be a transitory agreement for the GRP to cease and desist from its all-out war policy so that the NPA and the people's militia can also cease and desist from self-defense actions and counter-offensives.

The simultaneous and reciprocal unilateral ceasefire declarations can be a transitory measure. The GRP and NDFP negotiating panels should be directed and encouraged by their respective principals to do their negotiating work in this regard in the forthcoming fifth round of formal talks in Noorwijk aan Zee, The Netherlands, from May 29 to June 2.

# ***Anti-imperialist Struggles for National Liberation, Democracy and Socialism Need to be Waged in Various Countries***

**Message to Participants in the Launch and Forum on Lenin's "Imperialism" in the 21st Century, July 21, 2017**

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First of all, I congratulate the Institute of Political Economy (IPE) and IBON International for publishing the book *Lenin's "Imperialism" in the 21st Century* and for organizing this book launch and forum to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.

I extend warmest greetings of solidarity to all those who are present, including the authors contributing to the book, the officers and staff of IPE and IBON International, all the leaders and activists of the people's organizations and all those others who are interested in buying and reading the book.

I am happy to be honored twice for being invited to keynote today's program and being one of the authors to have contributed articles and essays serving as chapters and dealing with various aspects of imperialism in the past and present as well as in the probable future.

The book is a major contribution to the worldwide celebration of the centenary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It exposes the ever-worsening global conditions of crisis, depression and war generated by US imperialism and its cohorts. It serves to inspire the proletariat and people to take the road of resistance for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Antonio Tujan critiques the neoliberal "globalization" project in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Paul Quintos examines the operations of cartels, the emergence of supercartels and vertical integration. Demba Moussa Dembele exposes the new forms of exploitation by foreign monopoly capitalism in Africa. Paoyu Ching describes the current phase of imperialism and China. Fred Engst discusses imperialism, ultra-imperialism and the rise of China. Roland G. Simbulan reviews Lenin's theory of imperialism in relation to the American empire in the current century. Pio Verzola, Jr. presents the rivalries and wars proving Lenin right up to now. This speaker ventures to outline the future of imperialism and socialism.

I recommend the book to be distributed in connection with the worldwide study conferences, seminars, forums and cultural festivals being held to celebrate the October Revolution under the sponsorship of the People's Resources for International Solidarity and Mass Movement and the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

The book gives us a comprehensive and profound understanding of how much imperialism has been debilitated by its own economic and financial crises and its propensity to engage in war production and unleash state terrorism and wars of aggression and how the seeming strategic victory of imperialism over socialism in the years from 1989 to 1991, as a result of betrayal by revisionist ruling cliques, has proceeded to the accelerated strategic decline of US imperialist power and the rise of a multipolar world of intensified contradictions among capitalist powers.

Under the current circumstances, the broad masses of the people are suffering acutely from the global crisis of imperialism and are goaded to fight for their own salvation and emancipation. But while inter-imperialist contradictions are escalating, the resurgence and space for maneuver has widened for the revolutionary mass movement of the proletariat and people in the capitalist countries and of the oppressed nations and peoples in the less developed countries.

The great Lenin and the October Revolution teach us that we can prevail over imperialism and all reaction and aim for socialism by building the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the mass organizations of the workers, peasants, women, youth, professionals and others, the organizations of self-defense, the organs of political power and the intraclass and interclass alliances of the progressive and revolutionary forces.

Anti-imperialist struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism need to be waged in various countries by the patriotic and progressive forces. But being international in scale of operations, imperialism must be confronted and combated as a common foe by all peoples of the world. The international anti-imperialist solidarity of peoples must provide the broad base for proletarian internationalism and all efforts to advance the cause of socialism in the world proletarian revolution.

The Filipino people can be proud of being in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggles. They have dared to resist US imperialism and the local reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords. They have heroically

waged various forms of struggles and have achieved great victories. They are the target of ever escalating attacks by the US and its puppets. But they are determined more than ever before to continue the new democratic revolution towards socialism and thus strive to win ever greater victories and contribute further to the revolutionary advance of peoples and revolutionary forces on a global scale.



# ***The Revolutionaries and the Masses of the Philippines Must Rely on their own Strength***

September 3, 2017

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*Gabi Fechtner: Dear Joma Sison, we are very glad that we can make this interview for the Red Flag Magazine with you because the people in Germany are very interested in the situation in the Philippines. Our first question is: How is the development under the new President Duterte to be assessed and how is the population in the Philippines? How do you assess all this?*

JMS: President Duterte is “unique” to the Philippines in that, before he took over the presidency of the Philippines, he explicitly referred to himself as Left. That he was a socialist, not a communist. He said he wanted to uphold the sovereignty of the Philippines, build the economy, promote land reform and industrialization. And that he wanted to pursue an independent foreign policy. It was the first time a new president made such announcements.

But we still do not know how he would withstand the pressure of the ruling government system. He stands before a government in which there is a mixture of some left cabinet members, but mostly right-wing. This is especially true in key positions in the field of security, such as the Department of National Defense, the Department of the Interior or the National Security Adviser. These belong to the right-wing and pro-USA poles. How Duterte can cope with this will be shown.

He has announced that he wants to make an independent foreign policy to use funds from China and Russia – but he also wants funds from the old allies – USA, Japan, and Western Europe.

The crisis in the Philippines is so deep-going that he has to think seriously about a great many questions. First of all, things have been very simplified in order to win the elections. He said he would “kill” those involved in the illegal drug trade and wage war against drugs.

These were his words and today he will have to learn to clear up his expression. He has promised to eradicate drugs, crime and corruption in the government.

In the fight against drugs, there are already extrajudicial killings (people shot in the street), and he has publicly encouraged the police to kill suspects if they resist. There is a reward system, a quota system for the police units, depending on how many heads they deliver. The police have already murdered thousands. This is a public scandal, both nationally and internationally.

He promised reforms and won approval. This is a point, which speaks in his favor: he opened the possibility for reforms.

On the other hand there are increasing indications that he is backtracking on his promises of reform.

The resources of the Philippines are not enough to stabilize the country economically. In addition, foreign borrowings must be sought to augment the country’s revenue, including the income of the Filipino workers working abroad.

I can not guarantee that Duterte will be able to honor his promises. The revolutionaries and the broad masses of the people must rely on their own strength, on the strength of the masses, for mass struggles to achieve the best for them.

Duterte made it a special concern to begin negotiations on peace with the NDFP. But these negotiations are not without obstacles. There have been several intermittent interruptions in the negotiations. But the negotiations go on in principle.

An important point is that all agreements made so far in the first round of formal talks remain valid. This means that the agreements on immunity and safety guarantees or the absence of prosecution continue to apply. This is intended to protect negotiators and their consultants on both sides. That is, the NDFP consultants who are going back to the negotiations to the Philippines can remain active and have the guarantee that they are protected there and not be arrested. Nineteen among them are out on bail, based on the promise made by Duterte, that they would be released with many others under an amnesty. His amnesty promise, however, Duterte has not fully fulfilled. It has to be said that the NDFP – to put it cautiously – is annoyed that he has not kept his promise. But it is important that the negotiations go on, that negotiations on social, economic and political reforms have begun,

and the review of an existing agreement on the respect of human rights and international humanitarian law.

Duterte lives with the risk that different political forces will oppose him. We are currently experiencing the spike of armed conflict in Marawi. The Maute group and Abu-Sayaff groups are involved. They are associated with Islamic State/Daesh, known to be the creation of the CIA. This is financed by Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar.

But the larger opposing forces will come from other reactionary forces. Duterte spoke of the danger that the CIA would initiate his assassination or a coup against him. He fears that.

My opinion is that the danger that threatens him from the US is currently rather low. The US appears to have difficulties cleaning up the act of Duterte. But we have only heard his words so far that he wants to be independent from the USA. He has talked a lot about what he wants to do. In fact, however, he has gone into merely symbolic acts. And the Left says this is not enough. But, the Left still gives him a chance, especially the NDFP, to negotiate a peace agreement.

*Fechtner: How is the role of CPP in the Philippines developing in this situation? What role does it play in this development?*

JMS: The CPP, the revolutionary forces and the masses have to carry out their basic tasks, with or without Duterte. There are revolutionary tasks that need to be carried out, such as the struggle for national independence, promoting people's democracy, realizing development and so on. But, of course, these forces cannot undertake national industrialization by themselves, before they can control over the ports and cities. But there are economic initiatives that can be developed by the revolutionary movement. It can advance the peace negotiations so that national industrialization is agreed upon. It is good if certain socioeconomic arrangements can be achieved within the framework of the peace negotiations.

There are also bourgeois-democratic reforms such as land reform, and this is necessary to develop the economy. And then, of course, in connection with national industrialization or the Filipinization of the economy. This is not a socialization of the ownership of the means of production, which is still mainly in the hands of the private sector, but it is about giving way to the rights of Filipino entrepreneurs and the Philippine state giving priority to Filipino entrepreneurs over the foreign monopoly capitalists.

Let me classify the various forms of struggle.

First, it is perfectly legitimate for the people and the revolutionary forces to wage people's war or to conduct revolutionary armed struggle. This is the highest form of struggle because it answers the central question of revolution, the conquest of political power. And with political power, you can carry out all the social reforms, in all its various aspects.

Second is the legal mass movement. This can consist of protests, petitions, etc. These are legal, unarmed activities and these mass actions can be carried out at any time and on any question.

The third is the struggle in bourgeois elections. The Communist Party is always careful not to interfere with these legal campaigns and their progressive actors. There are patriotic, progressive, leftwing parties.

And then there are the peace negotiations as fourth. This is also a form of struggle. A peace agreement can come about, but it can only be a stepping stone to the ultimate victory. You have to be very vigilant, so that the movement does not suffer a defeat. The other side is working with concepts that are meant to make you accept the power of imperialist relations. There are ways to push you into a position of surrender and to subject you to pacification.

Then the fifth kind of struggle: If you are arrested as a suspected revolutionary, or even if you are accused of common crimes, you must also fight this in court. The Communists must also go to court. When you are in prison, the enemy controls your body. There you have to make the most of your legal possibilities. There are many ways to stand before a bourgeois court and to resist. There are a variety of ways to contribute something to the revolutionary struggle.

As a revolutionary, you must show that you stand for principles and stand by your responsibility to serve the interests of the people. But you can also be an accused who does not say anything and who lets his lawyer speak. The prosecution submits "evidence," and then it is up to the lawyer to prove the falsity of these "proofs." This is also a form of struggle.

*Gabi Fechtner: What role does partybuilding play?*

JMS: We must build the revolutionary party, the proletarian party, because this party stands for the most

progressive and most productive political force. It has the comprehensive theory and practice of how to carry out the social revolution.

If you build the revolutionary party of the proletariat, you must answer the question about what kind of revolution you are doing. Whether you want to recycle the old democratic revolution, like in the nineteenth century, whether you want to go back to these experiences. Or let us try to carry through a new kind of democratic revolution led by the proletariat. One thing is certain: If you declare that you want to carry out a democratic revolution of the new type led by the working class, then the party is the key for this revolution to be carried forward to socialism. For in this era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, you can not carry out a bourgeois-democratic revolution, which as such can exist independently. If the proletariat is dispensed with, there will be recessions and regressions, and no further progress to socialism.

If you build a revolutionary party of the proletariat, you must assume what proletarian revolutionary leadership means. This means that the class leading the revolution has the capacity to bring about socialism, upon the basic completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Take land reform, for example. Land reform is an anti-feudal measure. In history it was carried out in bourgeois revolutions. But if the proletariat has the leadership, you will first distribute the land titles of ownership to the peasants. This means that you are creating a whole lot of petite bourgeois owners. Under the leadership of the working class, however, cooperatives are built up immediately, cooperatives of people who would otherwise be independent individual owners and producers. But this is the beginning of socialization of land.

And if you reinforce industrialization, the surplus rural population can get industrial jobs. And so you have fewer and fewer people on the farms. The most effective method would be to create state farms. In China, for example, there were three ascending stages of cooperatives, up to the level of people's communes. Or the collectives in the Soviet experience, etc. The working class and its connection with the party are, in any case, the key.

The working class can bring about the continuation of the new democratic revolution and its transformation into the socialist revolution. There are two stages, which must be distinguished. You cannot undertake the socialist revolution directly in a country like the Philippines, which is semifeudal and semicolonial. Here you can not reach socialism directly. First, you must defeat imperialism, the local reactionary classes, the compradors, and the landowners by winning the new-democratic revolution. Here you need the people's war. To realize socialism is indeed the more peaceful part of the process when you have already taken over the power. You only have to be on your guard against the few counterrevolutionaries.

*Fechtner: We are interested to know something about the Second CPP Congress. We've heard that you've successfully done it. What can you tell?*

JMS: Indeed, the Second Congress took place, according to reports that I have come to know. Prior to this, there were plenary conferences of the Central Committee, which had the weight of several congresses.

It is significant that after such a long time an actual congress could be held with hundreds of delegates, a truly comprehensive congress. In this case, there were 200 delegates, surrounded by battalions of NPA fighters who protected them. The process of conducting this second congress lasted several months. Since the documents were prepared, there were frequent large meetings. Delegates worked through the documents, without necessarily being present in the congress itself.

Because the character of the Philippine society is still that of a semifeudal, semicolonial country, there are no radical changes in the program. But there are certain improvements that will adapt the program to current facts and circumstances. For example: When the first congress was held, there were US military bases in the Philippines. Subsequently, after the removal of the US military bases, there would be agreements allowing the US to go anywhere in the Philippines and to rotate their troops on Philippine territory. This had to be included in the new program. But we can no longer speak of US military bases but US forward stations within Philippine military camps.

There were other changes. Thus, the program shows that there have already been various so-called but ineffective land reform programs. These have been fraudulent and they did not solve the land problem.

So there are already important revisions of the program and constitution of the CPP. I spoke of 200 delegates, but more than 200 participated, through the meetings that took place before the actual congress. The whole party participated in drafting and developing the documents.

There were selected delegates who did not attend the congress as a matter of precaution against the possibility

of the enemy attacking the congress. You have to be prepared for such a thing and ensure that delegates are not victims of a massacre by the enemy. There are instances in history that entire parties have disappeared because all the leaders responsible were at a single gathering and were massacred. In times of danger, make sure that there are members of the Central Committee and delegates of the party congress who can live on and continue the life and development of the party.

The congress also ensured that there was a good distribution among the members of the Central Committee in terms of age. Highly experienced senior, middle-aged and young cadres were well represented. The CPP has made sure that young and middle-aged members of the Central Committee are in the majority. The cadres who are still robust to lead the struggle of the people (peoples struggle), form a majority. In the revolution, the commanders at all levels must be young. If you have too many commanders who are already 50 years old, if the army has already grown old, it is not so effective and not so agile.

If I refer to the the example of the revolution of 1896, the revolutionary generals were in their twenties. The generals of the enemy army were in their fifties.

*Fechtner: We congratulate you heartily on this successful congress under these difficult conditions and thank you very much for the interview. And we wish you all the best for your further revolutionary work.*

JMS: I thank you for your good wishes. All concerned in the Philippines will receive your congratulations and best wishes. You can be sure that the Communist Party of the Philippines will try to become stronger and realize its revolutionary tasks for the benefit of the people. The Philippine revolution will advance under the leadership of the working class.

## ***Tribute to Ka Ateng, Sister Cecilia C. Ruiz***

September 5, 2017

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For the past several years, I have come to know of the many good and heroic deeds of Ka Ateng (Sister Cecilia C. Ruiz) for the poor, deprived and oppressed masses. It is an honor and a delight to have interacted with her, embraced her and spoken with her on her visit to Utrecht with Ka Aurora Santiago, widow of my long-term and close comrade in struggle, Ka Willem Geertman, great cadre of the proletarian class, revolutionary hero and martyr of the toiling masses of the Philippines and the whole world.

Ka Ateng and Ka Au were together in an important mission that became a success. For an entire month, they went to Holland, Belgium and Italy to solicit support to attain justice for the killing of Ka Willem and campaign against the exploitation of the toiling masses and the plunder of natural resources in the Philippines. As a result of the mission, the Dutch parliament was moved enough to push the Dutch embassy in Manila to show renewed interest in Ka Willem's case and even invite the National Union of People's Lawyers to help in the case and the issue of plunder which Ka Willem struggled against and for which he sacrificed a lot for a long period.

I had a wonderful conversation with Ka Ateng when she was in Holland because of the principles and comrades that linked us and also because we are both Genuine Ilocanos. We shared information about our relatives in Ilocos. For me, the most important part of our conversation was when I began asking her how she developed her faith and the fulfillment of her service to her fellow human beings, especially the toiling masses. I admired her long, painstaking and fruitful activism for the poor, deprived and oppressed. It is a great honor for me to have been invited to pay tribute to her, on the occasion of her 80<sup>th</sup> birthday. A Red salute to you for 36 years of service to the people of Central Luzon!

Except for her difficult life during World War II, Ka Ateng had a comfortable childhood because of the love and diligence of her parents. They were able to send her and her siblings to college. She studied in a school run by the Belgian Sisters from Kindergarten until she graduated from teacher's college. At the age of 23, she joined the Belgian Sisters Congregation, The Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. As an ICM novice, she studied the documents of Vatican II and was drawn to participate in the Church's self-renewal in order to cope with the modern world.

When she became a full ICM nun, she was assigned to teach and serve as principal-directress of an ICM-run school. Vatican II continued to challenge her. The school came up with a systematic program so it could be of service to society. Thus, Ka Ateng's consciousness grew about the realities beyond the walls of her institution. She had a desire to be with the masses. But she enjoyed the trust and confidence of her fellow sisters and her superiors and continued to be given heavy responsibilities. She became one of four members of the Council of the entire ICM Philippine District.

Nonetheless, the new ministries and social apostolates were advancing: work among the urban and rural poor outside the walls of ICM. Eventually, the sisters within the walls became alarmed, saying that the ICM was losing its identity and that the spirituality of those who worked outside was weakening. They also feared that bad worldly influences would enter the convent. Nonetheless, Ka Ateng continued to see the millions who were homeless, ailing and hungry. Marcos proclaimed Martial law. The cries of militant organizations, strikes and street demonstrations reverberated. Military atrocities were intensified.

Still, she was not driven to leave the convent. But it so happened that she was a member of the ICM Council assigned to supervise sisters who volunteered to work outside or were assigned to the so-called new ministries. When she fulfilled her task of accompanying her fellow sisters on their mission outside of the traditional ICM apostolate, she was gradually exposed to the realities of poverty in the urban areas and the countryside. She witnessed the reality of poverty in the streets, homes and work places. She was disturbed by what she saw and experienced outside of the convent. She noticed that there was something wrong with Philippine society and with the Church which had been isolated and had become passive in the face of the wretched conditions of the countless poor.

She asked herself disturbing questions. What did it mean to have a preferential option for the poor in the Mission Statement? Is this option already being realized in prioritizing those who were "poor in spirit" among the

children of the middle and upper social classes studying in ICM's schools? What about the children of the poor, deprived and oppressed, the exploited in the cities and countryside across the country? The Church should have a concrete mission and commitment to a society where the majority were poor and a handful of wealthy people were growing wealthier. Is the Church becoming blind to this situation and deaf to the cries of the poor?

When she got to know some members of the group CALAMA who worked among laborers in Manila, she found out that they were developing the strategy of "diaconal ecclesiology" to build a Church of the Poor based on interdisciplinary principles through the building of groups called "triple communication," where theory was always linked with practice. Ka Ateng became interested in how the group managed to survive. She found out that they lived in a rented apartment in a workers' community. They worked eight or more hours a day at the factory as laborers. Each member of CALAMA cleaned the house, did the laundry, the marketing and the cooking. She witnessed loyal church members living in accordance with the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience to the Church. It was different from the lifestyle within the convent.

CALAMA presented a challenge to her. She wanted to have a deeper reflection on her life and her place in society and the Church. She joined CALAMA's "orientation month" and it helped her assess her life. By systematically assessing society and church, the ICM as an institution, her place and role in the process of history, she was enlightened about her questions and was relieved of her anxieties and weaknesses. CALAMA presented her with a number of possibilities in "fulfilling a new mission."

At the start of 1979, she was invited by Bishop Julio X. Labayan, who worked with the Missionary Volunteers group of CALAMA in Aurora province. She accepted the invitation. She resigned as ICM council member. She stood her ground before her superiors about her need for a new mission and a radical change in her lifestyle. She rode a bus from Manila and traveled six hours on a winding, rugged and dusty road that traversed the Sierra Madre mountains up to Aurora. She immediately lived in Barangay San Joaquin in Maria Aurora. First, she rented a small room at the home of an elderly couple (Tatang and Nanang Olpindo). She began living the life of an ordinary villager. She fetched water to drink and cook from a small artesian well, cleaned her own room, did her laundry with the other women, and read and wrote by the light of a gas lamp at night.

Sometimes she joined other women working the farms, cutting grass, gathering firewood, or harvesting peanuts or string beans to be sold at the market. She experienced what it was like to work hard for a living. It was not long before she became the "daughter" of her hosts, the Olpindo couple, an "elder sister" to her neighbors (consisting of all of the married children of her Tatang and Nanang) and Auntie to their children. She became the adopted daughter of the entire clan, sharing whatever food or clothing there was. She had a place in their hearts a new and real HOME. She had turned her back on the comfortable life of a nun, on their behavior and privileges and immersed with the peasants of Aurora. Thus began a major change in her life.

For Ka Ateng's mission among the impoverished farmers of Aurora, she needed to conduct a lot of social investigation during the first two years of her 20-year stay in Aurora. These two years were spent visiting far-flung villages in the heart of the Sierra Madre Mountains. Accompanied by a fellow MIVO (Missionary Volunteers), they traveled rough roads on horse-drawn carriages wherever these would take them; then they would walk three to four hours through logging areas, sometimes under the intense heat of the sun, sometimes under a heavy down-pour, cross winding rivers and climb mountains to reach the target village.

As they stayed for three to four days in a village and regularly came back until they had visited every family, they were drawn closer to the people and were provided the unique opportunity to understand deeply their sentiments, views and desires. This practice paved the way for building a profile of the entire Baler Valley which served as basis for the services and programs needed by the people, such as literacy and health, and to support them in their efforts to organize themselves. Concretely, the health and literacy program began in 1981.

Ka Ateng began giving adult literacy classes in Baler Valley's far-flung villages in 1981. After working at the farm, where she joined the women in weeding and harvesting, they would have study sessions at night by the light of a gas lamp. Her peasant friends taught her to persevere, be determined and have hope in the struggle to live and defend. On the other hand, she taught them how to read and write, how to make the family budget, how to compute, stand up for their rights especially when they were being cheated by big loggers and abused by the military who would attack the villages to pursue the rebels but would steal the people's pigs, chickens and orchids which caused fear among the women and children and angered the menfolk.

The Baler Valley profile likewise gave Ka Ateng's group enough basis to get to know the first and second line of

leaders among the men, women and youth who could help organize themselves. The need to organize and link up with other organized groups became important to the villagers. In mid-1985, the organizations of peasants, women, youth and indigenous people of Aurora were founded. The leaders of these organizations were faced with the challenge of consolidating their members and expanding their groups. They felt the need to have a physical center where they could maintain their members' enthusiasm and continue sharing their hopes and dreams with one another and with interested and prospective members.

After a number of consultations, they came up with the idea of organizing a center formation, where the spirit of cooperation could be propagated. The program that was developed had two thrusts: develop a program for the main sector covered in the building of a just and humane society, and building a program for church people working among the masses who were to be served by the Church of the Poor that would be built. The center was named BATARIS (from the term 'batarisan' meaning voluntary cooperation and effort) and inaugurated and blessed by Bishop Labayan on January 6, 1987. Comprising members of the MIVO who served as the first personnel of BATARIS, they also served as formators/trainors and program implementors, including Ka Ateng as Executive Director up to 1999.

It was not long before BATARIS was targeted by black propaganda: its personnel and everyone linked to it were branded as NPA supporters – subversives, leftists, anti-government communists. Several times, Ka Ateng and her comrades experienced being suspected and isolated. They also suffered from apathy and repression not only from the government and community but from some members of the Church. In spite of all this, she was appointed by the Bishop as a member of the Infanta Prelature Formation Team that regularly conducted seven-day seminars (called YAPAK) for the Prelature's objectives. From this experience emerged a mechanism for an annual dialogue between the main sector and the church people led by the Bishop, called DPSTS (Daupang Palad ng mga Sector sa Taong Simbahan), and this persists to this day.

Ka Ateng's immersion among the poor peasants was a door that opened to a world of ugliness and poverty, a world of great deprivation due to the government's neglect of even the most basic services; a world of hunger, malnutrition, illness and death; a world of injustice, oppression and exploitation. For her, this world was even made uglier and more brutal by the marginalization she experienced in the hands of society's leaders and even of the Church.

On the other hand, the entry into Exodus (the way out) conditioned Ka Ateng to discover and become sensitive to the poor's hopes for the future for their children, to the sacred respect for life and the integrity of creation, their firm solidarity, their strength to protest, their earnest endeavors to organize themselves and strengthen their ranks, their joys and anxieties even as they celebrate their own martyrs. Here she experienced the absence of the Church as institution – but not the absence of a loving and generous God of her Church!

In 2000, after a consultation with the organized masses of Central Luzon on building a community-based institution that would respond to calamities, she was appointed Executive Director of Alay Bayan Incorporated based in Angeles City and registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission. Since 2008, after eight years as Executive Director of Alay Bayan Inc., Ka Ateng focused on becoming a human rights advocate and defender as human rights violations intensified in Central Luzon. As a human rights worker and paralegal up to present, she continues to perform her role of defending human rights by organizing and joining Quick Reaction Teams, Fact-Finding and Mercy Missions, and monitoring and documenting human rights violations.

Human rights and paralegal work is not without challenges and dangers. In this line of work, Ka Ateng is always ready at any time of the day, even missing sleep or skipping meals to respond to victims' appeals, especially if lives are at stake. She makes sure that her cellphone is open 24 hours, so that when she receives a distress call, she is ready to organize a Quick Reaction Team to go to various police and military camps to look for persons who have been reported missing or illegally arrested or detained. Monitoring the court cases of political prisoners is another difficult task where under a system where impunity prevails, justice is often delayed or not attained.

Her day to day exposure to the brutal realities of the lives of the poor and defenseless victims of human rights violations has deepened her analysis of society. She views the world no longer from an individualist and personal point of view, but more from a structural point of view.

Her commitment to the poor, deprived and oppressed has deepened. She is aware that her immersion among the organized sectors does not only mean living with them, but working among them to better their conditions in life, continue organizing them, and mobilize them to change the unjust structures to enable genuine peace based

on justice to prevail.

Happy 80<sup>th</sup> birthday to you, Ka Ateng!

Thank you very much for your long, creative and fruitful service to the poor! May you live longer to contribute even more! Thank you very much for your rich legacy!

Your shining example of service to the people is a great inspiration to future generations!



# *Strive for Greater Victories*

January 1, 2018

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As Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I wish to congratulate you for all the efforts that you have exerted and the victories that you have won in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles in the past year and wish you greater victories in 2018.

Since its founding in 2001, the ILPS has grown in strength and played a major role in the struggle against the US as the No. 1 imperialist power. It has contributed significantly to the arousal, organization and mobilization of the people against imperialism and all reaction and has seen how the US has abused its position as sole superpower and thereby accelerated its own strategic decline.

Even Pentagon strategic analysts admit that the US has entered its so-called post-primacy period. It is still the No. 1 military power among the imperialists but its economic power is in conspicuous strategic decline. Although still a major capitalist power, in a multipolar world, it can no longer unilaterally dictate its terms on other capitalist powers.

Let us observe how the changing balance of forces among the imperialist forces results in intensified contradictions among themselves. They can collude at times to take advantage of the less developed countries but the crisis of global capitalism always drives them to contend with each other over economic territory, especially where human and natural resources are cheap and the markets and fields of investment are highly profitable.

We are most concerned about the oppression and exploitation that the people suffer under all circumstances and how they must struggle in order to secure better conditions and a better future. The ILPS is more than ever determined to arouse, organize and mobilize the people on 17 social concerns.

We exist and work in imperialist and non-imperialist countries, especially those subjected to imperialist plunder and war. We stand with the working class in the struggle against the monopoly bourgeoisie and with the oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism. We take advantage of the struggle among the imperialist powers and turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary war.

We must continue to build and strengthen our national chapters by bringing together the mass organizations of workers, peasants, intelligentsia, women, youth, professionals, cultural workers, and other major sectors of society. The ILPS is by itself a solid alliance in every country. But it must further ally itself with other forces that fight imperialism and all reaction. At the international level, the ILPS is also open to alliance with all other anti-imperialist and democratic forces.

We look forward to achieving ever greater victories this year in activities and campaigns of political education, solid mass organizing and militant struggles against imperialism and reaction in order to uphold, defend and promote the people's rights to national independence, democracy, social justice, economic development, cultural progress, international solidarity and peace.

## ***Notice to the Public***

**January 22, 2018**

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In my recent interview with the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, I never used the word “riot” and did not call on the student youth to engage in riots but to engage in protest mass actions. During the First Quarter Storm of 1970, which should now be remembered, it was the police and military that disrupted the mass rallies and accused the rallyists of rioting at certain times.

Below are my exact words in my interview with Delfin T. Mallari of the PDI: “The anti-Duterte movement can sustain the growing rage against Duterte and his regime. The student youth of today can and should launch huge mass marches and rallies in the national capital region and in the provinces, like during the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

“They should begin now to celebrate, emulate and honor the militancy of the student youth who rose up in January 1970. With the signal act of the student youth, the rest of the people will participate in the mass movement: the workers, the peasants, women, youth of other sectors, cultural workers, professionals and religious.

“All patriotic and progressive classes and sectors can take their respective initiatives and undertake mass campaigns and mobilizations against the Duterte regime. The rising prices of basic goods and services are already outraging and enraging the broad masses of the people. Even the unorganized masses are now predisposed to act in unison with the mass organizations.”

# ***We Are Nat Dem***

## **Message to KM64 on its 15th Founding Anniversary**

**March 13, 2018**

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I am delighted to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to my fellow poets and all the lovers of patriotic and progressive creative writing and art in KM64 on the occasion of its 15th founding anniversary. I congratulate you for having strengthened your ranks and for having brought together the newly-risen spoken word collectives, the visual artists and musicians.

I commend you for having made a breakthrough in forming the alliance Kaisahan ng mga Artista at Manunulat na Ayaw sa Development Aggression (KAMANDAG). Of course, you mean to be lethal to the factors and agents of imperialist plunder and war. I am glad that you are now focused on a campaign against the projects that are destructive to the lives of the peasants and indigenous people in Central Luzon.

I congratulate you for having successfully taken up 15 major social concerns in your poetic creativity and militant actions during the last 15 years.

The concerns are: 1. the need to oust the president as chief executive of oppression and exploitation, 2. genuine land reform and Hacienda Luisita as center of caciquism, 3. political detainees: Axel, Ericson, Sharon and others, 4. the workers: story of Coke, Tanduay, Nestle, ABS-CBN, IWS, Kentex and others, 5. national Minorities: Lumad to Aeta, 6. budget cuts 7. Visiting Forces Agreement and imperialism, 8. Sa 'yo te: story and struggle of women, 9. new women: The Flors and Mary Janes, 10. homes: demolition and occupation (from Corazon de Jesus to Manggahan Floodway) , 11. platform of patriotic change, 12. cyber crime 13. war on drugs 14. martial law ,and 15. extraordinary events (tribute to comrades) .

I salute you for your categorical declaration, We Are Nat Dem. In the first place, since your own founding, you have been inspired by the Kabataang Makbayan founded in 1964. Thus, I have always presumed that you are nat dem. You as an organization and as individual members of KM64 have played a significant role in the cultural and political life of our country because you serve the Filipino people and you take the general line of struggle for national liberation and democracy.

You have been able to scan the horizon and raise your arms and spirit to the heavens because your feet are firmly on the ground and you voice out the crying needs, urgent demands and aspirations of the Filipino people. The crises of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and the world capitalist system are ever worsening and inflicting so much hardship and suffering on the people. You are thus challenged and called upon to rise up and fight for a fundamentally better and brighter world.

Today, we are confronted by the monstrous US-directed Duterte puppet regime. This regime is extremely murderous and greedy. It has engaged in the worst kind of mass intimidation, such as the mass murder of suspected drug users and pushers in impoverished communities and now increasingly at an accelerated rate the mass murder of suspected revolutionaries as well as social activists, all of whom this evil regime tries to vilify as "terrorists".

In fact, Duterte is the No. 1 terrorist of the Philippines. In his hands are the weapons of state terrorism. He is using the military, police and paramilitary forces to intimidate the people and to advance his scheme of fascist dictatorship. He has deliberately terminated the peace negotiations with the NDFP in order to scapegoat the CPP and NPA and have the pretext for nationwide martial law by which to ensure the adoption of a tyrannical and pseudo-federal constitution.

This is a fascist constitution being railroaded, imposing on the people a highly centralized presidential dictatorship lording over an expensive array of regional governments run by reactionary dynasties, big comprador, landlords and warlords. There will be a system of double taxation to overburden the people. Foreign investors are allowed to own 100 percent enterprises that exploit the natural resources, operate public utilities and engage in all businesses. The economic sovereignty is wantonly violated and the national patrimony is sold out.

Duterte has spoken of carrying out an independent foreign policy. But in fact he wants to serve any foreign master so long as this serves his selfish interest. He keeps all the unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements with the US in order to let the US stay as the dominant foreign power over the Philippines, especially after

obtaining from Trump unlimited contingency funds under Operation Pacific Eagle for the purpose of armed counterrevolution. At the same time, he sells out the sovereign rights in the West Philippine Sea and natural resources of our people to one more foreign master in exchange for overpriced infrastructure projects and high interest loans, to serve the corruption of his clique of high bureaucrats and big compradors. He is so shameless in committing treason that he proclaims publicly his desire to turn the Philippines into a province of China.

The Filipino people suffer the ever worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation. You must denounce and counteract the bloody campaigns of suppression against the toiling masses of workers and peasants and revolutionaries and the daily violence of exploitation as a result of underdevelopment, mass poverty, high rate of unemployment, low incomes, soaring prices of basic goods and services, social deprivations, cultural degradation and the despoliation of the environment.

As creative writers of protest and revolution, you must be active in the movement against tyranny and oppose the escalating exploitation of the people. You must always take up the challenge to fight the daily violence of oppression and exploitation and cast the light on crucial issues against all efforts of the oppressors and exploiters to silence the people with acts of mass intimidation and mass murder by the state and as well as to deceive the people with misleading pronouncements and fake news.

In fighting the violence and deception of the imperialists and their local reactionary agents, you must employ your literary skills in the campaigns to arouse, organize and mobilize the people for national and social liberation. I praise the KM64 poets and activists for having immersed themselves in mass work among the urban and rural poor. You have proven your mettle and worth. You are in the forefront of the people's revolutionary struggle.

There is abundance of subject matter for your poems and other creative works from the dismal realities, the misery and suffering of the people. But there is also the abundance of subject matter arising from the people's national democratic movement in the arena of legal struggle as well as in the field of revolutionary armed struggle. There are heroic efforts and brilliant victories of the revolutionary masses for you to celebrate and project in order to inspire new and higher levels of mass struggle.

Your poems and related creative works are a major and indispensable factor in the national democratic revolution. They must contribute to the arousal, organization and mobilization of the people for greater victories in the revolutionary struggle. You must motivate and inspire the people to participate in strengthening the leading party of the revolutionary movement, the mass organizations, the forces of people's defense and the organs of political power.

The victories already won on a nationwide scale by the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces should lead to ever greater victories until total victory and the basic completion of the national democratic revolution as the beginning of the socialist revolution. You must be ever resolved to fight for a new Philippines that is independent, democratic, socially just and progressive in an all-round way.

Mabuhay ang KM64!

Mabuhay ang rebolusyong Pilipino!

Mabuhay ang sambayanang Pilipino!

# ***A Complete View of Enabling Environment for the Conduct of GRP-NDFP Peace Negotiations***

**March 28, 2018**

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The end of hostilities and disposition of forces are the fourth and last item in the substantive agenda of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration and must be preceded by the comprehensive agreements on respect for human rights and international humanitarian law (CARHRIHL), on social and economic reforms (CASER) and on political and constitutional reforms (CAPCR).

But since October 4, 2017, the NDFP has positively responded to the expressed desire of GRP to draft a ceasefire agreement more effective and more sustained than the previous unilateral ceasefires. Thus, the GRP and NDFP back channel teams have already drafted an agreement on coordinated unilateral ceasefire to be monitored by a joint ceasefire committee of the GRP and NDFP at the national level.

This agreement on coordinated unilateral ceasefire is in the same package of draft agreements, including the draft amnesty to release all NDFP-listed political prisoners in compliance with CARHRIHL and the drafts of such major parts of CASER as Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ARRD) and National Industrialization and Economic Development (NIED).

I am sure that the enabling environment for the successful conduct of the peace negotiations would ensue from the finalization and signing of the draft agreements in the aforesaid package. When the GRP and NDFP negotiating panels meet again, it should be easy for them to finalize the draft agreements and sign them.

**April 3, 2018**

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The NDFP is sincere in engaging in peace negotiations with the GRP in order to obtain comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the armed conflict and lay the basis for a just and lasting peace in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration.

These reforms and consequent peace are for the benefit of the Filipino people, especially for the toiling masses of workers and peasants who are the most oppressed and exploited and who therefore support the armed revolution.

When the reactionaries in the GRP demand sincerity from the NDFP, they mean the NDFP and all the revolutionary forces to surrender to the oppressors and exploiters of the people, accept the terms of capitulation and pacification and betray the Filipino people and their revolution.

Together with their imperialist masters, the reactionaries demand the outright surrender of the revolutionary forces and people or surrender under the guise of a protracted and indefinite ceasefire long before any comprehensive agreement on social, economic and political reforms.

Their objective is merely to clear the way for deploying military forces and pseudo-development projects, spreading counterrevolutionary intrigue, committing massacres and terrorizing the people in communities suspected of being involved in the revolutionary movement.

While mocking at the NDFP and its revolutionary forces as being insincere in peace negotiations, the reactionaries even boast that they do not need the peace negotiations because they are already supposedly making "reforms" through pseudo-development projects and the revolutionary forces are any way surrendering and being killed in large numbers.

Thus, the reactionaries keep on interrupting, delaying and even repeatedly terminating the peace negotiations in a vain attempt to extort what they euphemistically call an "enabling environment;" namely, the surrender or political suicide of the revolutionary movement under the guise of a protracted and indefinite ceasefire.

These reactionaries seem not to realize that they are the ones who are proving themselves insincere with regard to fulfilling the mutually agreed aim of the peace negotiations, which is to address the roots of the armed conflict through comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms and lay the basis for a just and lasting peace.

The reactionaries seem to forget that the NDFP has disengaged from the peace negotiations whenever it is thoroughly convinced that a particular regime of the GRP has no interest whatsoever in the substantive agenda of social, economic and political reforms and uses the demand for a protracted and indefinite ceasefire to block the basic reforms needed and demanded by the people.

The reactionaries seem not to realize that they are the ones prodding and pushing the NDFP away from the peace negotiations and challenging the revolutionary forces and people to intensify the armed revolution in order to further strengthen themselves and seek further advances towards total victory in the people's democratic revolution.

The national spread of the CPP, NPA, the revolutionary mass organizations and the local organs of power is already a wide base for isolating, weakening and defeating an already rotten and ceaselessly decaying semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system of big compradors, landlords and corrupt officials beholden to a US imperialism in its post-primacy period in the global arena.

# ***Resumption of Peace Talks Allows the Panels to Deal with Substantive Issues and Complaints***

April 4, 2018

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There is already a substantial consensus between the panels on the general principles, on agrarian reform and rural development and national industrialization and economic development, which are the most important parts of the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms.

There is already a draft amnesty proclamation to release all the political prisoners listed by the NDFP in compliance with the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law.

There is already a draft of the agreement on coordinated unilateral ceasefires, which is under the watch of a joint national ceasefire committee. This draft agreement is in effect the start of a bilateral ceasefire agreement. It is a significant step towards the Comprehensive Agreement on the End of Hostilities and Disposition of Forces.

When the GRP and NDFP negotiating panels meet, they can be confident of achieving substantial success. Without a formal meeting of the panels, there can only be an acrimonious public exchange of complaints and demands, which appear or sound like the preconditions prohibited by The Hague Joint Declaration.

This framework agreement requires that no side shall impose on the other side preconditions that negate the character and purpose of peace negotiations. The conflicting parties become negotiating parties precisely to thresh out serious differences and complaints and seek the solutions to achieve a just and lasting peace.

As a matter of course, the two panels shall reaffirm all the existing agreements by way of ending the previous termination of the peace negotiations. It logically follows that the two panels shall cooperate in doing away with the obstacles and hindrances to the agreements and to the entire peace process.

## ***Author's Preface (to Strengthen the People's Struggle against Imperialism and Reaction)***

**August 10, 2018**

I thank the editor and the International Network of Philippine Studies for publishing *Strengthen the People's Struggle against Imperialism and Reaction*, Volume 5, thus completing the book series, *The People's Struggle against Oppression and Exploitation: Selected Writings: 2009-2015*. This volume is a selection of my writings from 2014 to 2015, a period of crisis, social unrest and political turmoil in the Philippines and the world.

As the founding chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and as Chief Political Consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) in peace negotiations with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP), I was expected or sometimes obliged to speak or write on major Philippine issues from a patriotic and progressive viewpoint in line with the new-democratic revolution.

As Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) I was required to take initiative in stating the anti-imperialist and democratic position of the League on global issues for the benefit of its International Coordinating Committee, global region committees, national chapters and more than 200 member-organizations in five continents.

The contents of *Strengthen the People's Struggle against Imperialism and Reaction* include essays (articles and speeches), statements, interviews and messages to various people's organizations and institutions. They are arranged chronologically. But they are interconnected and cohere in connection with major events and issues in the peoples' struggles against US imperialism and local reaction in the Philippines and abroad.

The book contains essays that describe the context of the history and circumstances of the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. It examines the implications and consequences of the resurgence of the national democratic movement since the 1960s and the EDSA uprising that overthrew the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986. And it focuses on the situation and prospects of the people's struggle against the US-Aquino regime, characterized as a big comprador-landlord regime servile to US imperialism.

The general line of national democratic revolution is explained by a number of articles on the persistent semi-colonial and semifeudal conditions and the latest conditions dictated by the US-imposed neoliberal economic policy regime, on the people's mass struggles for national and social liberation and on the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

The roles of various classes and sectors in the people's struggle are defined by the essays, statements and messages to the working class, peasantry, the indigenous people, youth, women, teachers, cultural workers and other professionals. I take the opportunity to urge various people's organizations to intensify and raise their struggle to a new and higher level. I share with them my experiences and my continuing study of how to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses.

In a paper I delivered to students and some faculty members in Development Studies at the University of Utrecht, I examine the role of activism in Philippine development. I discuss how the mass movement has endeavored to demand national industrialization and agrarian reform and basic social and economic reforms to solve the problems of underdevelopment, mass poverty, unemployment, low incomes and lack of social services. I also present how the revolutionary forces and the mass movement are undertaking reforms to alleviate these dire conditions.

The book contains a major essay on revolutionary art and literature in the Philippines from the 1960s to the present, which explains comprehensively how far the Filipino artists and creative writers have carried forward the revolutionary struggles and demands of the people. The essay was serialized in the Philippine Collegian for the benefit of the students of the University of the Philippines.

In several articles published in major Philippine and foreign publications, I analyze how the US under the Obama regime has tightened its grip on the Philippines by collaborating with Japan, by carrying out a strategic pivot to Asia, by imposing the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement on the Philippines and by using the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation to push the neoliberal offensive further.

While the US remains dominant in the Philippines, China has tried to transgress Philippine sovereign rights over the West Philippine Sea. Several articles explain the maritime dispute between the Philippines and China, the Philippine case filed against China before the International Tribunal on the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) and the Arbitral Tribunal and the relations of the Philippines with the US and China regarding the issue.



Despite the revolutionary necessity of people's war, the NDFP in representation of 18 revolutionary organizations (including the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army), has shown willingness to engage in peace negotiations with the GRP. In connection with these peace negotiations, I have gone as far as to dialogue with senior officers of the reactionary armed forces who are graduate students of the National Defense College of the GRP.

Several articles explain how GRP President Aquino and his OPAPP secretary Deles sabotaged the peace negotiations by violating existing agreements, preconditioning the peace negotiations with the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces and the people and preventing comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the armed conflict and lay the basis of a just and lasting peace.

The book pays serious attention to the Filipino migrant workers. It exposes and denounces the myth of migration as a way for development. It urges the migrant workers to fight commercialization and enslavement and to strengthen Migrante International. Filipino migrant workers are vulnerable: they are discriminated against, they take jobs far below their education and training, receive lower wages than the locals in the host country and are deprived of basic trade union and democratic rights.

The Filipino migrant workers are more than ten million or ten percent of the entire Philippine population or 20 percent of our national work force. It is necessary for them to develop solidarity with the local people and other migrants in the host countries in order to obtain better wage and living conditions. It is likewise necessary for them to gain the solidarity and support of other peoples of the world for the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation. The book calls for international solidarity.

The International League of Peoples' Struggle has become the biggest international organization of its kind, a combination of people's organizations engaged in anti-imperialist and democratic struggle. Filipino and overseas Filipino mass organizations are active here and engage in international solidarity and mutual support through unity, coordination and cooperation with people's organizations in various other countries.

As ILPS Chairperson, I give an overview of ILPS work and call for a socially just world, strengthen the people's solidarity and intensify the struggle against imperialist plunder, crisis and war. By teleconference, I delivered the keynote address at the Fifth International Assembly of ILPS which was held in Manila on November 15-16, 2015.

*Strengthen the People's Struggle against Imperialism and Reaction* relates the Philippines to the world in several articles on the international situation and the role of the Philippine Revolution in the world proletarian revolution, on the CPP, Maoism, new democratic revolution, China and the current world order. It takes up such problems as climate change and nuclear weapons as the result of imperialism and as threats to human survival.

Complementing the expressions condemning US imperialism are expressions of solidarity and support extended to peoples suffering brutal forms of attacks by imperialism and local reactionaries and waging anti-imperialist and democratic struggles, as in Venezuela, Ukraine, Palestine, Kurdistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Afghanistan, Somali, Sudan, Congo and other countries.

The US and NATO allies are held criminally responsible for the surge of refugees to Europe from the Middle East and Africa due to the combination of super-exploitation, wars of aggression and climate change resulting from the plunder of the environment. The US CIA and the Israeli Mossad are condemned for organizing terrorist jihad groups like Daesh and Al-Nusra that engage in senseless killings and other depredations.

In messages to various ILPS member-organizations in the Philippines and abroad, I present the situation upon which they act and exhort them to advance their political and organizational work in order to strengthen themselves and mobilize more people to advance the revolutionary cause for the benefit of a certain oppressed class or sector and for the benefit of the broad masses of the people.

In the book, I do not deal only with large issues but I relate myself to personalities of significance. These include the living and departed heroes. I pay the highest tribute to such martyrs as Comrade Leoncio Pitao (Ka Parago) of Mindanao and Comrade Recca Monte of Northern Luzon. I honor Comrade Primo Rivera (Tang Prime) and others who made sacrifices and devoted their lives to the revolutionary service of the people.

I praise Benito and Wilma Tiamzon for being resolute and effective leaders of the Communist Party of the Philippines, Luis Jalandoni for his long revolutionary dedication and role in the peace negotiations and Prof. Judy Taguiwalo for her rich revolutionary experience and patriotic and progressive academic service. I acknowledge the contributions of the departed ally Alejandro Lichauco, the economist, in espousing anti-imperialism and economic nationalism.

I honor comrades and friends abroad who have fought for greater freedom, equality and social justice in their particular fields, such as the political leader Irene Fernandez with whom I worked in the International League of Peoples' Struggle and the playwright and poet Amiri Baraka with whom I became a friend while participating in the same poetry festivals.

In closing, I urge you to read *Strengthen the People's Struggle against Imperialism and Reaction* in order to understand the major events and issues in the years 2014 and 2015 in connection with the historical background and with the years from 2016 onwards.

It is of course outrageous that today the Filipino people and other peoples of the world are living under worse conditions. But these are the result of the grave crisis and rotting of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system and are pushing the people to struggle harder against imperialism and all reaction in order to achieve national liberation, democracy and socialism.

We are confident that the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system, the escalation of oppression and exploitation and the relentlessness of aggressive wars are resulting in greater people's resistance and will eventually bring about the resurgence of revolutionary movements on an unprecedented global scale.

Jose Maria Sison  
Utrecht, The Netherlands  
August 10, 2018

## ***Foreword (to Warriors, Poets, Friends)***

September 4, 2018

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It is highly gratifying to read Joven Obrero's *Warriors, Poets, Friends: My Life in the Mindanao Mountains*. He shares with us his rich revolutionary life of struggle and service to the people in excellent literary style.

The book is well constructed. It is a unique alternation of inspiring and delightful poems and short prose narratives. The poems are intensely meaningful and passionate.

The narratives define the moment and the sweep of events from one period to another.

I found the book so compelling after reading just a few pages that I could not set it down. And I would recommend that readers read it in one sitting to be able to best understand and enjoy it. Subsequent readings are further enriching and enjoyable.

The book succeeds as a concentrated expression of the author's revolutionary commitment to wage the people's democratic revolution, hard work and sacrifices to overcome tremendous odds, fight the enemy and create new things among the people in order to empower them and advance the revolution.

The author begins the book by narrating the difficulty of climbing a mountain and the joy of reaching the destination after twists and turns and ups and downs. She exalts in learning from various tribes of the indigenous people and the poor peasant settlers.

She defies the enemy and strengthens her will to fight in the face of the evil that it is capable of. Thus she is encouraged to conduct necessary mass work to be able to fight back and carry the people's war forward. She joyfully celebrates the mother's birthing of the first child.

She demonstrates how dialectics operate concretely in relations between the revolutionaries and the enemy as well as within the revolutionary movement. The contradictions extend to her own struggle with cerebral malaria and the people's struggle against natural calamities caused and aggravated by the exploitative logging, mining and plantation corporations.

For all the victories that the people and the revolutionaries, Joven Obrero offers elegies as tribute to cadres, couriers, gay comrades and others. Towards the end of the book, she revisits her parental home and pays homage to her peasant father. She also reunites with siblings who have gone abroad to earn a living and never to forget the travails of their motherland.

The poetry of Joven Obrero is in simple but rhythmic and lyrical, witty and heartfelt, and full of subtlety and grace. Even as she is a unique poet with her own style, she bears the influence of the poetry of Mao, Ho, Neruda and Galeano. I, too, have been influenced by these poets.

Joven Obrero's book is a worthy contribution to the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration of the Communist Party of the Philippines. It essentially reflects the revolutionary experience not only in the mountains of Mindanao but also in Luzon and the Visayas.

All who desire the national and social liberation of the Filipino people will appreciate the book as a revolutionary testimony and literary work.

# ***Author's Preface to People's Resistance to Greed and Terror***

**September 7, 2018**

This book, *People's Resistance to Greed and Terror*, includes my writings in the whole year of 2016 in my role as founding chair- man of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), Chief Political Consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and/or as chairman of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS).

The first half of 2016 saw the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the people's upris- ing that overthrew the Marcos fascist dictatorship (February 22-25, 1986) and at the same time the discredit of the pseudo-democratic regimes from Corazon Aquino (1986-1992) to Benigno Aquino, Jr. (2010-2016).

The second half of 2016 saw the assumption of the presidency by Rodrigo Roa Duterte, the bureaucrat-capitalist mayor of Davao City, who was most vociferous in denouncing the Aquino regime and succeeded in garnering the biggest block of votes among five presidential candidates.

Duterte belongs to the oligarchy of big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats based in Mindanao and Cebu. To win the presidency, he augmented his Bisaya following with the bailiwick votes of the worst Luzon-based plunderers such as the families of Marcos, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo and Joseph Estrada and their respective financial backers.

Although Duterte talked against the preceding Aquino regime, he surreptitiously continued its campaign of military suppression called Oplan Bayanihan beyond 2016, until he unleashed his own Oplan Kapayapaan in early 2017. He also appointed as his chief military sub- alterns defense secretary Delfin Lorenzana, national security adviser Hermogenes Esperon and AFP chief of staff Eduardo Año.

He designated as his economic managers, neoliberals like finance secretary Carlos Dominguez III, NEDA director general Ernesto Pernia and budget secretary Benjamin Diokno. He pretended to adopt an independent foreign policy in a multipolar world. But he retained all treaties, agreements and arrangements that made the US the domi- nant imperialist power in the Philippines.

Despite the pro-imperialist and reactionary complexion of his regime, Duterte called himself a socialist and declared his wish to become the first Left president of the Philippines. He sought to ingratiate himself with the legal democratic forces and the revolution- ary forces by making a number of promises. He promised to form a coalition government with the CPP no less, the immediate release of all political prisoners and the resumption of the peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the NDFP in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and other standing agreements mutually approved since the Ramos regime.

But as early as the second half of 2016, Duterte started backing out of his promise to amnesty and release all political prisoners. Patiently, the NDFP persevered in conducting two rounds of formal talks in August and October 2016 and another two rounds in February and April 2017. All the while, Duterte was escalating military and police operations in an all-out war against the revolutionary forces and the people, despite the mutual ceasefire agreement to promote the peace negotiations.

The NDFP took into account the desire and expectations of its allied organizations and the broad masses of the people that social, economic and political reforms would be agreed upon in order to address the roots of the armed conflict. Thus the NDFP maintained the policy of negotiating peace with the Duterte regime, which ultimately terminated the peace negotiations on November 23, 2017.

The deceptive and brutal character of the Duterte regime is a manifestation of the worsening crisis of the semi-colonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines. The book amply describes this domestic crisis as well as the crisis of US imperialism and the world capitalist system.

It brings to the fore issues and events that involve the greed and terror that the people suffer under the imperialist policies of neoliberal exploitation, military intervention and wars of aggression. At the same time, it underscores the rising and widening resistance of the people in the Philippines and the world at large.

Jose Maria Sison  
Utrecht, The Netherlands  
September 7, 2018

# ***The Broad United Front against Duterte Tyranny***

September 11, 2018

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The broad united front promoted by the CPP against the Duterte tyranny is open to all patriotic forces. But as far as I know, there are yet no talks between the CPP and Trillanes group or the Liberal Party. Duterte is lying and bluffing by claiming that there are recorded conversations provided by a foreign government.

I know Duterte long enough as a congenital liar and an incorrigible political swindler. And I challenge him to present publicly what he claims as recorded conversations. The experts will easily expose the fakery if he dares to present anything. This could be something like his invented foreign bank accounts of Trillanes.

There has never been any discussion between me or the CPP with Trillanes or the Liberal Party about ousting Duterte from power. But it is no secret that the CPP wishes to promote a broad united front of patriotic forces and encourage the broad masses of the people in their millions to rise up and oust Duterte, as Marcos and Estrada were ousted in 1986 and 2001, respectively.

The moment of ouster will occur when Duterte's own military and police forces withdraw support from Duterte upon the sight and inspiration of the rising people in their millions throughout the archipelago. Duterte is now worried to death and so desperate as to imagine that he would be ousted this coming October.

But it might take a little more time to build up the broad united front and the mass movement and prepare the way for the key military and police officers to withdraw support from Duterte. At any rate, Duterte will be lucky if he survives 2018 and even luckier if he survives middle of 2019.

There are two currents against the political survival of Duterte aside from the determined effort of the people to oust him. These are his deteriorating physical and mental health manifested by his much darkened face and insane statements and his own abusive actions towards establishing a fascist dictatorship under the pretext of charter change to federalism. Such abusive actions (suppression of dissent and declaration of martial law nationwide) and can provoke the acceleration of efforts to oust Duterte.

Regarding Duterte's slander that I am a terrorist, I must remind him that I have long been cleared of the charges of terrorism by the European Court of Justice since 2009. This is the court that has had jurisdiction over me.

It is Mr. Duterte who is the barefaced and shameless terrorist. He openly incites his police and military minions to abduct people without judicial warrant and frame them up as resisting arrest (nanlaban) and murder them in big number as in Oplans Tokhang and Kapayapaan. He also openly assures his criminal accomplices in authority of presidential protection and impunity and rewards them with cash payments per victim and promotions in rank.

State terrorism is being used by Duterte to intimidate the people and keep himself in power while he aggravates the basic socioeconomic and political problems afflicting the people. As soon as Duterte is ousted from power, he will be subject to arrest for crimes against humanity and trial by the ICC. He will be lucky though if the disease blackening his face and manifesting the deterioration of his physical and mental health will save him from trial.

# ***Historic Significance and Continuing Relevance of the First Quarter Storm of 1970***

Delivered at the Inaugural Forum in Countdown to the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the First Quarter Storm of 1970

September 19, 2018

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I am elated, honored and grateful that the FQS Movement and the FQS@50 network and coordinating committee have invited me to deliver a paper for this inaugural forum of the Forum Series on the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

I appreciate that the forum series is a major part of the line up of events and projects meant to celebrate FQS' 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary from now until the first quarter of 2020. It is clear that these events and projects are in consonance with the historic significance and continuing relevance of the FQS of 1970 to the ongoing revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people for national liberation and democracy as well as its distinct character as a cultural revolution. I have been asked to present an overview of the FQS of 1970, which can serve as framework for succeeding forums until 2020. I therefore propose to discuss the long chain of events that led to the occurrence of the FQS of 1970, its distinctly great historic significance and finally its far reaching consequences and continuing relevance.

## ***1. FQS as the culmination of previous events***

The FQS of 1970 could arise only because it was moved by the tradition and spirit of the Philippine revolution and the urgent desire to continue the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy and was preceded by a chain of mass actions in the 1960's that started on March 15, 1961 when 5000 students broke into Congress and literally scuttled the anticommunist hearings being conducted to witchhunt the authors and publishers of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal articles that had appeared in official publications of the University of the Philippines.

This first significant mass action of the 1960s, which was national democratic in character, was organized by the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP) in alliance with the *Philippine Collegian* and the Inter Fraternity and Sorority Council (IFSC). Immediately after the mass action, leaders of SCAUP proceeded to form study circles in a number of down town Manila universities. The SCAUP actively advocated the Second Propaganda Movement which was previously proposed by the anti-imperialist Clro Mayo Recto.

The next significant mass action was in 1962 when a combination of 500 workers from Lapiang Manggagawa and students from several universities broke into the grounds of the presidential palace to denounce the continuance of the Laurel-Langley Agreement, demand its abrogation and demand from the Macapagal regime for the transparency of the secret talks to extend the agreement. The presidential guards pushed the demonstrators out of the grounds using butts of rifles with fixed bayonets.

This protest action was followed by smaller mass actions on political and economic issues against US imperialism and the Macapagal regime while organizational work was relentlessly carried out to form student chapters for a prospective Kabataang Makabayan in Metro Manila, Central Luzon and Southern Luzon to generate seminars and forums among students and workers and establish connections with the peasant masses in the regions of Central and Southern Luzon.

The Kabataang Makabayan was established as a comprehensive youth organization of students and young workers, peasants and professionals on November 30 1964. By 1965 it became possible to assemble 25,000 people in front of the presidential palace in an omnibus rally against US economic, political, military and cultural domination of the Philippines and against the puppetry of the Macapagal regime. The KM cooperated with the Lapiang Manggagawa, the labor federations, and the peasant association Masaka.

The general line pursued was to carry forward the struggle for national liberation and democracy against the evils of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The leadership of the working class and its basic alliance with the peasantry were affirmed. The youth were urged to carry out the Second Propaganda Movement and a cultural revolution along the line of struggle for national democracy.

The patriotic and progressive organizations that surged forward paid attention not only to national issues but also to international issues, especially the US war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. They opposed the sending of the Philippine Civic Action Group as an interventionist military force to Vietnam. Thus they assembled 5000 students and workers against US President Johnson when he came to Manila in October 1966 to proclaim

Marcos as his right-hand man in Asia, hold a summit and garner the support of US allies in Southeast Asia.

After the violent dispersal of the said mass action by the police and military, Kabataang Makabayan launched the October 24th Movement and fielded teams to carry out mass work in urban poor communities and among the workers and peasants. Most conspicuously, it expanded rapidly among students nationwide. Thus in the years from 1966 onwards the KM succeeded in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the students against oppressive school owners and administrators, denouncing the pro-imperialist and reactionary system of education and demanding a national, scientific and mass culture.

The KM expanded nationwide rapidly through seminars and forums on nationalism that it alone organized and also through close cooperation with national student organizations and student governments. It vigorously undertook an integration with its urban poor, workers and peasants, which involved social investigation, discussion of current events and issues and cultural performances by KM teams for mass work.

It was during the period from 1966 to 1968 that KM played a key role in the establishment and operation of the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism and KM-based proletarian revolutionaries carried out the process of rectifying major errors in the old merger party of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Socialist Party of the Philippines and calling for the reestablishment of the CPP.

KM provided the nationwide network of cadres and mass activists who were already schooled and trained along the line of the new-democratic revolution for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The newly reestablished CPP founded the New People's Army and launched the people's war. Workers and student strikes spread in 1968-69. As many as 15,000 peasants came mainly from Tarlac to demand genuine land reform from Congress in November 1969. The youth and the rest of the people were outraged by the massacres of peasants in Tarlac and the excessive use of public funds for the reelection of Marcos as president. They were inspired by the reestablishment of the CPP and the founding of the NPA.

KM reconciled with Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan (SDK) along the line of new democratic revolution in November 1969. The visit of US vice president Agnew to Manila on December 29, 1969 provoked a protest demonstration against US imperialism and underscored the brutal disruptive acts of the US-AID trained police and the obsequious puppetry of the Marcos regime. On January 1970, the CPP's Ang Bayan came out with the editorial, 'Marcos is a Fascist Puppet of US imperialism'. This was a clarion call for resistance to the US-Marcos regime.

## ***II. The great historic significance of FQS***

It can be said that the FQS of 1970 was the product and culmination of the mass movement of the 1960s. It was inspired by the continuing growth in strength and advance of the legal democratic forces of all patriotic and progressive classes and sectors and by the resurgence of the people's democratic revolution and revolutionary armed struggle led by the CPP.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, the Vietnamese struggle against the US war of aggression, the revolutionary struggles of the third world peoples, the anti-war movement in the US and the youth uprisings in Paris and elsewhere had an influence on the youth movement in the Philippines.

Southeast Asia was the center of the global revolutionary storm with its eye in Vietnam and the rest of Indochina.

Nevertheless, the KM-led youth who spearheaded the series of mass actions that constituted the FQS of 1970 were well-rooted in the history and circumstances of the Philippines as having become a semicolonial and semifeudal country and as being in need of a national democratic revolution of a new type in the world era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

The main slogans of the FQS were: Overthrow US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, Struggle for national democracy, Fight, be fearless, People's war is the answer to martial law. These slogans were directly carried over from the mass movement of the 1960s.

The youth that participated in the FQS of 1970 were highly conscious of pursuing the general line of people's democratic revolution. They were determined to promote this line through study and social investigation, integration with the toiling masses of workers and peasants, cultural creativity and performances and mass actions to arouse, organize and mobilize the people.

In addition to *Struggle for National Democracy*, the youth had the *Philippine Society and Revolution* for their

political education in Schools for National Democracy. The KM Cultural Bureau and teams were active in educational and cultural work among the youth. They cooperated with comradely organizations in the formation and development of educators, propagit speakers and the creative writers, visual artists and stage performers of cultural groups.

The KM's Panday Sining, SDK's Gintong Silahis and Samahang Kamanyang of the Philippine College of Commerce became models for mass organizations and chapters in organizing cultural groups for enlightening and enlivening mass work and mass protests. They created art and literature in the service of the people and the revolution. Previously in the latter half of the 1960s, cultural groups were formed by the KM and other organizations in connection with chapter organizing, mass integration and mass protests.

The FQS of 1970 consisted of seven mass protest actions from January 26 1970 to March 17, 1970. They were larger in size and scale than the mass actions of the 1960s. Not only were the direct participants in marches and rallies but also people along the roadside, looking out of windows and offering food and water to the columns of marchers coming from several assembly points in Metro Manila.

When the fascist forces viciously and brutally attacked the January 26 and 30 mass actions, residents and shop owners in the area readily opened their doors and gave sanctuary to the demonstrators. After the bloody suppression of the January 26 demonstration, the mass actions of students under KM leadership spread to the provinces throughout the length and breadth of the archipelago.

January 26, 1970 demonstration against the US-Marcos regime at the SONA in Congress

The National Union of Students of the Philippines (NUSP) led by Edgar Jopson was able to get the permit to rally in front of Congress on the occasion of the State of the Nation Address (SONA) of President Marcos on January 26, 1970. It demanded a nonpartisan constitutional convention. The NUSP demonstrators were at least 10,000.

Kabataang Makabayan brought a contingent of mostly students and workers to the rally site, bringing the total number of demonstrators to around 50,000. KM raised the issues of US imperialism, feudalism and fascism. It accused Marcos of puppetry to US imperialism, setting up a fascist dictatorship, corruption and aggravating the inflation and economic crisis with his 1969 electoral overspending of public funds for his reelection.

When Marcos stepped out of Congress to the driveway, a group of demonstrators flung at him a paper mache crocodile to express the people's hatred for the rapacity of the bureaucrat capitalists like Marcos and a black cardboard coffin marked Freedom and Democracy to condemn his oppressive rule. The presidential security detail and the Manila police began to attack the unarmed demonstrators with gunfire and truncheons and injuring hundreds of students. The demonstrators defended themselves and fought back for several hours with placard handles and stones while chanting Makibaka, huwag matakot!

### ***January 30, 1970 marches to Congress and then to Malacañang***

The entire nation was outraged by the brutality of the attack on the students on January 26. The students declared a one-week strike and in only four days they were able to mobilize more than 100,000, mostly students from universities and high schools, together with workers and urban poor. They marched from several assembly points and converged in front of Congress on January 30 to denounce fascism and state brutality. In the provinces, students held sympathy rallies.

After the rally in front of Congress ended, the demonstrators marched to the presidential palace. The presidential guards started the violence by throwing stones at the demonstrators, whereupon the students threw back the stones. Then, some demonstrators seized a firetruck being used to hose them down and drove it through the palace gate. The palace guards began firing bullets and tear-gas cannisters at the demonstrators who retreated in several directions in Quiapo and Sampaloc, formed themselves into groups and came back fighting with improvised weapons like stones, sticks, pillboxes and Molotov cocktails. The Mendiola bridge became the center of the see-saw fighting. The palace guards eventually killed four young demonstrators: Ricardo Alcantara from the University of the Philippines; Fernando Catabay from Manuel L. Quezon University; Feliciano Roldan from the Far Eastern University; and Bernardo Tausa from Mapa High School. Thousands were wounded and they filled up six hospitals in Manila.

### ***February 12 rally at Plaza Miranda***

The organized forces of the national democratic movement consolidated themselves through the Movement for a Democratic Philippines. They prepared a huge rally of at least 50,000 people at Plaza Miranda on February



12. According to the plan, the people were to march from several assembly points. Consolidation was needed in order to counter disruptive propaganda and acts of the Marcos regime, the clerico- fascists and the revisionist renegades.

Marcos tried to prevent the rally by inviting some MDP leaders to the palace, pretending to plead with them that he would not be able to control the military and by offering them a list of 13 concessions. The MDP leaders in attendance agreed to call off the rally. Upon my advice the KM leaders insisted that the rally had to be carried out because otherwise the momentum of the mass movement would stop. However, all efforts would have to be made to keep the rally peaceful. Thus, the MDP and its forces proceeded to hold the rally.

The rally became a huge outdoor study session on US imperialism, feudalism and fascism and the need to struggle for national liberation and democracy. The rally organizers made it a point to enlarge mass participation and ensure that the police and military provocateurs would be kept at bay. Had the rally been called off according to the wishes of Marcos, it would have stalled and prevented the FQS from taking full shape.

### ***February 18 the people's congress and assault on the US embassy***

A people's congress of 5000 people was held at Plaza Miranda on February 18. Then the main bulk of the rallyists marched to the US embassy to carry out an assault on the embassy in order to demonstrate the people's anger at US imperialism and hold it responsible for the oppression and exploitation of the people, especially fascist acts of the Marcos regime. They were able to break their way through the outer and inner gates of the embassy. They used rocks and pillboxes to put the embassy lobby in disarray before the police could arrive. February 26 The Second People's Congress

The Movement for a Democratic Philippines called for a rally at Plaza Miranda on February 26. The application for a rally permit was refused. But the demonstrators went ahead with the rally and converged at Plaza Miranda and held the Second People's Congress. When the Manila Police and the Philippine Constabulary attacked the demonstrators, they proceeded to the Sunken Gardens in order to reassemble.

After the speeches, they proceeded further on to the US embassy. They threw stones at the embassy and resisted the police. Further on, they marched to Mendiola to reenact the people's resistance on January 30. The police retaliated by invading the Philippine College of Commerce where they beat up teachers and students and looted the offices.

### ***March 3 the people's march***

The MDP called for a People's March on March 3. The demonstrators included students, urban poor youth and linked up with the city-wide strike of jeepney drivers. They marched from several assembly points and converged to hold rallies in Plaza Moriones in Tondo, Plaza Lawton and in front of the US embassy. At the US embassy the police were aggressive and caught the Lyceum of the Philippines student Enrique Sta. Brigida whom they tortured to death. Amado V. Hernandez wrote a poem in his honor as martyr, "Enrique Sta. Brigida: Paghatid sa Imortalidad".

The MDP called for a Second People's March on March 17. It focused on the issue of poverty. Fittingly, the march proceeded from one urban poor community to another for one whole day. A People's Tribunal was convened at Plaza Moriones to try and sentence the people's enemies, from the level of the US imperialists to that of puppets like Marcos and his military and police cohorts. After the Tribunal adjourned in the evening, the rallyists marched in the direction of the US embassy where a big police force was awaiting them. But the rallyists then proceeded to Mendiola to make bonfires on the streets.

### ***III. FQS consequences and continuing relevance***

The FQS raised the fighting morale of the Filipino youth and people against the US-Marcos regime and its obvious scheme to declare martial law and establish a fascist dictatorship. The gunfire and truncheon blows from the police and military convinced the unarmed youth and the people that there was no better way for them to fight the regime and the entire ruling system than to engage in people's war. Thus, the call for people's war to answer the threat of martial law reverberated.

At the same time, the youth and the people were conscious that it was necessary to carry on the legal democratic mass movement for as long as it was possible in order to broadcast the people's grievances and demands. It was a process of political education and cultural revolution to raise the people's revolutionary consciousness. After the FQS, there were more vigorous efforts to arouse, organize and to mobilize the youth and the people in Metro Manila and the provinces, especially for mass actions on domestic and international issues, particularly the

US war of aggression on the Vietnamese people.

In February 1971, students, faculty members, non-academic personnel and campus residents took over the University of the Philippines and declared the Diliman Commune. They renamed the buildings after the principal CPP and NPA leaders by way of defiance against the US-Marcos regime. They set up barricades and fought to prevent the police and military from occupying the campus.

Their ranks were reinforced by students, workers and activists from other schools, factories and communities in Metro Manila. The UP radio station continuously broadcast propaganda against the US-Marcos regime, including replays of Marcos' salacious moments with Dovie Beams on audio tape. Material, financial and moral support poured in not only from Metro-Manila but also from far-flung provinces.

After the Diliman Commune, huge May 1 rallies of workers and the youth and demonstrations against the US war of aggression against Vietnam were held in Metro Manila and in provincial cities in 1971 and 1972. Not even the Plaza Miranda bombing and suspension of the writ of habeas corpus by Marcos on August 21, 1971 and the subsequent arrest of KM leaders could discourage the mass movement. The Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties was formed to defend civil liberties, demand the lifting of the writ suspension and prevent martial law.

In 1971, the major cultural groups, like Panday Sining and Gintong Silahis, originally launched by their respective mother organizations increased their autonomy and flourished even while KM and SDK chapters had their own cultural groups and performances. During and after the FQS, they were able to create excellent works of literature and art. They recited and performed the poems of Amado V. Hernandez most prominently.

Creative writers and visual artists contributed prolifically to the cultural revolution during and after the FQS. While I was underground, I had the honor of addressing messages to the visual artists who formed the Nagkakaisang Artista-Arkitecto (NPA-A) and the creative writers who formed Panulat para sa Kaunlaran ng Sambayanan (PAKSA) in 1971. The members of these organizations would produce excellent works that reflected the revolutionary tradition and current demands of the oppressed and exploited people and ensured the primacy of revolutionary literature and art in the cultural life of the nation.

The mass activists in Metro Manila and elsewhere in the country understood that they must continue to conduct the legal mass protest actions to broadcast the demands of the people and to tie down the enemy forces. But those mass activists already tagged by the military as communist suspects and listed for arrest were prepared to be absorbed by the urban underground before they could be integrated into the people's army and in rural mass work.

Especially because martial law had already been anticipated since 1970, the mass organizations under the Party leadership started to develop underground personnel and facilities. Teams of workers and educated youth were formed to participate in politico-military training and join the people's army and the peasants in the countryside. They either joined existing NPA units in certain regions or to start NPA units in new areas.

By the time Marcos declared the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus on August 21, 1971, the national democratic mass movement had already gained experience in building the underground, redeploying cadres and mass activists to the countryside and waging open and legal campaigns for civil liberties and human rights under the repressive conditions.

When Marcos proclaimed martial law on September 21 1972, several legal mass organizations had to go underground in order to avoid fascist attacks and imprisonment of its officers and members. A large number of them had to go underground or go to their own provinces to devise their own ways of ensuring safety and continuing the struggle against the fascist regime.

As a result of the FQS, the membership of the CPP and the mass organizations rapidly increased from 1970 to 1974. On April 24, 1973, the underground organizations founded the National Democratic Front and issued its 10 point guidelines. From 1972 to 1974, the Party cadres and mass activists who had been forced underground were distributed to various regions, together with Party cadres trained in people's war in Isabela.

It was of decisive importance in the rapid advance of the new democratic revolution that the highly educated cadres and mass activists from the ranks of youth and workers, who had participated in the FQS of 1970 and subsequent mass protests, were integrated in the people's army and rural mass work. They became political officers and unit commanders of the people's army. They also assumed responsibilities and tasks in mass organizing, mass education, production, health, cultural work, self-defense and other functions in the countryside.

Despite the conditions of martial law, Party cadres who were trained and tempered by the mass movement of the 1960s and the FQS of 1970 were able to launch mass actions, including lightning rallies and lightning cultural performances in city centers and during well-attended public events, camping at urban centers by victims of forced evictions by the military, student strikes in certain schools and workers strikes starting at La Tondeña in Manila on October 24, 1975 and spreading to 300 work places nationwide up to 1976. Student leaders demanded the restoration of student governments from 1976 onwards.

Underground publications against the fascist regime flourished. Cultural performances were carried out in the open. But the regime arrested the authors and performers. Most important of all, the revolutionary forces and the people involved in people's war for national liberation and democracy gained strength and advanced. They included the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front, mass organizations and organs of political power. The workers and educated youth from the urban areas conjoined very well with the peasant masses.

The fascist dictator Marcos became unwittingly the best recruiter of the revolutionaries by escalating the oppression and exploitation of the people. When Marcos pretended to lift martial law in 1981, new mass organizations of the workers, peasants, women, youth, teachers, artists and other professionals and human rights advocates rose aboveground in line with the struggle for national liberation and democracy mostly by those who had participated in the FQS. Such organizations rapidly grew in strength as the Marcos fascist regime became more discredited and isolated as a result of the aggravation of the socioeconomic and political crisis from 1979 onward.

In the course of the struggle against the US-supported fascist dictatorship, many of the political and cultural activists of the FQS made sacrifices, including separation from their families, illegal arrest or forced disappearance, detention, torture and death. They paid the highest price for developing and advancing the revolutionary movement. To this day and in the future, they inspire the fighting spirit and strengthening of the revolutionary movement.

When Marcos made the mistake of having Benigno Aquino assassinated on August 21, 1983, the hard core of the mass movement for justice, democracy and end of martial rule consisted of the national democratic organizations led by veterans of the FQS. The experience and lessons learned from the FQS were applied. It was as if the FQS of 1970 came to life again on a far bigger and wider scale.

A series of mass actions were carried out fluctuating between 50,000 to 500,000 and ultimately leading to the two million at EDSA, 100,000 around the palace and mass actions of varying sizes all over the Philippines when Marcos fell from power on February 25, 1986, was helicoptered out of the palace and planed out of Philippines by the US Air Force.

A broad united front spearheaded by BAYAN had to be formed in order to draw millions of people to join the mass uprising and persuade the military and police to withdraw support from Marcos. In representation of the entire national democratic movement, the Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT) and the Concerned Artists of the Philippines (CAP) were the first to link up with the aggrieved Aquino family. Thus, the Justice for Aquino, Justice for All (JAJA), then the Coalition for the Restoration of Democracy (CORD) and further on the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy were formed.

The same policy and tactics of the broad united front once more spearheaded by BAYAN would also be applied in the ouster of Estrada from the presidency in January 2001 because of his scandalous crime of plunder. The Anakbayan and the League of Filipino Students (LFS) combined with Kilusang Mayo Uno and Kadamay as well as other organizations of the middle and right sections of the political spectrum against the ultra-Right

The broad united front involves the basic alliance of the toiling masses of workers and peasants, the progressive alliance with the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance with the middle bourgeoisie and temporary alliance with the less reactionary forces in order to isolate and overthrow the enemy which is the most reactionary force.

#### ***IV. Continuing relevance of the FQS to the present***

We are once more confronted by a US puppet regime whose leader Duterte idolizes the dictator Marcos and is scheming to establish a fascist dictatorship in ways similar to those of Marcos. He has tried in vain to popularize himself as a strongman by waging a phoney war on drugs using methods of mass murder and mass intimidation at the expense of urban poor suspects and communities.

He now seeks to scapegoat both the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic mass movement

as enemies of the state, use methods of mass murder and mass intimidation against them in order to declare a state of emergency and martial law nationwide. For this evil purpose, he has terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and has designated revolutionary forces as "terrorist".

Like Marcos, Duterte uses charter change, this time for a shift from the unitary to the federal form of government as a pretext for obtaining and concentrating executive, legislative and judicial powers in his hands during a period of transition and after the establishment of the federal form of government, with the regions ruled by dynasties and warlords of his choice.

It is fine that the revolutionary forces as well as the legal democratic forces of the people have come to the conclusion since July 2017 that the Duterte regime is tyrannical, corrupt and hell-bent on establishing a fascist dictatorship after a full year of observing and testing it through the peace negotiations, whether or not it would release all political prisoners and whether Duterte could prove to be truly Left and socialist as he proclaimed himself at the start of his presidency.

Once more a broad united front, like the Movement Against Tyranny, is developing to defend the people's national and democratic rights and bring out the people in hundreds of thousands and even millions to demand the tyrant's ouster and persuade his own military and police to withdraw support from him. The People's United SONA against Duterte's SONA on July 23, 2018 is a signal event, a harbinger of bigger mass actions for the ouster or resignation of Duterte.

While the broad united front and the legal mass movement spearheaded by BAYAN and the Movement Against Tyranny are developing, the armed revolutionary movement intensifies its struggle, gains strength and guarantees to the people that in the long run the revolution can contribute not only to the isolation and ouster of the US-Duterte regime but also to the debilitation and overthrow of the entire ruling system and effect fundamental transformation for national liberation, democracy, development, social justice, cultural progress and international solidarity.

# ***On the Intrastate Conflict between the Government of the Philippines and the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front***

Interview by Political Students of the University of Sto Tomas,

October 17, 2018

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JMS: I answer your questions as Chief Political Consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP). I therefore speak from the viewpoint of the NDFP as the political entity authorized by its 18 allied organizations, including the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army to negotiate with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP).

The NDFP considers the armed conflict as an essentially civil war between the GRP and the people's democratic government of workers and peasants constituted by the revolutionary forces of the NDFP in the countryside.

The NDFP and the GRP are therefore co-belligerents in a civil war under International Humanitarian Law or the Geneva Conventions. In fact, the NDFP has filed a Declaration of Undertaking to Apply the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I of 1977. The NDFP does not agree to being called a non-state actor.

Nevertheless, in negotiating peace with the GRP, the NDFP has flexibly opened itself to the formation of single government of national unity, peace and development. This government can be the subject of negotiations under the third item of the substantive agenda of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations.

Duterte's desire to have charter change to a federal form of government would have been an opportunity for the GRP and the NDP to co-found a Federal Republic of the Philippines.

But the real intent of Duterte is to use the cha-cha for federalism as a pretext for establishing his fascist dictatorship.

*1. Despite the numerous attempts to establish peace with the government, why do you think that not a single one of them materialized into a lasting peace?*

JMS: In the period of every GRP administration, from Ramos to Duterte, the GRP-NDFP negotiations have attained a certain degree of success only to be obstructed by a demand of top military officials under US direction for the NPA to surrender under the guise of a protracted and indefinite ceasefire.

Since the mutual approval of the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL), it has been difficult for the NDFP to negotiate the social, economic and political reforms necessary for addressing the roots of the armed conflict.

At any rate, it was during the period of Ramos from 1992 to 1998 that 12 major agreements were signed and approved by the GRP and the NDFP. These include The Hague Joint Declaration, the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees, the Joint Agreement on the Sequence, Formation and Operationalization and Ground Rules for Meetings of the Negotiating Panels. But the Ramos administration did not sign it.

It was Estrada who signed the CARHRIHL in late 1998 to reciprocate the much earlier signature and approval of the NDFP. But Estrada terminated the peace negotiations in May 1999 when he resented the NDFP position against the Visiting Forces Agreement and refused to cooperate in the safe and orderly release of General Obillo and his aide Captain Montealto who were captured by the NPA and taken as prisoners of war in Mindanao but was offered for release to the GRP by the NDFP.

The Arroyo regime and the NDFP resumed the peace negotiations in 2001 by reaffirming all previous agreements. They agreed on the formation of a Joint Monitoring Committee and the Operating Guidelines under CARHRIHL. They also agreed on having the Royal Norwegian Government as third party facilitator for the negotiations. But Arroyo was carried away by the ambition of Generals Angelo de los Reyes and Esperon to destroy the NPA under Oplan Bantay Laya I and II. She terminated the peace negotiations under the guise of an indefinite suspension.

The NDF and the Aquino II regime resumed the peace negotiations again by reaffirming all previous agreements. But soon enough, the top military officials under US direction unleashed Oplan Bayanihan to seek the destruction of the armed revolutionary movement.

It would seem that Duterte was interested in the success of the peace negotiations. In December 2014, he offered to form a coalition government with the CPP if he were to be elected president. On May 16, 2016, one week

after his election, he promised to amnesty and release all political prisoners. But only after a few weeks into his presidency, he backed out of his promise, thus exposing his bad faith. At any rate significant progress was achieved in the negotiations at the level of the Reciprocal Working Committees in drafting the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms (CASER). But it turned out that Duterte and his security cluster are not interested in social and economic reforms and merely want to obtain the surrender and dismantling of the NPA.

2. *If a lasting peace can be attainable, how can the peace process be done? Is there a possible framework to address such?*

JMS: It is attainable if the GRP and the NDFP follow the framework for negotiations already established by The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992, which declares the aim of the negotiations, the guiding principles, the substantive agenda and the method for drafting comprehensive agreements.

The framework for negotiations is further elaborated by the Agreement on the Sequence, Formation and Operationalization of the Reciprocal Working Committees in accordance with the following substantive agenda: 1) Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law; 2) Social and Economic Reforms; 3) Political and Constitutional Reforms; 4) End of Hostilities and Disposition of Forces.

It was demonstrated as early as 1996 that in six months CARHRIHL could be forged and signed by the GRP and NDFP Negotiating Panels. But the problem has been the out-of-order attempts of the GRP to obtain the capitulation and pacification of the armed revolution before mutual approval of CASER and the Comprehensive Agreement on Political and Constitutional Reforms (CAPCR).

3. *What is your primary purpose in your activities? What are your motives or driving factors behind such movements?*

JMS: You have to read the general program of the NDFP and the CPP to know what are the primary purpose and activities in waging the people's democratic revolution. They are duty bound to carry out this revolution while peace negotiations do not address and solve the causes of the armed conflicts, with the comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms as the basis for a just and lasting peace.

Advice for further research: go through the documents published in the following websites:

1. <https://www.ndfp.org/peace-talks/>
2. <https://www.ndfp.org/peace-documents-overview/>
3. <https://hrmc-js.ndfp.org/ndfp-peace-talks-documents/>
4. <https://hrmc-js.ndfp.org>

# ***Parties and Candidates Have the Right to Campaign in Areas of the People's Democratic Government***

October 18, 2018

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As NDFP Chief Political Consultant, I know the following: In the guerrilla fronts and other areas administered by the people's democratic government of workers and peasants, political parties and candidates of all sorts have the right to campaign even in the elections conducted by the reactionary government of big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats.

Such a policy of the people's government is upheld by the CPP, NPA and NDFP, the local organs of political power and the mass organizations. The Duterte regime and its military minions are lying when they say that the NPA uses the election campaign period to extort from political parties and candidates by demanding payments for the permit to campaign.

The parties and candidates do not pay for any permit to campaign. It is simply ministerial for the people's government to allow them to campaign, provided they do not enter the territory of the people's government with an armed force or sacks of money to buy votes.

Sometimes, political parties and candidates offer contributions or donations to the socioeconomic and health programs of the people's government. It is purely voluntary for them to make such offers. The revolutionary movement rejects offers of sham help from malevolent forces who oppress and exploit the people.

# ***Author's Preface to (Combat Tyranny and Fascism)***

November 6, 2018

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This book, *Combat Tyranny and Fascism*, brings together all the articles, speeches, statements and interviews that I made in 2017 in various capacities: Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), Chief Political Consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) in peace negotiations with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS).

The main contents pertain to the unfolding of the character of the Duterte regime through the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations; the crisis of the world capitalist system, imperialist wars and plunder and the peoples' resistance; the celebration of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution; and the anti-imperialist and democratic mass movement; and tributes to the revolutionary martyrs and heroes.

As NDFP Chief Political Consultant, I was able to assist the NDFP Negotiating Panel in presenting to the GRP the NDFP proposals of basic social, economic, political and constitutional reforms needed to address the roots of the civil war in the Philippines and in trying to persuade the GRP, especially its president Rodrigo Roa Duterte (my former student), to agree for the sake of achieving a just and lasting peace.

Up to the third round of the formal talks in Rome, Italy from January 19 to 25, 2017, the course and prospect of the peace negotiations seemed to be bright. But in the fourth round of talks from April 3 to 6, there were already ominous signs that Duterte was not interested in forging agreements to achieve peace but to impose preconditions aimed at merely paralyzing and disintegrating the armed revolution.

The actuation of the GRP in the aborted fifth round of talks in May 2017 became even more negative. Duterte had proclaimed martial law Mindanao-wide on May 23, 2017 and targeted not only the Maute group (which he had challenged to use Marawi City as a battleground) but also the CPP and the NPA, which exist in wider areas outside of Moro areas of conflict in Mindanao.

He demanded the CPP's immediate withdrawal of its call to resist the martial law proclamation. This demand was an unacceptable demand because in the first place he had targeted the CPP and the NPA and had been carrying out an all-out war against them even during periods of ceasefire.

From then on, in the second half of 2017, Duterte became more and more openly reactionary, hostile and impervious to reason. He formally terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations under Proclamation 360 on November 23, 2017. This would be followed up by Proclamation 374 designating the CPP and the NPA as "terrorist" organizations.

It became obvious that Duterte was using the peace negotiations to make the CPP and NPA appear as totally hostile and turn them into scapegoats for proclaiming martial law nationwide in order to establish a fascist dictatorship under the pretext of charter change for a phony kind of federalism whereby he concentrates all governmental powers in his hands and handpicks warlords and dynasties as his regional agents.

As Chairperson of the ILPS, I had to research and analyze the situation and trends in the world and to make timely statements and messages on burning issues in various global regions and countries. The ILPS stood in the forefront of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles. It has global regional committees, national chapters, more than 200 member-organizations and allies in a bigger number of countries.

All the basic contradictions in the world intensified in 2017. The increased number of imperialist powers tended to sharpen contradictions among themselves. The neoliberal attack on the working class resulted in increasing resistance to capitalist exploitation and oppression in the imperialist countries. The ceaseless imperialist wars of aggression have afflicted the oppressed peoples and nations and roused them to intensify their resistance to imperialism and local reaction.

The ILPS took the initiative in 2017 to promote the celebration of the 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. As ILPS chairperson and founding chairman of the CPP, I had the privilege and obligation to write a series of papers for forums in various countries. These papers are in this book and veritably can constitute an autonomous book.

The relevance and validity of the October Revolution to current circumstances and the continuing era of



imperialism and proletarian revolution were discussed in the forums. Inevitably, the necessity of building a Bolshevik-type party, people's army, the united front, the people's government and mass movement was discussed in order to carry out and win the revolution for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction. As CPP founding chairman and NDFP chief political consultant, I delivered messages of solidarity to major mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, educators and others in the Philippines. These messages depict the international and Philippine situation and propose what is to be done to advance the revolutionary mass movement for national liberation and democracy in the Philippines. Fraternal working class parties and mass organizations abroad as well as international organizations and conference also requested me in 2017 to write messages of solidarity and keynote speeches on video to explain the current international situation and trends, the struggles of revolutionary forces and their prospects. As always, I dedicate this book to all the peoples struggling for national and social liberation against imperialism and all reaction. I pay the highest tribute to the revolutionary martyrs and heroes who have fallen but who continue to inspire the revolutionary proletariat and people to fight and win ever greater victories.

Jose Maria Sison  
Utrecht, The Netherlands  
November 6, 2018

January 1, 2019

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The Filipino people expect that this year, 2019, the socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system will worsen and that the Duterte regime will not solve or soften but will even aggravate the crisis by imposing heavier taxes and causing the prices of basic goods and services to rise further and to use the tax revenues and public debt to feed bureaucratic corruption and raise spending for the military and police in order to carry out his terrorist all-out war aimed at suppressing the revolutionary movement of the people.

Within the year, the Duterte regime will further inflict grave social and economic suffering on the people and unleash mass murder and other human rights violations in a futile attempt to destroy the armed revolutionary movement and intimidate the people. The state terrorism will victimize not only the toiling masses of the people but also the middle social strata and even those in the upper classes who do not belong to the small and narrow ruling clique of Duterte.

Duterte is hellbent on imposing on the people a fascist dictatorship ala Marcos by using de facto or proclaimed martial law nationwide in the name of anti-terrorism in order to ensure control of the results of the May 2019 elections (if still to be held) and the railroading of charter change for a bogus kind of federalism in which the fascist dictator centralizes powers in his hands and handpicks his regional and provincial agents among the local dynasties and warlords.

Duterte is not interested in serious peace negotiations to address the roots of the armed conflict and make comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms in order to lay the basis for a just and lasting peace. He has issued proclamations and executive orders in order to terminate and further render serious peace negotiations impossible. What he is open to is merely the surrender and pacification of the revolutionary movement of the people.

In view of the foregoing, what are the expectations of the people from the various revolutionary forces? The answer comes from the revolutionary publications that disseminate the decisions and plans of the leading organs of the revolutionary forces in the Philippines.

1. The Communist Party of the Philippines will perform its overall leading role in the people's democratic revolution promptly, correctly and clearly. It will base its plans and directives on the strength accumulated in 50 years of revolutionary struggle and the current circumstances and demands of the people. It will carry out the tasks to further strengthen and advance the Party and the revolutionary movement of the people.

2. The New People's Army (NPA) will intensify its tactical offensives to defeat the campaign of the enemy to destroy it while carrying out agrarian revolution and mass work. The successful NPA offensives in guerrilla warfare based on an expanding and deepening mass base will serve to strengthen the revolutionary movement by seizing arms from the enemy forces and will expose the lies of the enemy which misrepresent the character and status of the people's army and seek to mislead the people. The intensified offensives are meant to develop a fully armed company per guerrilla front and fulfill the maturation of the strategic defensive and proceed to the strategic stalemate in a few years' time.

3. The various types of mass organizations will be expanded as the source of strength of the CPP, NPA and the people's democratic government. The rural based mass organizations are urgently needed for direct support to the people's democratic government and to the entire armed revolutionary process. The members of the mass organizations qualify as members of the local organs of political power, the people's militia and self-defense units.

4. The people's democratic government will be strengthened at all possible levels in order to take charge of administration and other social functions for the benefit of the people, such as land reform, public education, production, health and sanitation, cultural work, defense, arbitration and people's court, environmental protection and disaster relief. The people's government will support and facilitate the mobility and tactical offensives of the people's army.

5. The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) will further strengthen itself as the most consolidated realization of the national united front but will be able to cooperate with all possible allies within the broad united front in order to isolate and oust the Duterte regime from power. The NDFP is authorized to be open to

peace negotiations with the current and prospective regime of the reactionary government but its principal work now is to work for the ouster of the Duterte regime.

We expect that the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces will win ever greater victories in the next year and thereafter. The accumulated victories of their struggle in the 50 years since the founding of the Party under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism ought to inspire them to confront and defeat the Duterte regime and make further advances in the struggle against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

# ***Role of Overseas BAYAN Chapters in the National Democratic Movement***

## **Message to BAYAN-Canada General Assembly**

**January 19, 2019**

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Warmest greetings of solidarity to BAYAN-Canada! I am pleased and honored to be invited to speak to your General Assembly on the role of overseas BAYAN chapters. This is an important subject to discuss among those interested in BAYAN and the national democratic movement of the Filipino people.

BAYAN is a major member organization of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) of which I am the Chairperson. However, I am not authorized to speak on its behalf. I can talk about its international workings only as an observer and admirer.

BAYAN is the most important legal multi-sectoral alliance of patriotic and progressive forces in the Philippines. It combines the organizations of the toiling masses of workers and peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, the women, youth, professionals, religious and other sectors.

It takes up a wide range of concerns, including national sovereignty, democratic rights, economic development, social justice, patriotic culture and so on. It is such a highly developed comprehensive alliance of mass organizations that it represents in all the ILPS commissions on 18 concerns.

It is the strongest urban-based political formation seeking to transform the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system into a truly national and democratic system. It has proven its might in opposing the Marcos fascist dictatorship and all the succeeding pseudo-democratic regime and now the tyrannical, brutal and corrupt Duterte regime.

The overseas chapters of BAYAN play an important role by being a necessary part of BAYAN. They provide BAYAN-Philippines an indispensable international dimension. They serve to reach and engage the 10 to 12 million Filipinos abroad. These compatriots comprise more than 10 percent of the Philippine population and more than 25 percent of its labor force.

The overseas chapters arouse, organize and mobilize the overseas Filipinos in order to uphold, defend and promote their rights in relation to the conditions in their host countries and at the same time to continue being in touch with the motherland and to contribute what they can to the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation through the national democratic movement.

To arouse the overseas Filipinos in various host countries, BAYAN chapters provide the most useful and meaningful information and education about the Philippine situation, the needs and demands of the people and the status and prospects of the people's struggle for national and social liberation against foreign domination and the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

To organize the overseas Filipinos, BAYAN chapters build their countrywide chapter committees and the organizations of various sectors, such as those of the migrant workers (Migrante), women (Gabriela), youth (Anakbayan), various types of professionals and various types of concerns, especially human rights. Each organization connect to its counterpart in the Philippines through the countrywide BAYAN committee as well as directly.

To mobilize the masses of Filipinos in various host countries, BAYAN chapters abroad plan and carry out campaigns and activities in order to stand for the rights and welfare of the members of various organizations and the Filipinos abroad in general and to extend moral and material support to the people in the motherland in their struggle for national and social liberation through concrete programs and projects.

BAYAN chapters abroad are not limited to arousing, organizing and mobilizing only the Filipinos abroad. They establish relations of friendship, solidarity and cooperation with the host peoples and other migrant peoples directly and through their organizations, parties and institutions.

Through solidarity and cooperation on various issues of common interests, all peoples of various nationalities in the host country can gain strength and improve their conditions in the workplace, institutions and communities. All of them need to stand up against the ultrareactionary currents of fascism, chauvinism, racism, sexism and the like which arise in the crisis-stricken world capitalist system.

For the sake of advancing the national democratic movement in the Philippines as well as the just movements of other peoples, BAYAN chapters abroad develop the mutual interest and the means for cultural exchanges and

exchange of visits between the people in the Philippines and the host countries.

Friendly visits, study tours or research, internship and integration programs have proven to be the most effective in promoting close relations between peoples and in developing the solidarity activists.

It is certainly helpful to the national democratic movement of the Filipino people that BAYAN chapters abroad encourage the organizations of other peoples to join international organizations like the International League of Peoples' Struggle and other international organizations and conferences focused on certain concerns, in which they can cooperate with Filipino organizations in a wider context.

I have come full circle by once more mentioning BAYAN in connection with the ILPS. I have tried to present what I think are the most important tasks that BAYAN chapters abroad do to fulfill their duty of serving overseas Filipinos and the national democratic movement. You have all the leeway to consider and improve on what I have presented.

# *A Poet in the People's Service*

**Book Review: Pandayan ng Paninindigan: Pagbisita at mga Tula ng Pakikibaka ni<sup>[1]</sup> Benito Concio Quilloy**

**February 1, 2019**

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The poems of Benito Concio Quilloy are a major contribution to poetry created in prison in the tradition of Amado V. Hernandez” Isang Dipang Langit.”

The harsh conditions of prison serve to strengthen the revolutionary conviction of the political prisoner. He hankers not only for personal freedom but also for the freedom of the people, especially the exploited toiling masses, who are in the larger prison of the semicolonial and semifeudal system.

The alternating avalanche of thoughts and feelings and the aridity of boredom drive the revolutionary political prisoner to write poems in order to keep sanity and purpose and to assert his freedom, his creative role and his relations not only with family and friends but also the people he is sworn to serve.

Quilloy succeeds in becoming a poet from being a scientist, agricultural technologist and community development worker and in creating poems based on his personal and the people's experiences, needs, demands and aspirations in order to overcome the harsh conditions of imprisonment.

In writing this review, I have been tempted to choose what I consider the best five or ten poems in terms of theme and poetic style. But I prefer to come up with the general view that all his poems are paid for by the rigors of imprisonment and are worthy of serious reading and each one deserves to be read, appreciated and evaluated by every reader.

The poems are significant because they take up the issues that are carried by the program of the people's democratic revolution. In various poems, the reader can discern the author's scientific knowledge, his closeness to the farm workers and peasants and the anguish of separation from his loved ones.

Most of the poems can pass the muster of literary criticism and can be appreciated as excellent works of art.

I am proud to be in the company of Quilloy and other poets driven by imprisonment to write poems not only to assert their freedom and creativity but more importantly to continue serving the people in their struggle for national freedom, democracy, social justice, economic development, cultural progress and a just peace.

May the subjective freedom of Quilloy become an objective fact through his release from prison. The charges against him are trumped up, on the basis of outright lies, planted evidence and false witnesses. May he gain the freedom to continue working as a development worker and writing poems in the service of the people.

Jose Maria Sison, Fellow Poet

Utrecht, The Netherlands

February 1, 2019

# ***Prospects and Challenges of the People's Struggle against the US-Duterte Regime***

February 8, 2019

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I thank BAYAN and the International Network for Philippine Studies for organizing this book launch. I also thank the distinguished reviewers and all of you for coming to this gathering. I am elated and honored that my four most recent volumes are being launched at the same time on this occasion.

The book titles are: *Combat Neoliberal Globalization, Struggle Against Imperialist Plunder and War, Strengthen the People's Struggle Against Imperialism and Reaction* and *People's Resistance to Greed and Terror*. The first three titles belong to the 5-volume series, *People's Struggles Against Oppression and Exploitation, Selected Writings 2009-2015*. And the fourth book is autonomous and covers the last six months of the Aquino regime and the first six months of the Duterte regime in 2016.

These books have accumulated during the last two years without the benefit of a launch because, as I understand, we have been preoccupied with arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people against the US-Duterte regime. Now we are pausing for this book launch before we plunge deeper into mass work and mobilize more people to engage in mass protest actions to oust the US-Duterte regime. I assume of course that you would have periods of rest to read and study the books.

## ***1. Prospects of the people's struggle***

After the full restoration of capitalism in revisionist-ruled countries in the years 1989-1991, US imperialism and all its followers were jubilant and concluded that history cannot go beyond capitalism and liberal democracy, that neocolonialism and neoliberalism would prevail without challenge and that the US would remain the sole super-power.

With overweening arrogance, the US proceeded to give economic and trade concessions to China to hasten its integration in the world capitalist system and to launch a series of costly wars of aggression, thus accelerating the strategic US decline.

The increase in the number of imperialist powers, which now include China and Russia, has led to a multi-polar world and to more intense inter-imperialist contradictions, which have been so conspicuous since the big economic and financial crisis of 2008. The worsening of the crisis of the world capitalist system has accelerated. This crisis inflicts more suffering on the proletariat and people of the world and drives them to resist imperialism and all reaction.

Meanwhile, in the Philippines, the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system has worsened under the weight of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The ruling system has become so rotten that the factional rows and confusion among oligarchs have allowed Duterte to become president. His election to the presidency in 2016 is a stark manifestation of how far the ruling system has become rotten. We are once more confronted with a tyrant who idolizes and apes the fascist dictator Marcos.

By all indications, the tyrannical US-Duterte regime is hellbent on imposing a full-blown fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people by proclaiming martial law nationwide, scrapping or rigging the May 2019 elections and rail-roading charter change to a bogus kind of federalism in which the omnipotent fascist dictator is at the peak of a highly centralized hierarchy of dynasties, warlords, corrupt bureaucrats, drug lords and corrupt military officers.

Duterte has rolled out the following measures of state terrorism to achieve his objective: the propagation of the notion that the illegal drug trade and other social problems can be solved through extrajudicial killings, the anticommunist witch hunt against the legal democratic forces and social activists, the increasing harassment, arrest and murder of activists, Tokhang-type mass murders of the urban poor, workers, peasants and indigenous people, and the planting of evidence, fake surrenders and fake encounters to frame up the victims and enable military and police officers to collect cash rewards.

To achieve his objective of imposing a fascist dictatorship on the people, Duterte has deliberately and systematically engaged in mass intimidation and mass murder and viciously slandered the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the New People's Army (NPA) to make them his scapegoats for proclaiming martial law in Mindanao and prospectively nationwide. Thus he is not at all interested in peace negotiations between the

Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP). He needs to escalate the armed conflict to justify and accomplish his evil objective.

In response, the NDFP has consistently expressed its desire for the resumption of the peace negotiations in order to stress the point that it is Duterte who has terminated the peace negotiations and it is the NDFP which is desirous of a just and lasting peace through basic social, economic and political reforms and that it is the GRP and Duterte himself that want to continue the civil war in order to preserve the ruling system and to subject the people to worse forms of oppression and exploitation.

The obsession of the US-Duterte regime is to wage all-out war against the people under “Oplan Kapayapaan.” Whenever it pretends to be for peace negotiations, it means negotiations for the surrender of the revolutionary movement either through localized talks or bilateral talks of the GRP and the NDFP negotiating panels in the Philippines under the control, surveillance and manipulation of the regime. There is therefore no choice for the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces but to persevere in the armed revolution for national and social liberation.

## ***II. Challenges to the people's struggle***

The US-Duterte regime is seeking to destroy the people's democratic revolution at a time when the revolutionary forces, especially the CPP, NPA and the NDFP have gained strength nationwide among the toiling masses after more than 50 years of continuous revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary movement is well-experienced and is ready to frustrate and cause the soonest possible ouster of the regime.

We are challenged today by a regime whose chieftain exposes and aggravates all the decadent and despicable features of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. He boasts of state terrorism and mass murder of suspects, puppetry to the imperialist powers, open contempt for the toiling masses, hostility to Christians, misogyny and brazen mendacious self-contradictions. He is crazed by power and drugs. He acts as if the people can never act against him.

His government is bankrupt and he resorts to heavier taxation and bigger foreign borrowing to feed the appetite of his fellow corrupt politicians, bloat expenditures for the military and police at the expense of public education, health and other social services, engage in overpriced and graft-laden infrastructure projects, widen the budgetary and trade deficits and amortize the growing accumulated public debt.

He seems not to realize that the broad masses of the people detest him for violating human rights, causing the prices of basic commodities and services to soar, engaging in corruption of unprecedented scale (theft of 565 billion pesos of public funds in a matter of two years) and treasonably selling out the sovereign rights over the West Philippine Sea and the national patrimony to all the imperialist powers.

The people and their armed revolutionary forces are intensifying their efforts to build their strength and defeat the armed minions of the US-Duterte regime. The CPP, NPA and NDFP, the mass organizations and the people's government are thriving in the countryside. Despite its all-out war, the US-Duterte regime has not been able to destroy a single guerrilla front, not even in Mindanao where 75 percent of the maneuver battalions of the reactionary state have been concentrated.

It is possible to oust the US-Duterte regime by intensifying the protest actions of the legal mass movement of the people under the policy of broad united front and by encouraging the relatively patriotic and democratic-minded sections of the reactionary military and police to withdraw support from the regime as in the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986 and the corrupt Estrada regime in 2001.

As soon as the hundreds of thousands of people appear on the streets of Metro Manila and millions nationwide, the reactionary armed forces and police will find it futile to oppose the sovereign will of the people. The biggest challenge to the Filipino people and all patriotic and progressive forces is to rise up soon and oust the US-Duterte regime.

The ouster of Duterte will not yet end the ruling system but the national democratic movement will become stronger and will be in a better position to cause a fundamental transformation of the ruling system through the needed basic social, economic and political reforms. The way will be open to further advance the people's democratic revolution.

If for any reason, internal or external, to the broad united front and the legal mass movement, Duterte manages to stay longer in power, he will cause the ruling system to rot further and gain further the wrath of the people and generate the conditions for the people to overcome any obstacle to the process of ousting him.



It is obvious that time is running against him because of his advancingly deteriorating physical and mental health and the worsening crisis of the ruling system. All his violent attempts to prolong himself in power will only generate more favorable conditions for the rise of various forms of mass struggle, especially for the people's war for national and social liberation.

Long live the national democratic movement!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

# **An Encounter with a Communist: Jose Maria Sison and the Filipino Revolutionary Spirit**

Interview by Eunice Barbara C. Novio

February 8, 2019

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*The NDFP is the revolutionary united front organization of the Filipino people fighting for national freedom and for the democratic rights of the people. Established on 24 April 1973, the NDFP seeks to develop and coordinate all progressive classes, sectors and forces in the Filipino people's struggle to end the rule of US imperialism and its local allies of big landlords and compradors, and attain national and social liberation. <https://www.ndfp.org/>*

*My first encounter with Joma Sison was during the late night EDs (education) in the mountainous region in the Philippines. Along with other students and activists we have to understand the meaning of oppression and exploitation right from the book of 'Ka Joma'. That time this 'Ka Joma' was bigger than all of us. He knew the Philippines and its struggles like the back of his hand.*

*The basic question in ED goes like this: "The Philippines is a rich and highly diverse country in terms of natural resources. Why then are we still poor?"*

*And the lists of reasons why the Philippines remain in poverty, and the real democracy cannot be achieved until the country is semifeudal despite industrialization where only the capitalists and the elite families benefited from the labor of the working class. Then we called on the national industrialization, land reforms, protection of the ancestral domains, free education etc. In short, Filipinos must unite to end the oligarchy.*

*Years later, little has been done to change the Philippines, though there are small victories, especially in the legislative process where people's organizations like Bayan Muna, Gabriela and Anakbayan are now members of the House of Representatives.*

*Thirty-two years after he left the Philippines to seek political asylum in the Netherlands, Jose Maria Sison remains a force to reckon with by any president of the Republic of the Philippines. But to the majority of the Filipinos whose only source of news is Facebook, Jose Maria Sison is irrelevant and yes, demonized – a communist, NPA (New People's Army), enjoying life in Europe, enemy of the people, etc. His name is always associated with red words on public walls calling for change – OUST ARROYO, OUST ESTRADA, OUST AQUINO, and now OUST DUTERTE or when big bold letters congratulate 'MABUHAY ANG IKA-50 ANIBERSARYO NG CPP-NPA' on December 26.*

*His name also crops up whenever students from the University of the Philippines stage mass mobilizations. Jose Maria Sison is painted by the government as an aging communist living a comfortable life in the Netherlands, while his followers the New People's Army (NPA) guerrillas are waging war in the countryside against the Philippine forces. The basic question in ED goes like this:*

*"The Philippines is a rich and highly diverse country in terms of natural resources. Why then are we still poor?"*

*For the past 50 years, a protracted war in the Philippines has been on going despite ceasefires on some occasions. Both parties seem to be at the losing end, but no concrete plans for peace have been achieved yet.*

*Since 1986, there were over 40 rounds of peace talks between the government peace panel (GRP) and the National Democratic Front (NDF). But none engaged in a 'word war,' not until Rodrigo Duterte became the Philippine President.*

*After a series of failed talks, jailing of the NDF consultants, and packets of NPA attacks in various places in the Philippines in late 2016 and 2017, Mr. Duterte signed Proclamation No. 360, which terminated the peace talks with the NDF. He also issued Proclamation No. 374, declaring the CPP-NPA as terrorist organizations. The proclamation is also used to red-tag even legitimate people's organizations and individuals who are opposed to the growing authoritarianism in the Philippines.*

*In August 2002, the United States also regarded him as a person 'supporting terrorism' but in September 2009, the European Union's second highest court ruled to remove him from the list.*

*Despite his exile, Professor Sison, now 81 years old does not show signs of slowing down, anyway the people's war has not ended yet. It intensifies.*

*Mr. Duterte declared 'war-on-drugs', ordered the massive militarization in the indigenous communities, declared all-out support to Chinese interests in the Philippines, ordered the killings (shooting them in their vaginas) and rounding-up of activists, and media people who are critical of his policies. The continuous decline of the economy plunge the Filipinos*

into poverty.

*We can only win this war either way – the electoral process or joining the armed movement.*

*In this conversation, Professor Sison shares his views on the mid-term elections, also clarified some issues hurled at him by the reactionary government agents, and the future of the New People's Army when he passes on. He also recognizes the young people as the agents of change, because he was once in their ranks.*

*EBN: What are the likely outcome for the mid-May election?*

JMS: Regarding the mid-May election, the most pertinent person to whom questions should be addressed is Duterte himself. Will martial law nationwide be proclaimed and/or the congressional bill on chacha for the bogus federalism and extension of terms be enacted, thus making the mid-May election unnecessary? If it shall be held, will you not rig it because you have complete control of the COMELEC and you order the AFP and PNP to assist the COMELEC, as you have done in the plebiscite on Bangsa Moro Organic Law (BOL) in Mindanao?

*EBN: Is there a possibility of NO-EL (no election)?*

JMS: There is a possibility because there is a provision for extension of terms in the Lower House bill for the cha-cha. But in case the Senate does not pass the cha-cha or deletes the provision for the extension of terms, Duterte can still hold and rig the elections because he has tight control over the Comelec and the entire electoral process. The BOL plebiscite is a preview of how he can rig the May 2019 elections. In the BOL plebiscite, the Maranaos are made to appear happy with Duterte and grateful to him for the destruction of Marawi City and the prolonged evacuation of the people

*EBN: What does the country need in terms of leadership and new economic policies?*

JMS: The kind of leadership needed in the Philippines is one that upholds, defends and promotes national sovereignty, democracy, social justice, economic development, cultural progress and just peace against the vested interests of foreign monopoly firms, the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats. The new economic policies that the Filipino people need are those already spelled out in the NDFP draft of the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms: They include assertion of economic sovereignty and protection of the national patrimony, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization, expansion of the social services, conservation and wise utilization of the environment and independence from the dictates of foreign monopoly firms and banks and end the scourge of neoliberalism (the policy of unbridled greed for the benefit of the 1 percent at the expense of the 99 percent of the population).

*EBN: You always speak about US domination, what about the Chinese?*

JMS: Of course, Chinese imperialism is a growing threat to the Filipino people and the Philippines. It is violating our sovereign rights in the West Philippine Sea. And it wants to make the Philippines its debt colony by offering high interest loans and overpriced infrastructure projects. China is now acting like Japan before World War II after being in partnership with the US. But until now, the US is still the dominant imperialist force in the Philippines. It is privileged with the treaties, agreements and arrangements that spell all-round domination of the Philippines in economic, political, cultural, and military terms.

*EBN: When you were first approached by Duterte during his first term of office to recommend persons for cabinet positions, why did you accept? Did it ever cross your mind that it was Duterte's trap?*

JMS: When Duterte offered the cabinet posts to the Communist Party of the Philippines no less, we in the NDFP noticed immediately that he was trying to outwit and put the Communist Party in a trap. So I told Duterte categorically that the CPP or its representatives cannot accept any post in his cabinet before the successful completion of the peace negotiations. I also told him reasonably and politely that he could appoint individuals who are patriotic and progressive, highly competent, honest and diligent. Those individuals appointed by Duterte were not representatives of the CPP or even the NDFP. On their own individual merits, they have been in the government service anyway. Dr. Judy Taguiwalo was a retired professor in the state university and Mr. Rafael Mariano was a member of Congress for several terms. For any official representative of the CPP or NDFP to join the Duterte cabinet in 2016 would have meant falling into Duterte's trap and surrendering or selling out to him. A mental mediocre like Duterte cannot outwit the highly principled and politically skillful leaders of the CPP and the NDFP.

*EBN: Is revolution still relevant up to this day?*

JMS: It is necessary and certainly relevant to wage revolutionary struggle so long as the oppressive and exploitative US-dominated ruling system of big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats persists. The entire people, especially the workers and peasants, cannot accept the ever worsening conditions of oppression and

exploitation.

*EBN: Until now, you don't have travel documents. Is it true?*

JMS: I can be granted by the Dutch foreign ministry the temporary single return trip permit to travel called *laissez passer* if the purpose is to participate in peace negotiations or visit a seriously ill close relative in a third country (not the Philippines).

*EBN: If given a chance would you come home? Are you still considered enemy of the state?*

JMS: The reason why I cannot return is obvious. I would be met at the Manila airports by the same military organization that tortured me and detained me illegally for nine years (1977 to 1986). And very recently Duterte no less has threatened to slap and kill me if I return home. I am protected from being deported to the Philippines or a third country by the Refugee Convention and by Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights which prohibits my being put at risk of being sent back to the Philippines, tortured again and subjected to worse criminal action by those in authority.

I can decide for myself whether to submit my life, limb and liberty to those in power who boast of being able to murder people with impunity or to demand sufficient legal and security guarantees for my safety and wait for better conditions of my return. Even if I were foolish enough to ask for a Philippine passport now, it may or may not be granted by the current regime. But I think the regime will allow the grant of the passport because that would put me at the mercy of the regime, which means it can either murder me or put me under duress for the purpose of phony peace negotiations or simply any nasty psywar campaign.

*EBN: What future awaits the NDF if something happened to you? You are already, I would say in the twilight years?*

JMS: The NDF and the revolutionary movement do not depend on my life or longevity. The revolutionary forces and the NDF were able to grow in strength and advance even while I was in prison and even as I have been abroad for 32 years already. My mission in life is already accomplished: which is to criticize the oppressive and exploitative semicolonial and semifeudal system and try to overthrow it in my lifetime. A strong foundation is already established for the younger generations to continue the revolutionary process. Since the age of 19, I have given up any desire to engage in any kind of social climbing or political climbing for myself within the ruling system. My overriding interest has been to carry out the people's democratic revolution.

Certainly the NPA will grow in strength and will advance together with the other revolutionary forces, including the CPP, NDF, revolutionary mass organizations and the people's democratic government (organs of political power).

*EBN: Do you have message to millennial voters or first time voters?*

JMS: The young and all other registered voters should be ready to vote for the patriotic and progressive candidates at all levels of the elections. If the elections are not held for some tyrannical reason, they should be outraged and carry out protest mass actions. If the elections are held but are rigged by the Duterte regime, they should also be outraged and rise up against the tyranny responsible for the electoral fraud.

*This article is part of the Balangiga Press Manila inaugural folio on Populism, Imperialism, and Nationalism in Southeast Asia.*

# ***On the System of Elections***

**Interview by Michael Beltran, May 17, 2019**

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*MB1: How do you see the system of elections as a whole in the country?*

JMS: The system is preconditioned and predetermined by the political and economic dominance of foreign monopoly interests, big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists. These have economic and political resources to keep the conduct and results of elections within the confines of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

You cannot expect such elections as the means to change the system in order to bring about full national independence, democracy for the working people, social justice, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization, ascendance of a patriotic and progressive culture and independent foreign policy.

As it is, the electoral system in the Philippines can at best allow a few patriotic and progressive candidates from the intelligentsia and the toiling masses of workers and peasants to win a few seats, to draw some advantages from the factional competition among the ruling class politicians, develop alliances against the worst reactionaries and obtain bits of reforms that may improve the conditions of national and class oppression and exploitation.

But such electoral system of the exploiting classes can be worse than usual when a tyrannical regime like that of Duterte seeks to monopolize the political system and rigs the electoral system and even the entire political system with the criminal control and use of public and private funds, the COMELEC, the military and police in order to pre-determine and pre-program the results of the elections. *MB2: How do you think it will affect NPA guerrillas and the masses when they are constantly being tagged as terrorists by the Duterte government?*

JMS: Most vulnerable to red-tagging are the unarmed patriotic and progressive individuals, groups and the masses who are subjected to mass intimidation, surveillance, harassment, injury and even extrajudicial killing by those in power and their agents. Red-tagging is an instrument of state terrorism, tyranny and fascist dictatorship.

Within the framework of armed counterrevolution under the national task force headed by Duterte to end the people's revolutionary movement and preserve the evil forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, red-tagging is vainly aimed at terrorizing the people and their patriotic and progressive forces and inducing them to speak and act against the revolutionary movement of the people.

But because the overwhelming majority of the people, who are oppressed and exploited, cannot follow the dictates and inducements by the tyrannical regime, they would rather resist in so many legal and practical ways beyond the control of the regime and even better allow or encourage their best sons and daughters of fighting age to join the New People's Army and the underground.

If we learn from recent history, red-tagging and other repressive policies and acts under the Marcos fascist dictatorship did not result in the complete pacification of the people but instead incited so many young men and women to join the NPA. Ultimately, the legal democratic mass movement was stimulated by the steady growth in strength and advance of the NPA. Red-tagging by the enemy unwittingly benefits the armed revolutionary movement.

*MB3: What can you say about the results of the latest election?*

JMS: The main thing about the latest election in the Philippines is that it was rigged not only through Duterte's control of COMELEC and its computer or electronic system but also through institutional coercion; and the results are of course rotten. The anti-people results are most manifested in the crucial senatorial race by the fake election of notorious plunderers, including Duterte's chief bribe collector and chief butcher in his bogus war on drugs.

The senatorial race is crucial because the vile purpose of Duterte is to obtain a two-thirds majority in the Senate in order to railroad charter change to a bogus kind of federalism, which actually centralizes governmental powers in the hands of a fascist dictator who handpicks his regional and provincial agents among the dynasties and warlords; and allows the same fascist dictator (like Marcos) to benefit most from the sell-out of national sovereignty and patrimony to the imperialists.

The seven-hour information blackout allowed Duterte's Comelec agents to monopolize the transmission of

electoral results and engage in large scale dagdag-bawas by changing the votes in favor of the anti-Duterte senatorial candidates as well as party-list candidates into votes for pro-Duterte candidates.

There is a relative “free play” in the election of Lower House candidates and local executive officials because Duterte was confident that in general pro-Duterte candidates would win because of their advantages in pork barrel and public and private funds for campaigning and vote-buying. The “free play” at the level of local candidates was intended to cover the centralized computer rigging for the benefit of pro-Duterte candidates at the level of the senatorial race and the party lists.

*MB4: Even if you are engaged in revolutionary activity, what is your view on candidates considered opposition to the Duterte administration?*

JMS: Candidates opposed to the Duterte regime are conscious or objective allies of the people’s movement for national and social liberation, in certain issues and by some measure, whether they have a formal alliance or not with the revolutionary forces. It is good enough for the Filipino people and their revolutionary movement that there are alliances at whatever level or scale among legal democratic forces of whatever party or group in opposition to the Duterte regime.

By itself, the legal democratic mass movement of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie cannot oust Duterte’s tyrannical and terrorist regime. It has to develop a broad united front with the anti-fascist sections of the upper classes and likewise with anti-fascist elements in the reactionary armed forces and police. That was how Marcos was overthrown in 1986.

*MB5: How do you think the NPA will respond given that now the Duterte administration is poised to pursue more counterinsurgency plots with the likes of Bato in the senate?*

JMS: I think that the NPA has no choice but to intensify the people’s war and advance the people’s democratic revolution because the Duterte regime has in the first place terminated the peace negotiations within the framework of The Hague Joint Declaration and has been escalating its vicious attacks on the people and the revolutionary forces.

It is in the criminal interest of Duterte to escalate the armed counterrevolution in order to realize his ambition of establishing a fascist dictatorship by scrapping the 1987 constitution under the pretext of shifting to a bogus kind of federalism, as I have pointed out before. He can probably be dissuaded from his evil ambition only by powerful mass protest actions and by the advances of the NPA in field of armed revolution.

Duterte’s greed for power and plunder is the main motivation for the series of issuances such as Proclamation Nos. 360 and 374, Memorandum Order No. 32 and Executive Order No. 70 and all the repressive and murderous actions being undertaken by the regime against the people and their revolutionary forces in order to prevent serious and sincere peace negotiations between the GRP and NDFP and to enable the traitor, tyrant, terrorist and plunderer Duterte to realize fully his fascist dictatorship.

## ***Itanong Mo Kay Prof Topic: ILPS and UN-HRC Resolution***

**July 14, 2019**

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*Prof. Sarah Raymundo (SR): Good day to all listeners of Itanong Mo Kay Prof. Recently a very important event was held in Hongkong at the height of the massive mobilizations of residents there for democracy and against repression. This was the 6th international assembly of the largest anti-imperialist alliance in the world today. It was attended by hundreds of individuals from various countries. This can be considered the gathering of all of the most advanced forces today upholding the anti-imperialist struggle towards peace, democracy and justice. What happens when the world's most advanced organized people come together? Why is an international alliance of anti-imperialists important today? We have here today for the interview the Chairperson Emeritus of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, none other than Prof. Jose Maria Sison.*

JMS: Good day to all our compatriots.

*SR1: Prof. Sison, what is the significance of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) to the struggle for sovereignty and liberty of the world's peoples? Which countries have ILPS member organizations?*

JMS: The most important concern of the ILPS is national liberation, democracy and social justice. ILPS has more than 300 member organizations. These are based in 50 countries in all continents and global regions. It is the biggest alliance of anti-imperialist and democratic mass organizations in the world.

*SR2: Why is it said that the ILPS 6th International Assembly held in Hong Kong was successful?*

JMS: The ILPS 6th International Assembly was successful as it was the largest assembly ever in the entire history of the ILPS and it achieved the program set for the assembly under the theme "Win a bright socialist future for humanity! Unite the people to fight against imperialist plunder, war, racism and fascism!"

It was attended by more than 400 delegates, observers and guests from 44 countries and territories. More than 200 ILPS delegates attended even as 15 could not come due to various reasons. ILPS proved itself to be the biggest and most consolidated anti-imperialist and democratic alliance of mass organizations in the whole world.

*SR3: You led the ILPS for a long time and now you are the Chairperson Emeritus, can you relate to our audience your experience in the continued broadening and growth of the League?*

JMS: Based on my long experience as ILPS Chairperson, ILPS grew and strengthened itself because the world's people desire to free themselves from the claws of the imperialist powers and the reactionary regimes, to exercise genuine sovereignty and democracy, to have social justice, all-round social progress, international solidarity and peace. The world's people reject the chronic crisis and wars and ceaseless worsening of oppression and exploitation in the world capitalist system. The toiling masses and the middle strata are united and fight against the reign of the big capitalists and other reactionary classes in various parts of the world.

*SR4: Prof. Sison, could you relate some important resolutions for the ILPS membership to act on? Is there a resolution to stop the continued human rights violations in the whole world? In our country, human rights violations are rife and extrajudicial killings continue among many social sectors.*

JMS: Everyone should read the General Declaration and the particular resolutions of the 18 commissions. These can be accessed at <http://www.ilps.info>. These reveal the dire conditions and problems of the world's people, especially the violations of human rights, as well as present the immediate and long-term solutions and changes in conditions that can be achieved through mass mobilizations. The General Declaration and the resolutions cover human rights violations in the civil and political, economic, social and cultural. These focus on extrajudicial killings among various sectors as outright violations of civil and political rights under the tyranny of Duterte and as a result of exploitation and oppression considered as violations of economic, social and cultural rights.

*SR5: What can you say about the Iceland Resolution adopted by 18 countries in the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) to investigate the human rights situation in our country.*

JMS: The Filipino and the world's people have long been waiting for such a resolution. We are gratified that there is this UNHRC resolution to investigate the ghastly human rights situation in our country under the bloody and corrupt Duterte regime. Duterte pretended to launch a war against drugs. But his real intention was to become

the supreme lord of drug lords and sow fear among the people with his capacity to slay anyone. And now he is using the tactics of Tokhang to sow fear and kill ordinary peasants and tagged activists, critics of the regime, including the religious, journalists, lawyers and other human rights defenders.

*SR6: Imee Marcos who is now a senator, says that the Philippines should cut diplomatic relations with Iceland for its initiative to have the Philippines investigated for the continuing human rights violations. What can you say about this?*

JMS: Imee is predisposed to rejecting and numb to the human rights violations of her father and of Duterte her ally. Imee herself is criminally culpable in the killing of the poor student leader Archimedes Trajano during the reign of the Marcos dictatorship.

Imee knows nothing about international law and diplomacy. This is because her diplomas are fake. Until now, Imee is the bitter fruit of cheating and corruption from the time of her father to the time of Duterte.

*SR7: Duterte upbraided the 18 countries that voted for the UNHRC Resolution and called them fools. The countries that voted to study and investigate the human rights situation in the country are the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Spain, Denmark, Italy, Austria, Australia, Iceland, Mexico, Argentina, Bahamas, Peru, Uruguay, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Ukraine and Fiji. Prof. Sison, in your view, can the UNHRC delegation really enter the country?*

JMS: Duterte is the fool. He upbraids those that voted for the investigation of the human rights violations because in fact he is already shaking and very much afraid. He is the No. 1 butcher in the Philippines. He has the foremost culpability for the kidnap, torture and mass murders under Oplan Tokhang, Oplan Kapayapaan and Oplan Kapanatagan. Even now, he is already trying to block the investigation but he gets more exposed as the criminal. Many institutions, organizations and people that he cannot scare and control support the investigation. Duterte is afraid that the evidence gathered by the UNHRC can also be used by the International Criminal Court.

*SR8: Finally Prof. Sison, what can you leave to our listeners about the worsening economic and political conditions in our country? President Duterte's SONA is coming and many are waiting.*

JMS: Let all our listeners and compatriots join the gigantic mass protest to be launched by the broad united front of patriotic and progressive forces and ordinary people to oppose the lies that Duterte will again broadcast in his SONA and expose the further oppression and exploitation by the Duterte regime. This regime is tyrannical, treasonous, murderous, corrupt and deceptive.

The people should call Duterte and his political and military minions to account for crushing human rights, mass murder, sellout of sovereign rights to China, continuing US puppetry, intention to change the constitution to benefit the imperialists and the dynasties, corruption, raising taxes only for them to grab, rising prices of basic goods/commodities, damaging the economy, absence of jobs and livelihood, low wages and bloody attacks on the masses to suppress their complaints.

I bid you goodbye. Thank you very much for listening. Let us firmly and militantly continue our fight. Await our next interview. Again thank you very much.

*Prof Sarah: Extro. Thank you very, very much ILPS Chairperson Emeritus Prof. Sison. Greetings to the newly elected ILPS leaders from various countries. May we in your service have the opportunity again to be a part of ILPS. The participants were joyful and even if others just got to know each other, they instantly warmed up to everyone as they were all aware of how all participants felt about organizing in their respective countries. Wherever in the world are there the happiest and loving but the struggling activists, every comrade knows. Thank you very much to our listeners, this is your comrade, Sarah Raymundo, from Bagong Alyansang Makabayan, and teacher in the University of the Philippines, let us strive to "Win a bright socialist future for humanity! Unite the people to fight against imperialist plunder, war, racism and fascism!"*



# ***On the United People's SONA against Duterte's SONA***

**July 23, 2019**

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I congratulate the tens of thousands of people and their organizations for braving the rains to participate in the United People's SONA against Duterte's SONA and express the needs and demands of the entire Filipino nation against the treasonous, tyrannical, brutal, corrupt and deceptive rule of Duterte and his rapacious clique.

Duterte's SONA is a series of boasts and lies. At the very start, he boasts of his sham popularity conjured by paid poll surveys and the rigged mid-term election results and he threatens to continue his killing rampage by comparing himself to an ever fighting eagle determined to pounce on his powerless opponents to the end.

He continues with his pretense at fighting illegal drugs, crime and corruption. He cannot be farther from the truth because he has become the supreme protector of drug lords and drug smugglers, he has turned the police and military into his private army and main instruments of criminality and he has become the chieftain of an alliance of the most despicable plunderers.

He continues to promise falsely that he would raise the salaries of government employees. He makes it a point to give the public school teachers "a bit bigger" but far less than the doubling of salaries to ordinary soldiers and police personnel to bribe them to become his criminal instruments.

But he is at a loss as to how to raise the resources for raising salaries of all government employees, except by increasing the tax burden and raising the prices of basic commodities. By giving priority to doubling the salaries of armed personnel, he manifests a low regard for the public servants who render vital services, such as teachers, nurses, clerks and others.

He does not have any plan for developing the economy through national industrialization and genuine land reform. He avoids discussing the problems of decreasing production in manufacturing and agriculture, rising unemployment, low incomes and the practice of temporary or short-term low-wage work contracts.

He does not also have any plan to democratize the political system ruled by big comprador-landlord oligarchs and dynasties and dictated upon by imperialist powers. He is hellbent on aggravating his tyrannical rule and grabbing absolute powers through charter change and bogus federalism in order to establish a full-blown fascist dictatorship.

He refers to the National Task Force ELCAC in order to stress his US-aided scheme to destroy the revolutionary movement and his lack of interest in the peace process within the framework of The Hague Joint Declaration. He is using the all-out war against the revolutionary forces and people to accomplish his drive for fascist dictatorship.

Duterte discredits himself most by speaking as the apologist for China, trying to scare the Filipino people with the threat of war from China, claiming falsely that China is already in possession of the entire West Philippine Sea (not only the seven artificial islands) and insisting that the Filipino people are helpless. Once more, he exposes himself shamelessly as a traitor and paid agent of China by conceding the Philippine sovereign rights to China.

Duterte makes clear in his SONA that he has no intention of leaving a legacy other than the ignominious end of his treasonous, tyrannical, brutal, corrupt and mendacious rule. He practically goads the people to engage in all forms of struggle and keep on rising up in greater numbers.

In this regard, the United People's SONA is a signal for bigger mass protest actions.

The broad united front against the Duterte tyranny hopes that gigantic mass actions will arise to sway patriotic elements in the reactionary military and police to withdraw support from him. At the same time, the oppressed and exploited masses or workers are most desirous of greater advances and victories of the armed revolutionary movement in order to change the entire ruling system.

# ***Masses of Students and Teachers Will Oppose Police and Military Control of Campuses***

**August 8, 2019**

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Increased police presence and patrols on campuses to intimidate the book-carrying teachers and students will further reduce the number of police from their previous haunts, promote criminality off the campuses and give more space to the revolutionary forces in the battlefield.

The masses of students and teachers will militantly oppose the police state on campuses and the joint military-po-lice scheme to use the ROTC and spy recruits to surveil and intimidate the masses of students and teachers and scare them from joining patriotic and progressive organizations and movements.

Everywhere the Duterte terror regime is using the anti-national and anti-democratic “whole nation approach” of Executive Order 70 to spread red-tagging and the communist scare, put under surveillance and militarize all civilian sectors of society and impose fascist dictatorship on the people.

The Duterte regime of terror and greed is sharpening the crisis of the bankrupt semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and generating the conditions for the rise of people’s power and the advance of the people’s war in the countryside along the general line of the new democratic revolution.

# ***Endangering People through the Wrong View of Activism***

**Itanong Mo kay Prof**

**August 14, 2019**

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Prof. Sison: Militant patriotic greetings to you, Sarah, and all our countrymen. Thank you for the opportunity to discuss the distorted notion of activism being spread by those in power and thus putting people in danger.

*SR1: Before we discuss in more detail the important issues of today, Prof. Sison, can you first explain to our listeners the meaning of “activism”?*

JMS: Activism means vigilance, understanding and legal actions in relation to events and issues in the country and in the world in order to promote, defend and advance the rights and interests of the people. The people have the right to take action and become activists. They have the right and freedom to think, speak out and assemble to protest and raise the concerns and demands of the exploited and oppressed masses.

*SR2: Why does the government always suppress the youth and student activists by using the AFP and PNP at the lead? They have also named the main universities that allegedly recruit for the New People’s Army or NPA. These are the Polytechnic University of the Philippines (PUP) and University of the Philippines (UP). What can you say about this, Prof. Sison?*

JMS: We face today the Duterte regime that is tyrannical, treasonous, killer, corrupt, deceptive and defender of the rotten ruling system of the exploitative classes dominated by the imperialists. The regime precedes in perpetrating grave crimes against the people. Thus the Filipino people are fighting these crimes.

As a reaction to the rise and spread of protests, Duterte has issued orders to the military and police to strike fear into youth and student activists through red-tagging or communist scare, demonization, threats and by actually killing a number of activists to sow fear among the youth and the Filipino people.

The assertion and innuendo that there is fear and unrest in our country because of activism and NPA recruitment among students in the aforementioned universities is pure nonsense. The Duterte regime itself is the reason and source of fear and dread in our country. Through the communist scare and NPA-baiting, it wishes to suppress and crush the patriotic and progressive organizations of youth and students in order to maintain the regime of terror and greed.

*SR3: In the past few days, public hearings were held in the Senate. The AFP and PNP presented parents whose children were reportedly missing. This was disproved when, Alice, the daughter of Relissa Lucena came out and said that she was frightened by what her mother had done when she brought her to Camp Crame and presented her to intelligence agents there. What can you say about this scheme of the government to suppress activism? And airing internal family matters to the public?*

JMS: What Duterte and Bato have done to make the Senate an instrument for witch hunt is undemocratic and fascistic. And it is good that the lies being spread by Bato and his cohorts have been exposed, through the example of Alice Lucena, for the suppression of the rights of students and intrusion into internal family relations.

Because of the strong propaganda aimed at scaring parents, a mother like Relissa Lucena allowed herself to be used in the witchhunt and campaign of Bato against the freedom of students to think, speak out and act. Duterte and Bato want to turn the students into stone-heads and fool them into merely submitting themselves to the oppressive and exploitative regime and ruling system.

*SR4: In the next senate hearing Senator Bato presented alleged NPA renegades who are now under the AFP and PNP. Many viewers found the testimonies of the alleged “rebel returnees” ridiculous. One said that he was “a student by day, and an NPA by night.” What can you say about this matter?*

JMS: What was presented in the Senate was clearly a big swindle. Military and police agents were presented as rebel returnees. This could have been called a comedy were it not part of an evil scheme of deception and support for the bloody regime of butchers and plunderers. The claim of “student by day, and NPA by night” was extremely crude.

The notion that the NPA has helicopters bringing students to school by day and to the countryside by night is stupid. This stone-head Bato’s mind is queer. Because of electoral rigging, Duterte’s errand boys are now in the

Senate and they now control all branches of government. As a result, the Filipino people see even more the necessity to protest up to waging revolution.

*SR5: Not only student activists are fired before the public. All the progressive organizations and sectors are accused of being NPA recruiters. According to Senator Bato, the government only wants to bring together the Filipino family and not to suppress activism. Legitimate activities of the different sectors and private institutions are criminalized by claiming that these are used to recruit for the NPA. What can you say about this, Prof. Sison?*

JMS: It is true that the student youth are not the only target of the witch-hunt. Principal targets are the progressive organizations and sectors. These are accused of being recruiters for the NPA. The regime makes it appear that the legitimate activities of the different sectors and institutions are bad and to be feared. The regime propagandizes that these are recruiting grounds for the NPA.

Bato lies by saying that the government merely wishes supposedly to unite the Filipino family and not to suppress activism. In fact, the regime wishes to harass families, organizations and institutions. They wish the military to meddle in the administration and curriculum of schools. They also want to revive the ROTC to be used in suppressing patriotic and progressive students and teachers.

*SR6: In the last elections, the PNP distributed newspapers in precincts in Metro-Manila and directly handed these out to voters. Their newspapers stated that the progressive partylists are communist and should not be elected. Now as schools start, the PNP has gone into senior high schools and have been giving orientations on how to suppress communism and openly claim that progressive organizations are recruiters of NPA. Did they also do these in schools and universities during the time of Marcos? What could be the outcomes of these methods by the AFP and PNP?*

JMS: In the last elections, the distribution of newspapers in the precincts in Metro-Manila and handing out to voters the propaganda that the partylists are communist and not to be elected is patently malicious and fascistic. Also malicious and fascistic is the intrusion of the PNP into senior high schools to spread anti-communist and counterrevolutionary orientation.

The claim that patriotic and progressive organizations are NPA recruiters is a big lie. During the time of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, this was also done by his military and police minions in schools and universities. The students and teachers were offended. They immediately saw that the regime's imposition of fascism on them. And they became more antagonistic to the regime and more devoted to their democratic rights.

The threats and challenges of the anti-communist and fascist campaign, increased those who wanted to make revolution and become communist to fight the Marcos regime. This is also happening today. Those who are desirous of revolution and becoming Communist Party members are increasing because they can no longer stand the brutal, treasonous, bloody, corrupt and deceptive Duterte regime.

*SR7: The state continues to intensify fascism not only in Metro Manila but also in the countryside. The killings in Negros, Bicol and Samar persist. Martial law in Mindanao remains. What is your parting message to our countrymen in the face of what the Filipino people are now facing, Prof. Sison?*

JMS: Fascism and state terror will not stop in Negros, Bicol and Samar, in Mindanao under martial law and in the whole Philippines if the Filipino people do not fight and end them. Duterte and his fascist cabal are not forever, especially because he is committing big crimes, sickly and clearly mad. Duterte is easier to overthrow than his idol, Marcos, who was ousted by the Filipino people's uprising in 1986.

The decision and action of the people in the cities and countryside to fight and end the oppression and exploitation of the tyrannical regime of Duterte is correct and precise. They should intensify the struggle for national freedom and democracy and oust the Duterte regime. The big crimes of the Duterte regime incite the Filipino people into carry out various forms of struggle until this evil regime that has plagued people is ended.

Our interview has been a great pleasure. Many thanks to you, Sarah, and to all our listeners. Let us look forward to the next interview on the burning issues of the day. Long live the Filipino people! Advance the struggle for national freedom and democracy!

***Resist the Attacks, Persevere in Struggle***

**Solidarity with BAYAN-Central Luzon on its 7<sup>th</sup> Congress  
on August 16-17, 2019**

I convey jubilant greetings and militant solidarity to the leadership and membership of BAYAN-Central Luzon and to all delegates to its 7<sup>th</sup> Congress. Your theme: “Further Strengthen BAYAN-Central Luzon, Fight the Intensifying Crisis and Attacks against the People, Persevere in the Struggle for National Liberation and Democracy” is significant, appropriate and timely.

Your Congress is an important occasion for you to consolidate your ranks and prepare for further expansion and consolidation. You must sum-up your history from 1982 to the present, acknowledge the sacrifices and victories, honor the martyrs and heroes, rely on your strength, set your tasks in order to fight the Duterte terrorist regime and its imperialist masters, as well as the ruling classes that oppress and exploit the people, and advance the struggle for national independence and democracy.

Today, we are faced with the treacherous, tyrannical, murderous, corrupt and deceptive Duterte regime. This regime has formally imposed martial law in Mindanao since 2017 and has actually implemented a fascist dictatorship nationwide. It wants to impose a fascist dictatorship actually and formally by throwing out the 1987 Constitution and usurp absolute power.

It is appropriate and important to sum up the history of BAYAN-Central Luzon. This was established when the Marcos fascist dictatorship seemed to be at its peak. But at its core, it had weakened due to the worsening crisis of the ruling semicolonial and semifeudal system; the Filipino people’s fight against the violation of national and democratic rights; the cruelty and greed of Marcos and his cohorts in government and in business.

In 1982, a few brave and known personalities from prominent families in Angeles City dared to lead the launch discussion assemblies that were engendered by anti-imperialist and democratic demands. Eventually, these meetings led to the formation of the Concerned Citizens of Pampanga (CCP). The CCP built branches in various parts of Pampanga province.

When Ninoy Aquino was assassinated upon his return to the Philippines on August 21, 1983, the discontent and anger of the people against the US-Marcos fascist regime further intensified. The call “Justice for Aquino!, Justice for All” reverberated rapidly throughout the country. This was simultaneous to the call of justice for the killings of youth leader Edgar Jopson and indigenous leader of the Cordillera, Macli-ing Dulag.

These calls were a signal for the people of Central Luzon to launch the first biggest regional mobilization attended by 5,000 people in 1983 at the Angeles City Sports Center. Following this, the Damdamin ng Bayang Nagkakaisa (DAMBANA Sentiments of a United People) was established in 1984 and the call to oust Marcos reverberated even more. A People’s March from Angeles City to Plaza Miranda was held.

In relation to this, the campaign against the US military bases and nuclear power plant in Bataan intensified. Many people participated in the mass struggles. All these became the basis for the establishment of Bagong Alyansang Makabayan ng Gitnang Luzon (BAYAN-GL New Patriotic Alliance-Central Luzon) in 1985 with its first Congress. A number of personages from Central Luzon joined the anti-imperialist alliance. The mass organizations that composed BAYAN-CL then were Alyansa ng mga Magbubukid sa Gitnang Luzon (AMGL Alliance of Peasants in Central Luzon), Workers Alliance in Region III (WAR III), League of Filipino Students (LFS), and Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT). From these, the provincial chapters of BAYAN in Tarlac, Bataan, Aurora, Bulacan, Pangasinan and Nueva Ecija were rapidly established.

When the people rose up in EDSA from February 25, 1986, the fighting spirit and unity of the people in the region further heightened. More than 5,000 people marched to EDSA from different areas of the region. They joined the call to oust the US-Marcos fascist regime. This struggle was victorious.

Cory Aquino became president but the rotten system continued serving the interest of the big bourgeois comprador and landlord. On January 25-26, 1987, BAYAN-CL participated in a demonstration in Manila. During this time, the heinous Mendiola Massacre, where four peasants from Central Luzon (one from Bulacan, two from Bataan and one from Tarlac), were killed.

Instead of condemning and investigating the officers responsible for the massacre, Aquino declared war against the revolutionary movement and ended the ceasefire between her government and the NDFP on February 7, 1987. After three days, the regime of Cory Aquino committed the Lupao Massacre in Nueva Ecija where 17 peasants from the barrio were killed. Due to the massacres, BAYAN called for a Fact-Finding Mission and launched mass protest actions to condemn the regime.

It became clear that the Cory Aquino regime was anti-peasant and counterrevolutionary. It launched Oplan Lambat Bitag and many others were killed. The anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggles intensified. The people

and the revolutionary forces had no choice but to intensify the armed revolution.

The call to demolish US military bases in the Philippines spread. In 1988, the Central Luzon Alliance for a Sovereign Philippines (CLASP) was established to intensify the anti-imperialist struggle. The unity of different sectors was strengthened and expanded and they launched different actions. In 1989, the students of UP Diliman launched Lakbayan (People's March) towards Clark Air Force Base (CAFB). BAYAN-CL held a huge protest action in front of CAFB. In 1991, the Senate decided not to retain US military bases in the Philippines.

In 1990, Mt. Pinatubo erupted and the Clark Air Force Base was almost buried in ashes. The eruption brought intense damage in the livelihood of the people of Central Luzon. Then the earthquake disaster of 1991 ensued. The CONCERN was established and acted to respond to the crisis brought about by these disasters and to help the victims.

Ugnayan was also established as an organization of victims of Mt. Pinatubo. Likewise, the Central Luzon Disaster Relief Center (CLDRC) was also established in the provinces of the region. Because of their collective struggle, the victims succeeded in asserting their rights to housing, resettlement and livelihood.

During his term from 1992, Fidel Ramos implemented neoliberal policies on the economy. He carried out widespread privatization of government corporations, public utilities and government prime land, including Fort Bonifacio. He facilitated the entry of foreign monopoly corporations into private construction, mining and other businesses. Foreign debt again increased. The outflow of profit became rapid. The economy became more backward.

The reactionary government and the NDFP agreed on The Hague Joint Declaration as the framework for peace negotiations in 1992. This was followed by other agreements. But the reactionary military kept putting obstacles to the negotiations. They are after nothing but the surrender of the revolutionary movement. The military campaign of suppression also continued.

On September 20, 1996 a meeting of the Regional Council of BAYAN-CL was held to resolve the conflict that was destroying the unity of the BAYAN membership. In this meeting the entire BAYAN secretariat was expelled because of grave violation of the anti-imperialist and democratic principles of the alliance. BAYAN focused once more on strengthening unity and consolidation.

In 1998, the Estrada regime approved the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) which allows the deployment of US military forces in our country. This was condemned by BAYAN as defiling our national sovereignty and the victorious eviction of military bases in the country.

Although Estrada signed the CARHRIHL, he violated the contents of the agreement. In 2001, the Erap Resign Movement erupted due to the people's discontent over Estrada's corruption and puppetry to the United States. The masses subsequently ousted Estrada.

In 2003, the Gloria Arroyo regime launched in Central Luzon Oplan Bantay Laya led by Gen. Jovito Palparan which perpetrated abductions and killings of leaders and members of mass organizations almost daily. Many BAYAN leaders were killed. On November 2004, the horrendous Hacienda Luisita Massacre was carried out. This impelled formation of the Gloria Resign Movement.

In 2003, the office of BAYAN-CL was raided. Because of the grave violations of human rights by the regime, BAYAN appealed to the regional peace and order council in Clark. The ouster campaign intensified further following the "Hello Garci" scandal of Gloria Arroyo.

Despite of the fascist attacks, the people slowly rose up and fought the violence. In 2009, a transport strike, participated by a large number of people in the region, was launched despite the illegal arrest of its seven leaders in Angeles City.

During the time of the regime of Benigno "Noy" Aquino starting 2010, BAYAN confronted the big issue of government corruption. BAYAN effectively led the struggle of the people against the Pork Barrel System and successfully launched the campaign participated in by a large number of the people that reached one million in the people's initiative to remove the pork barrel. A People's March was held to highlight the issue of corruption.

In 2012, the 10th anniversary for justice to the victims of Hacienda Luisita was commemorated. Up to now, the victim's lands have not been returned to them by the Cojuangcos-Aquinos. The people held the People's March to highlight the issue of justice for the victims of the massacre in conjunction with the issue of genuine land reform.

The peasants' People's March to Manila was repeated in 2014 to highlight once more the issue of genuine land reform. In 2016, the Central Luzon Alliance for Sovereign Philippines was reestablished and this became the

school of “Tata Sensing Lecture Series.” It launched several discussions, forums and anti-imperialist protest actions.

In 2018, the people of Central Luzon held a People’s March anew because of the US-Duterte regime’s worsening fascist suppression. Even church people were being killed—three were murdered and two of them were from the province of Nueva Ecija.

Demolition of urban poor communities and landgrabbing from peasants are widespread. On the western and eastern part of Central Luzon, so-called development projects are grabbing lands from the peasants and indigenous people. Duterte’s Chinese imperialist masters are destroying the Zambales mountains to mine and haul off the soil to create artificial islands in the West Philippine Sea. In Tarlac, China also dominates the construction of the New Clark City that grabs land from the indigenous people and peasants.

Your resolve to fulfill BAYAN-CL’s great responsibility and duty to unite and lead the multisectoral struggle of the region is precise. It is fine to reestablish BAYAN-CL provincial chapters and strengthen the membership of its national democratic organizations.

The 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of the New Patriotic Alliance-Central Luzon (BAYAN-CL) is historic. It is an opportunity to set the new tasks for the further strengthening and advance of your alliance. It is appropriate to thank and honor the long-serving leaders of BAYAN, especially those who have lost and dedicated their lives to the people.

I am hopeful and confident that your Congress will be completely successful to further strengthen BAYAN-CL to fight the intensifying crisis and attacks of the Duterte regime against the people, and achieve more victories in the struggle for national freedom and democracy.

Long live BAYANCentral Luzon!

Struggle for national freedom and democracy!

Long live the entire Filipino people!



# On Student Activism

Interview by Dempsey Reyes

August 21, 2019

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1. *What do you think has been the difference between student activism in the past and present?*

JMS: The struggle for national independence and democracy against Spanish colonialism emerged because of the student activism of Jose Rizal, Emilio Jacinto and many others in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The new democratic revolution for the national and social liberation of the Filipino people is a resumption of the unfinished Philippine revolution started by Andres Bonifacio. It has been sustained with the major and vital participation of student activists from the 20<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

We, the student activists of the late 1950s and the 1960s, were conscious of continuing the struggle for national liberation and democracy and overcoming the anti-democratic crackdown by the US and its Filipino puppets in the early 1950s on the patriotic and progressive forces in the Philippines.

The current student activists are similar to their predecessors in being patriotic and progressive. The differences from the past arise from their being able to take advantage of the revolutionary legacy bequeathed to them and from being confronted by new challenges from foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

2. *In the past, has there been red-tagging already among student activist groups?*

JMS: Yes, certainly. Immediately after we established the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP) in 1959, we were soon assailed by the anti-communist witch hunt instigated by the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency (NICA).

We the student activists then were not cowed or silenced by the red-tagging and anti-communist tirade, which invoked the 1957 Anti-Subversion Law. But we became more inspired to fight back and to assert and exercise our democratic rights. We stood for the national and democratic rights of the student masses and the Filipino people.

The Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) headed by Rep. Leonardo Perez tried to witch-hunt, frighten and silence the progressive faculty members and students of the UP as a result of their progressive publications. I was one of those targeted for organizing the SCAUP and for writing "Requiem for Lumumba" in praise of the Congolese leader and in condemnation of the CIA which instigated his murder.

The anti-communist witch-hunt by the CAFA failed to intimidate us but it merely succeeded in rousing the students and faculty members to rise up in protest. The SCAUP organized a broad alliance of campus organizations in order to uphold and defend academic freedom. Thus, we were able to mobilize 5,000 students to rally in front of Congress on March 15, 1961. A major part of the demonstrators poured into the hearing hall of the CAFA and literally scuttled its hearings.

3. *Would you say that despite all that has been happening now with the red-tagging and conduct of probe on NPA recruitment supposedly because of student activism, do you think student activism will be impacted?*

JMS: Student activism will not be silenced or die because of the current red-tagging and anti-communist witch-hunt by all branches of government under the Duterte tyrannical rule and its Executive Order No. 70. It is ludicrous that student activists are being persecuted merely because of the ultra-reactionary fear that they are being recruited to the NPA.

The student activists and student masses are defying the attempts to intimidate and suppress them and intensifying their efforts to inform and educate themselves on social ills and issues, organizing themselves and mobilizing themselves. The campaign to persecute and deprive them of their democratic rights is driving them to fight back.

It is not student activism that is the cause of many students and other people joining the NPA. The cause of the rising of the broad legal democratic movement as well as the armed revolution is the persistence of the rotten semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and the aggravation of basic social problems by the tyrannical, traitorous, murderous, plundering and swindling regime of Duterte.

4. *For you, should student activism continue?*

JMS: Of course, student activism should continue. In the first place, it is unstoppable and is needed by the

students themselves and the entire Filipino people. The student activists and the student masses must struggle for better conditions and a brighter future by opposing the rotten ruling system dominated by imperialism and ruled by the brutal and corrupt politicians of the big compradors and landlords.

It is not the fault of student activism that there are oppressive and exploitative conditions that they must criticize, repudiate and overcome. It is the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation that are driving more student activists to join the armed revolution. Thus, the tyrannical Duterte regime is now known as the best recruiter of the NPA.

# ***Carry Forward the Struggle against Terrorism and Tyranny***

**Message to the Participants in the Launch of Volumes I and II of *Struggle against Terrorism and Tyranny***

**November 6, 2019**

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First of all, I wish to thank the sponsors, the guest speaker, the book reviewers, the reactors and all who are present for enabling this launch of Volumes I and II of *Struggle Against Terrorism and Tyranny*. These volumes include all the significant writings that I did in 2018 in various capacities, mainly as chief political consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle. They follow up my earlier books, *People's Resistance to the Reign Of Greed and Terror and Combat Tyranny and Fascism* which include my writings in 2016 and 2017, respectively. All the four volumes give you a clear view of major developments in the Philippines and abroad since 2016. As NDFP chief political consultant in peace negotiations with the reactionary government, I have been a close witness to the unfolding of the Duterte regime as one with a president claiming to be "left" and "socialist" to the complete opposite with the vile character of being treasonous, tyrannical, murderous, corrupt and mendacious. We are confronted today by a cabal of murderers and plunderers in power who are now inflicting state terrorism and tyranny on the people and who are hell-bent on imposing a full-blown fascist dictatorship under the pretext of rabid anti-communism in order to stay in power beyond the limited lifespan of a physically, mentally and morally sick president. We are challenged to stand up and fight for national independence, democracy, social justice, genuine development and cultural progress. The Filipino people are obliged to wage all forms of struggle against a regime that engages in mass murders in the name of a bogus war on drugs and increasingly in the name of anti-communism against critics and political opponents.

As Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle in 1918, I observed closely major international events, especially the worsening of the crisis of global capitalism under the auspices of neoliberalism and neoconservatism, the intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions (chiefly between the US and China) and the oppression and exploitation suffered by the people.

I have sought to understand the most important social, economic and political phenomena to arrive at and express the basis for raising the consciousness and militancy of the people of the world in carrying out anti-imperialist and democratic struggles for a better world of greater freedom, democracy and socialism.

In the last few years, we have witnessed the rise of fascist regimes and movements as a result of the failures of social democratic, liberal democratic and other reformist regimes. But today it is heartening to see that the broad masses of the people and the anti-imperialist and democratic forces are rising up in mass protests all over the world.

All these make us wish that the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal mass movement in the Philippines raise the mass struggle to a new and higher level comparable to the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the mass actions of 1983 to 1986 that ultimately brought down the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The current upsurge of the anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles in so many countries today indicate that we are in transition to a world in which the oppressed and exploited peoples and the forces of national liberation, democracy and socialism rise up in mass struggles to unprecedented levels of intensity and scale and win ever greater victories in the forthcoming years and decades.

Once more I thank you for the opportunity of making my brief remarks.

Long live all of you!

Carry forward the struggle against terrorism and tyranny!

Long live the Filipino people!

***Celebrate Andres Bonifacio Day:  
Unite and Fight for Genuine  
National Independence and Democracy***

**November 30, 2019**

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We, the Filipino nation and all patriotic and progressive forces, celebrate today the 156th birth anniversary of Andres Bonifacio in order to honor him and the Katipunan for their revolutionary heroic deed of declaring and fighting for Philippine independence against Spanish colonialism in 1896.

We likewise honor all the national heroes who have followed their example in fighting against foreign and feudal domination. We make special mention of Kabataang Makabayan, founded on November 30, 1964, for striving to continue the unfinished revolution, interrupted by the US imperialist war of aggression and conquest of the Philippines soon after the people's victory over Spanish colonialism.

The best way to celebrate Bonifacio Day is to renew and reinvigorate the revolutionary unity and will of the Filipino people to continue the struggle for genuine national independence and democracy against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system dominated by US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

This ruling system is now chiefly represented by the traitorous Duterte regime, which tries to serve two imperialist masters by keeping the all-sided overall dominance of US imperialism and at the same time selling out the sovereign rights of the Filipino nation over the West Philippine Sea and over its economy and natural resources in the entire archipelago.

The chronic crisis of the ruling system is worsening rapidly due to the policies of neoliberalism and state terrorism. Foreign monopoly capitalism extracts superprofits by keeping the Philippines underdeveloped and a cheap source of labor and raw materials and a denationalized and deregulated field of imperialist trade and investments.

The people are being subjected to worse conditions of exploitation, deteriorating working and living conditions, rising unemployment and mass poverty. While the local and foreign public debt is growing rapidly due to the importation and consumption of foreign manufactures, the Duterte regime has increased the tax burden at the expense of the ordinary people only to use the public funds to feed bureaucratic corruption and reinforce the instruments of state terrorism.

There is now a de facto regime of fascist dictatorship in the Philippines. Under the pretext of rabid anti-communism, the reactionary government is under a process of militarization and fascisation in accordance with Executive Order No. 70 for the purpose perpetuating and serving the three evil forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The traitorous, tyrannical, genocidal, corrupt and swindler Duterte regime is imposing extreme and intolerable forms of exploitation and oppression on the Filipino people. It is therefore inciting and goading the people to fight back. It is driving them to rise up in mass protests for full national independence and democracy and to engage in the new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.

Indeed, the conditions for the people's struggle for national and social liberation are favorable in the Philippines. So are the conditions abroad favorable for the revolutionary struggle. The world capitalist system is in grave crisis. It has been unable to solve the problem of stagnation and depression since 2008. The inter-imperialist contradictions are intensifying. For decades, US and Chinese monopoly capitalism were main partners in neoliberal globalization. Now, they are in a vortex of struggle for a redivision of the world.

The people of the world have undergone intolerable suffering from imperialist plunder, state terrorism, foreign military intervention and wars of aggression. In response, they have risen up in militant mass protests all over the world, especially against neoliberalism and fascism. These mass protests are bound to intensify and grow and stimulate the spread of people's war and the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and proletarian-socialist revolutionary struggles on a world scale.

In carrying out the new democratic revolution for more than 50 years, the Communist Party of the Philippines as leading force and the entire revolutionary movement of the Filipino people under the guidance of

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism have withstood and overcome the pro-imperialist currents of neocolonialism, anti-communism, reactionary liberalism, social democracy and neo-Keynesianism, modern revisionism, neoliberalism and fascism.

They have stood out as torch bearer of the world anti-imperialist struggles and the world proletarian revolution and continue to grow in revolutionary strength and advance in concert with the peoples of the world, as did the Katipunan under Bonifacio when it was the leading force of the old democratic revolution. This was the first national liberation movement to defeat a Western colonial power in Asia, and served as the torch-bearer of liberal democratic revolution in Asia, long before the Chinese revolution of 1911 and the emergence of new states after World War II.

In carrying out the new democratic revolution, the Communist Party of the Philippines is inspired by the revolutionary spirit of Andres Bonifacio and the Katipunan. It is the New Katipunan at a new and higher level of revolutionary struggle, that of the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective, in the era of modern imperialism and the world proletarian revolution. It seeks to contribute the best it can to the achievement of national liberation, democracy and socialism in other countries.

Long live the revolutionary spirit of Andres Bonifacio and the Katipunan!

Intensify and carry forward the new democratic revolution of the Filipino people!

Long live the Philippine revolution and the Filipino people!

Long live proletarian internationalism and the international solidarity of peoples!

# ***Challenge to People's Artists and Cultural Workers***

**Message to Sining Bugkos on its Assembly, December 1, 2019**

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I am sending jubilant greetings of congratulations and unity to the leadership and members of Sining Bugkos on the occasion of your assembly on December 1, 2019 at UP Diliman, Quezon City. I am with you in spirit and in remembering the 20th year of the founding of Sining Bugkos, in acclamation of your sacrifices and victories and new resolve to advance in the path of struggle for national liberation and democracy.

Appropriate and timely is the theme you have chosen for your gathering: "People's Artists, Serve the People!" I am glad that the theme was adapted from the instructions I have provided during the founding of Sining Bugkos and based on what you viewed as needed to invigorate the cultural work of the national democratic movement, and also its integration to the struggle of the masses and the need to increase people's artists and their groups.

Your calls are correct: Put to practice, enrich and spread the national, scientific, mass culture! Uphold and cherish the national language and cultural heritage! Defend and advance the national sovereignty and independence of the Filipino people!

You have the basic strength and wealth of experience to respond and realize these calls. It is commendable that you have 8 organizations which are members of Sining Bugkos in the whole of Metro Manila, although varying in size and activity. I trust that you will be able to strengthen yourselves, spread the scope and raise the level of your work and struggle.

In your renewed efforts and struggle depend the strengthening of Sining Bugkos and its member organizations: Musicians for Peace, Ugatlahi Artists Collective, Liga ng Kabataang Propagandista (League of Young Propagandists), Kausap (organization for theater), Sining Laya (group of youth artists in Quezon City), Association of Dramatists in Marikina, Tullahan Workers Cultural Alliance, and Art is the Bullet of the Youth (group of young artists in San Juan with chapters in high schools and universities).

We are faced today with the Duterte regime that is extremely hateful and treacherous in nature, tyrannical, executioner, plunderer and swindler. Its campaigns of suppression against the toiling masses and middle stratum of society and its scheme to impose once again a fascist dictatorship ala-Marcos upon the Filipino people are not sign of strength but of weakness and the fast decay not only of the regime but of the whole semifeudal and semi-colonial ruling system.

The systematic and gross violations of national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people in the name of anticommunism are intensifying the oppression and exploitation brought about by the three plagues of the country: imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It is a challenge to Sining Bugkos and for all of us fighting and undertaking all measures in all fields to intensify the struggle and achieve more victories. A people united and fighting will never be defeated by the enemy.

Your struggle in the field of culture is important and decisive. You must wield all forms of art to illustrate the horrible situation of our Motherland and assert the need for the Filipino people to fight in order to achieve a glorious future of national liberation, democracy, social justice, all-sided development and just peace.

In the ideology and creativity of the people's artists and cultural workers spring the different forms of art to encourage, strengthen their belief and inflame the feeling of the Filipino people to participate in the national democratic struggle and defeat the scourge and the greedy and cruel monsters prolonging the ruling rotten system.

I am hopeful that in your assembly, you will be consolidated to further expand and strengthen. You must sum-up your experiences, learn from your mistakes and weaknesses, rely on your strength and victories and define the tasks to further advance your work and achieve more victories in struggle.

Long live Sining Bugkos and all its member organizations!

Long live the people's artists and cultural workers!

Long live the Filipino people and the national democratic movement!

# ***Significance of the First Quarter Storm of 1970***

**Statement in Celebration of its 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary**

**January 25, 2020**

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We are happy to celebrate the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the First Quarter Storm of 1970. This was the series of protest mass actions, which began on January 25, 1970 and continued up to March of 1970. It is chronicled by Jose F. Lacaba's *Days of Disquiet and Nights of Rage* and commented upon by Amado Guerrero's *First Quarter Storm of 1970*.

At the beginning, ten thousand students, urban poor youth, workers and peasants massed in front of Congress in order to express themselves against the anti-national and anti-democratic policies of the Marcos regime and against the excessive spending of public money to reelect Marcos as president.

Their peaceful demonstration was brutally attacked by the police with truncheon and gunfire upon the signal of Marcos himself after delivering his "state of the nation address." The demonstrators fought back for several hours with bare fists, wooden handles of placards and stones.

Undaunted by state brutality, the Kabataang Makabayan and other organizations of the youth and working people formed the Movement for a Democratic Philippines (MDP). They conducted build up rallies in communities, schools and factories and then launched people's marches from different points of Metro Manila in order to converge on the focal points of reactionary power.

Tens of thousands of people joined and converged on the presidential palace on January 30, 1970. Some of the demonstrators seized a firetruck and rammed it through the gates of the palace and others made bonfires with their torches. Marcos became even more angered and openly threatened the declaration of martial in order to discourage further mass protests. But the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary core of the MDP stood fast on continuing them.

From week to week, the level of propaganda and agitation, organizational work and mass mobilization rose. Fifty thousand to 100,000 joined each of the marches and rallies, while other people lined the streets to cheer the marchers and give food and water to them. The columns of marchers converged on plazas near the presidential palace or the US embassy. The First Quarter Storm of 1970 caught the attention of the people on a national and international scale. It inspired the youth and working people in the provincial capitals and cities to rise up and carry out protest actions against US imperialism and the local reactionaries and demand national liberation and democracy.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 was the highest point of the legal democratic mass movement for national liberation and democracy before the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 and the declaration of martial law in 1972. It put forward the patriotic and progressive demands of the people against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

It resounded with the fighting slogans, Makibaka, Huwag Matakot! (Struggle, Fear Not!) Digmang bayan ang sagot sa martial law! (People's war is the answer to martial law!) It raised the fighting spirit of the broad masses of the people against the US-directed Marcos regime and against the repeated threats of the regime to declare martial law. It pushed the organized forces of the national democratic movement to accelerate their political and organizational work among the people.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 was an unprecedented peak in the advance of the cultural revolution of the new democratic type, which called for a national, scientific and mass culture with the framework of the people's democratic revolution led by the working class. It was the product of a decade-long work of ideological and political work among the students and other youth and among the working people by the young proletarian revolutionaries.

It further generated and reinvigorated a new wave of study and mass work among the youth along the line of new democratic revolution. Schools for national democracy were organized and conducted at all offices of Kabataang Makabayan, on campuses, in the vicinity of factories, in communities and in all types of public places. Cultural works were created and presented to the youth and people in order to raise higher the level of their revolutionary consciousness and militancy.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 resulted in the political education of great numbers of people and their recruitment into the Kabataang Makabayan and other types of mass organizations. On the basis of the rapidly growing mass movement, hundreds and then thousands of mass activists were educated and recruited to become members of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

Consequent to the First Quarter Storm of 1970, the Kabataang Makabayan became a stronger engine for developing mass activists among the students and intelligentsia and among the young workers and peasants on a nationwide scale, for building revolutionary trade unions and for sending the educated youth and workers to the countryside for service in the New People's Army and in the rural communities.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 was the key to the accelerated growth of legal mass organizations and such revolutionary forces as the CPP, NPA and the main components of what would become the National Democratic Front. When the Marcos regime imposed martial law and fascist dictatorship on the country, the revolutionary forces and people were more determined than ever to wage protracted people's war along the national democratic line.

We should never forget the First Quarter Storm of 1970 as a major node in the development of the new democratic revolution in the Philippines. The achievements of the Philippine revolution since 1970 would not have been possible without this storm. We owe to it the emergence and development of so many cadres and mass activists and the growth of the revolutionary forces on a nationwide scale.

We must celebrate the great significance and continuing relevance of this historic event. We must renew our resolve to carry forward the Filipino people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. We must undertake certain activities to raise the level of revolutionary consciousness and fighting capabilities in the next three months and further on.

We must step up the study movement and cultural work along the line of the new democratic revolution. We must enlighten and arouse the people by using all media of information, education and artistic expression. We must recruit more people into the patriotic and progressive mass organizations, especially those of the workers, peasants, women and youth. We must mobilize a far greater number of people to engage in various forms of struggle against the US-Duterte regime and the entire semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

We face today the worst crisis of the world capitalist system since the 1930s because of the US-instigated policies of "neoliberal" globalization and imperialist aggression and terrorism. The broad masses of the people suffer conditions of exploitation and oppression far worse than four decades ago. These intolerable conditions drive the people and the revolutionary forces to fight more resolutely and militantly for their national and democratic rights and interests.



# ***Greetings to Participants in the Launch of Reflections on Revolution and Prospects***

February 6, 2020

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Dear friends, I wish to convey my warmest greetings to all who are present in this gathering to launch the book, *Reflections on Revolution and Prospects*. I thank all of you for coming.

I wish to give special thanks to Bayan-National, Bayan-National Capital Region, College Editor's Guild and the Congress of Teachers and Educators for Nationalism and Democracy for organizing this event in collaboration with the publisher International Network for Philippine Studies.

I also wish to give special thanks to Prof. Sonny San Juan, who wrote the foreword to the book, for gracing this occasion and sharing his wisdom; and to the distinguished book reviewers, Prof. Bobby Tuazon and Prof. Larissa Mae Suarez of the UP Department of English and Comp. Literature and former editor in chief of the UP Philippine Collegian.

Thirty years ago, I did a structured interview book titled *The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View* with my German friend Dr. Rainer Werning, translator of the German edition of *Philippine Society and Revolution*. He is a steadfast solidarity activist in support of the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation.

Once more we have collaborated to produce *Reflections on Revolution and Prospects*. This book tries to give a comprehensive coverage of my views on Philippine and global issues and of how I have lived and worked in most of my lifetime. It might give you the impression that I am already making a final summing up of my life.

But I am optimistic that I still have some years of active life. I will continue to contribute what I can to the struggle of the people for a better life. I intend to see the end of the Duterte tyranny, the continuing advance of the new democratic revolution in the Philippines and the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution against imperialism and all reaction.

In the Philippines, we confront the recrudescence of Marcos-type tyranny and corruption in the Duterte regime. This manifests the continuous decomposition of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. Once more an unabashedly bloodthirsty regime of terror and greed is driving the people to wage armed revolution.

At the same time in the world, we are in transition to the resurgence of anti-imperialist struggles and the world proletarian revolution. From the past year to the current one, we see the unprecedented scale and intensity of people's mass protests in all continents against neoliberalism, fascism, imperialist plunder, wars of aggression and destruction of the environment.

I hope that you enjoy this book launch as an occasion to be with friends who have a common interest in the Filipino people's struggle for full national independence, democracy, social justice, all-round development and just peace as well as in the struggle of all peoples of the world for a better future of greater freedom, democracy and socialism.

Thank you.

March 15, 2020

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Dear comrades, it is an honor and privilege for me to be invited to the Symposium titled “The World is Opening a New Page: Revolution’s Time Has Come!” here in Istanbul.

I thank the Socialist Party of the Oppressed and the Marxist Theory Journal for inviting me.

I convey warmest comradely greetings of revolutionary solidarity to all participating in the symposium, especially my fellow speakers from Rojava, Tunis, Lebanon, Sudan, Argentina, Chile, Philippines and other countries.

The symposium is prompted by the unprecedented scale and intensity of the people’s mass protests which have been breaking out in all continents since last year. These have been directed against imperialism and local reactionary forces.

I daresay that the current wave of mass protests signals the transition to a new era of unprecedented anti-imperialist resistance by the peoples of the world and the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution.

## ***1. Intensification of contradictions due to crisis of world capitalist system***

We see today the intensification of all major contradictions in the world capitalist system, such as those between labor and capital, those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations, those between the imperialist powers and states that assert national independence and the socialist cause and those among the imperialist powers.

The intensification of contradictions between labor and capital within imperialist countries and among imperialist powers is due to the worsening crisis of overproduction relative to the drastically reduced income of the working class in imperialist countries and in the rest of the world capitalist system. The workers have become restless and rebellious due to unemployment, low income, rising prices of basic commodities, austerity measures, the curtailment of their democratic rights and the rise of chauvinism, racism and fascism.

Among the imperialist powers, the US and China have emerged as the two main contenders in the struggle for a redivision of the world. Each tries to have its own alliance with other imperialist powers. The traditional alliance of the US, Europe and Japan is still operative in such multilateral agencies like the IMF, World Bank and WTO and in NATO and other military alliances. Ranged against the traditional imperialist powers are China and Russia which have broadened their alliance in BRICS, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, BRICS Development Bank, the Belt and Road Initiative and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Fund.

Since so many decades ago when they developed nuclear weapons of mass destruction and missile delivery systems, the major imperialist powers have so far avoided direct wars of aggression against each other by undertaking proxy wars despite the frequent US wars of aggression against underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They have developed the neocolonial ways and means of shifting the burden of crisis to the underdeveloped countries. They engage in a struggle for a redivision of the world but so far they have not directly warred on each other to acquire or expand their sources of cheap labor and raw materials, markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence.

They make the oppressed peoples and nations of the underdeveloped countries suffer the main brunt of the recurrent and worsening economic and financial crisis of the world capitalist system even as they make them the main source of superprofits through a higher rate of exploitation. Currently they continue the policy of neoliberal globalization for the purpose. To suppress the people’s resistance to oppression and exploitation, they provide their client-states with the means of state terrorism and fascist rule by the bureaucratic comprador bourgeoisie. They also use their respective client-states for proxy wars and counter-revolutionary wars for maintaining their economic territory or for redividing the world. Despite their attempts to shift the burden of crisis to the oppressed peoples and nations, the imperialist powers are driven to extract higher profits from their own working class under the neoliberal policy regime. To suppress the resistance of the proletariat and people to oppression and exploitation in both the developed and underdeveloped countries, they have enacted so-called anti-terrorist laws and are increasingly prone to the use of state terrorism and sponsor fascist organizations and movements to counter the growing revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the people. In the underdeveloped countries, US imperialism and its puppet regimes are unleashing the worst forms of aggression and state terrorism against the people

in order to perpetuate the neoliberal policy of unbridled greed. Since the end of World War II, the wars of aggression and campaigns of terror unleashed by US have resulted in 20 to 30 million killed in Korea, Indochina, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria and other countries. But US imperialism has also suffered outstanding defeats, such as in north Korea, Cuba, Vietnam and other Indochinese countries. It has been unable to stop the decolonization of colonies and semicolonies which is still an ongoing process. The proletariat and people have persevered in protracted people's war in the Philippines, India, Kurdistan, Turkey, Palestine, Peru, Colombia and elsewhere. The spread of arms where US imperialism have unleashed wars of aggression, such as in the Middle East and Africa, can open the way to the rise of more armed revolutionary movements. There are effective governments like the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, Venezuela and Syria that assert national independence and the socialist cause. They enjoy the support of the people, stand up against US imperialism and take advantage of the contradictions among the imperialist powers in order to counter sanctions, military blockade and aggression. The people and revolutionary forces led by the proletariat can strengthen themselves in the course of anti-imperialist struggles.

## ***II. Mass protests signify transition to the resurgence of world proletarian revolution***

Since last year, we have seen the unprecedented rise and spread of gigantic anti-imperialist mass protests occurring in both the underdeveloped and developed countries. These signify the transition to the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution. They are a manifestation of the grave crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling systems and the inability of the imperialist powers and their puppet states to rule in the old way.

The massive and sustained mass protests in various countries of Europe, North America, Latin America, Asia and Africa bring to the surface the deep-seated detestation of the people for the extreme oppression and exploitation that they have suffered. The proletariat and people of the world are fighting back. We are definitely in transition to a great resurgence of anti-imperialist struggles and the world proletarian revolution.

The broad masses of the people are rising up against the worst forms of imperialist oppression and exploitation, such as neoliberalism, austerity measures, gender discrimination oppression of indigenous peoples, fascism, wars of aggression and environmental destruction. The starting points or inciting moments for the mass protests may be concrete issues of wide variability but they always rise up to the level of protests against imperialism and all reaction.

In the last 50 years, we have seen imperialism, neocolonialism, modern revisionism, neoliberalism and neo-conservatism attack and put down the proletariat and people of the world. Now, the people are resisting as never before and generating new revolutionary forces, including parties of the proletariat and mass organizations. These will ultimately result in the spread of armed revolutionary movements and the rise of socialist states and people's democracies with a socialist perspective.

The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces are gratified that they have persevered in the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war and with a socialist perspective in the last more than 50 years. Loyal to the just revolutionary cause, they have waged revolutionary struggle resolutely and militantly and have fought even more fiercely against the counter-revolutionary campaigns of the enemy. They have been inspired by the revolutionary victories of national liberation movements and socialism abroad and have become ever more determined to contribute the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution.

They take pride in being referred to as one of the torch bearers of the anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples of the world and the world proletarian revolution. Their revolutionary will and fighting spirit are more than ever higher as their revolutionary struggles are now in concert with the resurgent mass struggles of the proletariat and people on a global scale. We foresee that in the next fifty years the crisis-stricken world capitalist system will continue to break down and give way to the rise of anti-imperialist and socialist states and societies.

Long live the proletariat and peoples of the world!

Down with the imperialist powers and all reaction!

Long live the anti-imperialist and socialist cause!

Victory for the world proletarian-socialist revolution!

# ***Importance of the National Democratic Revolution in Relation to the Global Anti-Imperialist Movement***

**Presentation for Webinar #2 in Philippine Series,  
ILPS Asia Pacific, September 11, 2020**

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Dear webinar participants, first of all, I thank ILPS Asia-Pacific for inviting me to speak on the importance of the national democratic revolution in the Philippines in the global anti-imperialist movement and in the context of the raging contradictions among the imperialists, especially the US and China.

In my presentation, I wish to present first the context of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the raging conflicts among the imperialist powers, especially the US and China. Then I shall present the historical and current importance of the national democratic revolution not only to the Filipino people but to all the peoples in the Asia-Pacific region and the whole world.

As the crisis of the world capitalist system worsens, with the aggravation by COVID-19 and by the sharpening conflicts between the US and China, there is an urgent need for all peoples of the world to understand the situation in our respective countries, in the Asia-Pacific region and entire world. In this regard, let us learn from each other and help each other in waging anti-imperialist and democratic struggles.

## ***1. Context of raging US-China conflicts amidst the rapidly worsening crisis of the world capitalist system***

After enjoying three decades of prosperity from 1945 to 1975, the US began to be afflicted by stagflation. This was due to the crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system because of the reconstruction and revival of the competitive economies of capitalist countries, especially Germany and Japan, which had suffered devastation from World War II.

The US adopted the neoliberal economic policy in 1979 in a futile attempt to overcome the crisis of overproduction at the expense of the working class and the peoples of the world. The logic of the policy is to maximize by all means the amount of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie so that it can re-invest this to grow the economy and supposedly create more jobs. The neoliberal policy would actually aggravate the crisis of overproduction, bringing about more frequent and ever worse cycles of boom and bust.

Maximizing capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie has been done through tax cuts, wage freeze, limits on job tenure, cutbacks on social benefits and services, privatization of public assets, deregulation of restraints on the abuse of labor, women, children and the environment, liberalization of investment and trade and denationalization of underdeveloped and dependent economies. The imperialist powers used their multilateral agencies to make multilateral arrangements to harmonize their economic and trade relations and shift the burden of crisis to the underdeveloped countries.

Emerging from its costly wars of aggression in Indochina, the US hoped to make profits from military sales to the oil producing countries and expand production with the use of petrodollars deposited in Western banks. At the same time, the US succeeded in engaging the Soviet Union in an arms race in order to undermine and debilitate its economy while the Soviet social imperialists were making big mistakes in their foreign adventures, especially in Afghanistan.

The revisionist betrayal of socialism and capitalist restoration ran ahead in the Soviet Union but subsequently the Chinese revisionists headed by Deng Xiaoping were able to defeat the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) in 1976 with a counter-revolutionary coup after the death of Mao Zedong. The US had started rapprochement with China in 1972 in order to take advantage of the Sino-Soviet dispute but from 1978 onward the US saw its far greater opportunity to cultivate China as a capitalist partner upon the declaration of the GPCR as a complete catastrophe and upon the adoption of the Dengist policy of capitalist reforms and opening up for integration into the world capitalist system.

In the entire 1980s, the US outsourced consumer manufacturing to China's sweatshops. And after the 1989 uprisings in Tiananmen and elsewhere in China, the US acceded to the pleas of China's Dengist leaders to bring in more investments and technology to China. In the 1990s, China became the main US partner in the promotion of the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization and more so after China joined the World Trade Organization in 2001.

The US was so happy and jubilant over the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and over the partnership with China that it overlooked the potential of two more imperialist powers, China and Russia, joining the world capitalist system, to aggravate the crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system. As sole superpower in hubris in a supposedly unipolar world, the US could not see clearly the possible aggravation of the crisis of overproduction and its continued strategic decline.

With the single message that socialism was dead and so was anti-imperialism, the US carried out an ideological and political offensive in combination with the neoliberal economic offensive and the military offensives in the Middle East and other regions where in combination with Zionist Israel they acted to fill the vacuum left by the Soviet Union. The heavy costs of military expenditures and the aggravated crisis of overproduction accelerated the strategic decline of the US and caused the loss of its sole superpower status in a multilateral world.

In the years after the 2008 financial crisis, which resulted in an unprecedented global recession, the US strategic planners noticed the economic and military rise of China as a potential US economic and political rival. At the same time, it was becoming starkly clear that the US was on an accelerated decline because of the outsourcing of manufacturing, the financialization of the US economy, the leap in public debt and the extreme costs of overseas military bases and the endless wars of aggression mainly in Central Asia, Middle East and Africa.

Under the Obama presidency, the US took notice that it had not paid enough attention to the rise of China in the Asia-Pacific region. Thus, it declared a strategic pivot to East Asia in order to contain China in 2011 and pushed the Trans Pacific Partnership Arrangement without China in 2015. Under the Trump presidency, the US strategic planners issued the National Security Strategy in 2017 to target China as the US chief economic competitor and chief political rival. Subsequently Trump began in 2018 to denounce China as taking advantage of a two-tiered economy (state and private capitalism), using unfair economic, trade and financial practices and stealing technology from US companies and research laboratories.

Since then, there has been a sharpening of US-China contradictions over economic, trade, technology and security issues. The US wants to cut down China's export surpluses in trade with the US and weaken the Chinese economy and deprive it of the surplus capital to invest globally and dominate the countries covered by the Belt and Road Initiative as well as the South China Sea and the Indo-Pacific maritime route through which some 60 percent of world trade passes.

The US expects to benefit from a new Cold War, this time with China. But it has huge problems in decoupling from China and recovering the concessions and advantages it had given away. And China has the size and the experience in using state planning to counter the US and to hold its ground. But it is sitting on a mountain of bad debts and has been dependent on the trade surplus with the US for a long time. It is more likely that the two imperialist powers would weaken each other, while surely aggravating further the crisis of overproduction and the danger of more wars due to increasing confrontations in the Asia-Pacific region and elsewhere. At any rate, it is important to consider the consequences of the US-China conflicts to the Philippines and other countries of the world.

The US used to claim that with China abandoning the socialist cause and proletarian internationalism and withdrawing support from the revolutionary movements the anti-imperialist, democratic and socialist struggles of the people would wither away. They have not withered away but have resurged at every worsening of the global capitalist crisis. We can learn one major thing from developments since the defeat of the GPCR in 1976 that the increase in number of rival imperialist powers has aggravated the crisis of overproduction and has generated favorable conditions for anti-imperialist struggles and the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution.

## ***II. Importance of the national democratic revolution in the Philippines and relevance to the global anti-imperialist movement***

Now let us focus on the historic and current importance of the national democratic revolution in the Philippines. In the whole of Asia, the Filipino people led by the Katipunan were pioneers in waging the national democratic revolution of the bourgeois liberal type in 1896 and in winning national independence against Spanish colonialism in 1898. We achieved the great historic feat of defeating one Western colonial power impelled by mercantile capitalism but came another Western power to colonize us on the impulse of monopoly capitalism or imperialism.

We valiantly resisted the war of aggression launched by US imperialism, which engaged in the mass murder of at least 250,000 Filipinos to consolidate its positions in Manila and other major cities by 1902 and proceeded to

kill more people up to 1.5 million by 1913. It was through bloody conquest that the US was able to establish a colonial and semifeudal system in the Philippines.

Since 1946, when the US granted nominal independence, the Philippines has become its semicolony run by the political representatives of the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords at the national and lower levels of a puppet government, still under the economic, political, military and cultural dominance of US imperialism.

In the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution, the national democratic revolution in the Philippines has taken a new character, with the proletariat rather than the liberal bourgeoisie taking the lead in the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses of the people against foreign and feudal domination. It seeks the national and social liberation of the people from imperialism and the local exploiting classes and looks forwards to a socialist future.

The immediate demands of the national democratic revolution include the following: full national independence, democracy, social justice, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization, a national, scientific and mass culture; and international solidarity with all peoples for peace and development.

The most powerful forces of the Filipino people in today's national democratic revolution are the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, the millions of people in the revolutionary mass organizations of workers, peasants, indigenous communities, women, youth, professionals and other social sectors (which are in the National Democratic Front of the Philippines) and the greater millions of people under the local organs of political power which constitute the people's democratic government now challenging the reactionary government of big compradors and landlords.

The CPP is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and adheres to the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. From a few scores of members in 1968, it now has tens of thousands of members who are spread nationwide and are deeply rooted among the oppressed and exploited masses of workers and peasants.

The CPP has created and led the New People's Army (NPA), which has thousands of Red fighters in more than 110 guerrilla fronts in 73 out of 81 Philippine provinces. The people's army is augmented by tens of thousands of people's militia members and hundreds of thousands of people in self-defense units of the revolutionary mass organizations, which are different from the legal democratic forces now being red-tagged by the state terrorists and their special agents, like the clerico-fascists and Trotskyites.

The people's army is invincible because it is the weapon of the Filipino people in their just struggle for full national independence, democracy and social justice against the extremely oppressive and exploitative ruling system. Thus, all the strategic operational plans of the US and its puppets have failed to destroy the NPA and the revolutionary mass movement from the time of Marcos to Duterte or from one tyrant to another.

The revolutionary perseverance, resilience and achievements of the Filipino proletariat and people in the national democratic revolution of the new type can be evaluated not only in terms of Philippine history and current circumstances but also in terms of how this revolution has withstood the revisionist betrayal of socialism and restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union and China and the consequent huge ideological, political and economic offensives of the US and all its imperialist and reactionary allies.

With the strategic economic and political partnership of the US and China breaking up, the current Duterte puppet regime tries to serve two conflicting imperialist masters for its selfish benefit. The regime still keeps the treaties, agreements and arrangements that make the US the No. 1 imperialist power dominating the Philippines as its semicolony. The US has condoned the regime's gross and systematic violations of human rights because of its pledge to use all foul means to destroy the armed revolutionary movement of the people and to cause charter change for granting to US corporations unlimited ownership of land, natural resources, public utilities and all types of businesses in the Philippines.

At the same time, the regime receives bribes in connection with high interest loans for overpriced infrastructure projects to be undertaken by Chinese contractors as well as from Chinese criminal syndicates smuggling illegal drugs and other contraband and operating casinos in the Philippines. In exchange, the regime has laid aside the 2016 final judgment of the Permanent Arbitration Court and the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea which uphold the sovereign and maritime rights of the Filipino people over the West Philippine Sea. It abets China in

building and militarizing artificial islands in the Philippine exclusive economic zone and in illegally claiming the marine and mineral resources of the Filipino people.

An absurd situation has arisen in the camps of the reactionary armed forces. The US maintains its military personnel, stockpiles and facilities in these camps under certain military agreements with the reactionary government. At the same time, the regime has allowed China Telecom-DITO to erect cell towers within the same camps. China has also delivered stockpiles of firearms and explosives, which most soldiers in the pro-US military do not like to use and which are being sold to private security agencies and gun runners by corrupt military officers.

It is an interesting question how long and how far can the Duterte regime serve two conflicting imperialist masters without getting squeezed and squashed. The US still considers the Philippines as its reliable base and unsinkable aircraft carrier. But China has now spy towers eavesdropping on US military facilities and it has seven island military bases in the Philippine exclusive economic zone. The US assures the Philippines and other littoral states of Southeast Asia of protection from China's illegal claim of owning 90 percent of the South China Sea. But in this regard Duterte joins China against the ASEAN colleagues of the Philippines.

As the crisis of the world capitalist system now worsens, the national democratic revolution in the Philippines stands out as one of the major torch bearers of the global anti-imperialist movement and the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution. It is a source of light and lessons for all peoples of the world in developing the various forms of anti-imperialist and democratic struggles, especially revolutionary struggle. Thus, US imperialism has licensed the Duterte regime to use every foul means to suppress it.

Long before the spread of COVID-19, the crisis of the world capitalist system has worsened to the point of generating militant anti-imperialist and democratic mass actions of unprecedented magnitude and scale in so many countries, including the industrial capitalist and underdeveloped ones. The people have been agitated by the devastation wrought by the neoliberal policy on their lives, the austerity measures at their expense, the state terrorism and wars of aggression unleashed by the imperialist powers.

Despite the COVID-19 pandemic and the restrictions being undertaken, the people have found ways of waging mass resistance through street actions and the use of the electronic media. In many instances, because of the extreme policies and actions taken by imperialist and reactionary governments, the people have made responses similar to those made by them in pre-pandemic times.

The Filipino people find powerful inspiration and abundant support for their national democratic revolution in the upsurges of anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles abroad and they are doing their best to carry out their own mass struggles not only on Philippine issues but also on issues of concern to other peoples. They have engaged in global days of action as well as forums of various kinds and scales on issues of common concern against imperialism and all reaction.

While the imperialists and the reactionaries persist, they are capable of all sorts of violence and deception. Thus, aside from brazenly using the coercive apparatuses of the state to suppress the people, they launch ultra-reactionary currents and movements in order to cover up the root causes of the basic ills of society and try to mislead some sections of the people against the people. Such currents and movements are those of fascism, racism, chauvinism, communalism, gender discrimination and Islamophobia. These have produced some effect in the election of the despotic type of leader through the electoral system controlled by the exploitative ruling class.

The global anti-imperialist movement must always be alert to the full range of barbarities that the imperialist powers and their puppets commit in the violation of the basic national and democratic rights and fundamental freedoms of the people and in the suppression of the demands, complaints and protests of the people. The crimes against the people range in kind from brutal frontal attacks of state terrorism or aggression to tactics of turning people against each other through methods of deception.

In continuing the national democratic revolution against tremendous odds, including the most brutal forms of suppression, the Filipino people demonstrate their determination, courage and capabilities to fight the imperialists and reactionaries. At the same time, they find common cause with the peoples of the world and seek international solidarity and support from them against imperialism and all reaction.

As the crisis of the world capitalist system is rapidly worsening, there is an urgent need for the people of the world to fight the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation and to stop the plunder and degradation of the environment by monopoly capitalism. The revolutionary strength of the people is also needed to counter and stop the danger of direct world war among the imperialist powers and the attendant danger of a nuclear war of

annihilation. The imperialist powers can be defeated and disarmed by the people in their homelands if their revolutionary mass movement is strong enough to confront and overcome them.



# ***The Filipino People Must Rely on Themselves in the Struggle for National and Social Liberation***

November 9, 2020

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Quite a number of Filipinos, especially those belonging to the conservative opposition, are happy that Trump has been frustrated in his re-election bid and are hopeful that Duterte can likewise be stopped from continuing to rule the Philippines through elections in 2022.

But by all indications, there is no certainty that presidential elections would be held in 2022 in accordance with the 1987 Constitution. Even if such elections would be held, they would be rigged for the benefit of Duterte's presidential proxy. Duterte controls the COMELEC in any vote count for presidential elections or ratification of charter change.

The Duterte scheme of charter change has not been cancelled or withdrawn. To advance the scheme further, there is now the Anti-Terrorism Law by which the Duterte gang can use state terrorism to install a fascist dictatorship under the pretext of charter change. Duterte is still on the path of fascist dictatorship.

Even if presidential elections were to be held in 2022, Duterte will be able to install his daughter Sara or some other presidential proxy because he will be able to rig the elections as he did the 2019 mid-term elections. Because by 2022 all the COMELEC officials shall be his appointees and he shall be able to rig the automated electoral vote count.

Since 2016, Duterte has been given so much leeway by the US under Trump in engaging in gross and systematic human rights violations and in selling out the sovereign rights of the Filipino people over the West Philippine Sea in the course of his playing off China against the US and in enriching himself and his dummies in the process.

It remains to be seen whether the newly elected US president Biden will act in any way different from that of Trump, even only on such matters that concern the conservative opposition most, such as respect for the 1987 Constitution, especially civil and political rights, the end of state terrorism and assertion of sovereign rights over the exclusive economic zone of the Philippines in the West Philippine Sea.

The conservative opposition might, however, try to find out whether Biden is willing to junk Duterte. In all circumstances, the broad masses of the Filipino people must rely on themselves in their own struggle for national and social liberation and must not depend on any illusion that there will be any policy shift in Washington in favor of human rights and democracy.

The bloodthirsty tyrant Duterte has been waging an all-out war against the people since 2016. It has terminated the peace negotiations and has compelled the people to wage armed revolution. Now, it is wildly red-tagging, intimidating and murdering social activists and making it necessary for so many activists of the legal democratic forces to join the armed revolution.

It is the sovereign right of the Filipino people to wage a revolution against an oppressive and exploitative ruling system, aggravated by the tyrannical, traitorous, genocidal and extremely corrupt Duterte regime. They are fortunate to have built a nationwide revolutionary movement that is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants and that is capable of protracted struggle until total victory is won.

***Unite and Fight for National Independence and Democracy against the Duterte Fascist Regime and its Imperialist Masters———Keynote Speech at the Founding Assembly of BAYAN-Europe  
December 12, 2020***

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Dear fellow activists, thank you for inviting me to keynote the founding assembly of Bagong Alyansang Makabayan-Europe (BAYAN-Europe). I congratulate you, especially your elected officials, for this signal event which is based on the prior existence of a leading collective in charge of the prior development of several types of BAYAN organizations in Europe, like the Migrante, Gabriela and Anakbayan.

I salute all of you as the best possible assembly of patriotic and progressive Filipino organizations in Europe, with the most resolute and militant activists who are committed to carry forward the Filipino people's struggle against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism and for national liberation and democracy in the Philippines.

***Guiding principles of BAYAN-Europe***

As an overseas regional chapter of BAYAN-Philippines, you are constitutionally mandated to take up the issues and struggles of Filipinos in Europe on the basis of the struggle for national democracy in the Philippines and you are guided by a clear declaration of principles in order to unite and act in unison on the concrete situation among various sectors of the Filipino community and take up their social concerns in relation to their motherland and to their stay in Europe.

You must uphold the national sovereignty of the Filipino people by asserting national independence and opposing imperialist domination and to unite the people and build their collective strength, anchored on the basic alliance of the workers and peasants as the foundation for establishing the people's democratic state which shall uphold civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

You must contribute what you can in order to build a self-reliant and progressive Philippine economy in repudiation of the imperialist and feudal stranglehold of the economy, carry out national industrialization and genuine land reform and to ensure the people's economic and social well being and thus liberate the people from poverty, raise their standard of living, attain full employment, guarantee adequate and humane working and social conditions and better standards for health, education and housing.

You must stand for a patriotic, scientific and mass-oriented people's culture which seeks to break the colonial, feudal, patriarchal and bourgeois decadent culture that impedes social progress and people's participation in the movement for national and social liberation, to uphold the right to self-determination of the Moro people, the Cordillera people and other national minorities, and support their struggle against national oppression and their right to own and utilize their ancestral lands and other natural resources.

You must fight for women's liberation by destroying the basis of national, class and gender oppression and you must promote the participation of women, principally worker and peasant women, in a women's liberation movement that is vital, distinct and integral to the entire national democratic struggle. You must engage the young men and women and avail of their openness to revolutionary change and their energy to advance the national democratic movement.

You must participate actively in building international solidarity that is anti-imperialist and democratic, develop the closest relations with the workers and other oppressed peoples and with their organizations and movements and engage in mutual support and cooperation in the common struggle against imperialism and all forms of reaction and for just peace and all-round development of all peoples.

***High importance and urgency of theme***

The theme of your assembly is highly important and urgent: "Magkaisa! Labanan ang Pasistang Rehimeng US/China-Duterte! Makibaka Para sa Pambansang Kalayaan at Demokrasya!" This in consonance with your guiding principles and is responsive to the current intolerable suffering and outcry of the broad masses of the Filipino people for national freedom, justice and democracy against the traitorous, tyrannical, genocidal, plundering and swindling Duterte regime.

The Duterte regime is traitorous as it continues to serve the over-all dominance of US imperialism over the

Philippines economically, militarily, politically and culturally. The US tolerates the gross and systematic human rights violations in the Philippines and supplies all the software and hardware for the military suppression of the people's movement for national freedom and democracy in the name of anti-communism and anti-terrorism. It is doubtful whether the presidency of Biden will be different from that of Trump who has openly supported Duterte.

While the US provides crucial support for the state terrorism carried out by Duterte, he has been able to tighten his grip on political power and engage in plunder. At the same time, he also gains privately from selling out to China the sovereign rights of the Filipino people in the West Philippines Sea. He has allowed China to build seven military bases in the exclusive economic zone of the Philippines, gain control over the national power grid and establish cell towers in the camps of the reactionary armed forces. In addition, he benefits from the illegal drug trade, casinos and other operations of Chinese criminal syndicates.

In running a tyrannical and genocidal regime, Duterte is applying the methods of extrajudicially killing tens of thousands of poor people in Oplan Tokhang to the current fascist campaign of rabid anti-communism and state terrorism in the name of anti-terrorism. Social activists, critics, human rights defenders and legal political opponents of the regime are arbitrarily listed as "communist terrorists", publicly tagged, condemned and framed up for arbitrary arrest, torture, extortion and murder with planted firearms and explosives as fake evidence.

Under conditions of the lock-down due to the Covid-19 pandemic, he promised mass testing, adequate health services and economic assistance to the people who would lose their means of livelihood. He has not fulfilled his promise but instead he and his Mafia-like gang have pocketed more than 500 billion pesos. Worst of all, he has railroaded the enactment of the Anti-Terrorism Law in order to realize his scheme of fascist dictatorship even before carrying out charter change and the proclamation of nationwide martial law as Marcos did in 1972.

Even before the pandemic, the crisis of the ruling system, like that of the world capitalist system, had worsened as to generate favorable conditions for anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles. The pandemic has aggravated the crisis. At the end of the third quarter of this year, the growth rate of the Philippines was a negative 11.5 per cent. It is expected to go down further by negative 6 per cent. The Duterte regime has used the emergency powers given to him by the servile Congress to realign government appropriations in order to favor corruption by the high bureaucrats and military officers and funnel more funds for graft-laden military purchases and operations.

But Duterte is overconfident that if his poor health permits he can continue as fascist dictator beyond 2022 or if he is too sick he can pick and install a presidential proxy because he controls Congress, the Supreme Court and the Commission on Elections. Under the current circumstances in the Philippines, the oppression and exploitation of the people will escalate rapidly. And all forms of popular mass struggles will surge up, including legal democratic mass actions and the armed revolutionary movement. There are excellent prospects for the ouster of the Duterte reign of terror and greed, as exemplified by the previous ousters of Marcos and Estrada. And in this regard, BAYAN can play a major role in the broad united front against fascist tyranny.

However, to any extent that Duterte or his proxy can stay in power beyond 2022, the armed revolutionary movement of the people will grow in strength and will play an increasingly important role in the process of overthrowing not only the Duterte regime or its proxy regime but also the entire semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. The struggle of the Filipino people against the Duterte regime coincides with the rising anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles on a global scale against imperialism and all forms of reaction. These provide favorable conditions for the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation.

### ***What BAYAN-Europe can do***

The Filipinos in Europe have their own problems to face in Europe because of the worsening of the world capitalist system and the rise of chauvinist, anti-immigrant, racist and fascist movements. Because of deteriorating economic conditions abroad, hundreds of thousands of Filipino migrant workers have already lost their jobs have returned home, without any support from the reactionary government for their repatriation despite the fact it had fleeced them with all kinds of burdensome fees. The drastic reduction in the foreign exchange remittances of overseas Filipino workers has become a major factor in the negative growth of the Philippine economy.

But while you have problems to face in Europe, these are somehow related with the prior problems of massive unemployment and deteriorating socioeconomic conditions in the Philippines. There is no way we can escape our responsibilities to the Filipino people and our motherland. BAYAN-Europe is correct in describing itself in its own Constitution that it is an integral part of the national democratic movement of the Philippines and its mission and

purpose is to gather the broadest possible moral, political and material support for BAYAN-Philippines and the national democratic struggle of the Filipino people.

You must serve as the regional information and campaign center in Europe for responding to the calls of BAYAN-Philippines and initiating campaigns and activities according to your own conditions and circumstances. You must fight not only for the rights and demands of Filipinos in Europe but also for those of our people in the motherland. You must do what you can to help them overcome their suffering and to help them bring to a new and higher level their movement to oust the Duterte regime and carry forward their national democratic struggle against the unjust ruling system.

In this regard, you must develop solidarity relations among peoples and organizations in Europe. You must make calls for, initiate or join campaigns, alliances and other formations on the basis of international solidarity guided by the principles of equality, mutual respect and mutual support.

You must share experiences and lessons with the host people and other guest peoples in whichever country you are in Europe. In doing so, you must uphold and exercise your fundamental freedoms and democratic rights even as you stay within the bounds of law and democracy in whichever host country you are.

You must pay special attention to the fact that the European Union is one of the few state formations that have followed in 2002 the unjust and unlawful initiative of US imperialism in designating the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and myself as "terrorists" and placing our names in the so-called terrorist list of the EU, despite the fact that the CPP, NPA and I have never engaged in any act of terrorism in any European country or any part of the world. It took me more than seven years of legal struggle before the European Court of Justice in order to have my name removed from the said list.

The names of the CPP and NPA have stayed in the list despite the fact that these are co-belligerents of the Philippine revolutionary government in a civil war under the laws of war and have never engaged in any act of terrorism anywhere in the world. Now, the Duterte fascist regime is using this unjust and unlawful "terrorist" listing to justify state terrorism in the Philippines and to extend his fascist methods of red-tagging, slandering, intimidating and threatening social activists, critics and human rights defenders abroad. You must be vigilant and be ready to frustrate the continuous attempts of the Duterte regime to extend its dirty fascist tactics against Filipinos in Europe.

You must find ways of persuading the European Union through the most respected statesmen, parliamentarians, human rights and peace organizations, parties and other organizations and movements to remove the names of the CPP and NPA from its so-called terrorist list in order to prevent its use in violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms and in order to promote conditions for respecting human rights in the Philippines and resuming the peace process between the GRP and NDFP in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992, the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) and the principles and policies of the EU and the UN.

Since 1992, the NDFP has solemnly and mutually agreed with the GRP to engage in peace negotiations in order to address the roots of the armed conflict in the Philippines through comprehensive and profound social, economic and political reforms. But Duterte has terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations since November 23, 2017 in order to scapegoat the CPP and NPA, concentrate on all-out war and pursue his scheme of fascist dictatorship. Conditions must be promoted and realized for him to stay within the bounds of the constitutional limit of his presidential term and for peace negotiations to be resumed by the NDFP and a new administration of the GRP that respects The Hague Joint Declaration and CARHRIHL.

Long live BAYAN-Europe and all compatriots in Europe!

Long live the national democratic revolution in the Philippines!

Long live BAYAN-Philippines and the Filipino people!

# On Semifeudalism

Questions from Jose Maria Sison School

February 8, 2021

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1. *At present, there are still supporters of Felimon 'Popoy' Lagman's line that the Philippines is capitalist. This argument is in Lagman's 'Semifeudal alibi for protracted war' document that attacked the semicolonial and semifeudal viewpoint. The document states that it is not necessary to have a large working population to be called a capitalist, as in Russia where only 1 percent of the population were workers. What can you say about this?*

JMS: Popoy Lagman and his followers are wrong to assume that the Philippines is industrial capitalist to oppose the real character of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and deviate from the general program of the people's democratic revolution through the strategic line of protracted war and to promote urban insurrectionism.

It is true that the semifeudal economy is capitalist in the sense that the mode of commodity production or exchange of goods for money is already dominant. But the Philippines is not yet industrial capitalist; it is still semifeudal capitalist. The Philippines has not yet produced basic metals and chemicals as well as machine tools. These are still imported, in exchange for exported raw materials and semi-manufactures. On the whole, the economy is still agrarian and pre-industrial.

The ruling classes are big comprador capitalists and landlords, not yet the industrial capitalists. The big compradors are the main agents of foreign monopoly capitalism in finance and trade. Big compradors are also often big landlords because they are the foundation for the production and export of agricultural products and other raw materials. The term semifeudal is more precise than the broader term capitalist. The Philippine economy today is more like the Chinese economy before its revolution than Russia before its revolution.

In Lenin's time, Russia had enclaves of industrial producers of steel, oil, tractors, ships and railways although these enclaves were like small islands in the ocean of feudalism. Industrial capitalism was already emerging in Russia. Of Russia's population of 125 million in 1917, about 26 million belonged to the working class. In conservative estimates, 15 million workers work in factories, construction, mines and railways. Lagman is wrong in saying that only 1 percent were industrial workers.

2. *Do you have an assessment of pseudo-progressive formations in the Philippines, particularly Trotskyite organizations? Currently the narrowest target is the US-Duterte regime. Is there room for alliance with Trotskyite formations even at the tactical level for overthrowing the narrowest target? Or supporting the likes of Popoy Lagman's groupmate Leody De Guzman when he ran for the senate? Or even in pulling on neoliberal attacks such as contractualization? How do we properly deal with these counter-revolutionaries?*

JMS: The Trotskyite themselves say, they have various factions. Study their variations carefully. While any Trotskyite group opposes the Duterte regime, let them speak and act like that but let us be vigilant and always be ready to oppose any of their wrong words and wrong actions. Currently, Trotskyists like Joseph Scalice, John Malvar, World Socialist Web Site and Fourth International are very active in attacking the real communists and revolutionaries in the Philippines.

Trotskyites have the characteristic of being ultra-Left or over-revolutionary to surpass the real communists. They will say that the view of the Philippine economy as semifeudal is obsolete. It is industrial capitalist because of Marcos' export-oriented industrialization policy and especially because of the development of the global supply chain under neoliberalism. Read and critique the writings of Trotskyites about the Philippine economy, from Ricardo Reyes, Walden Bello and Popoy Lagman to Scalice and Malvar. Since the Philippines is said to be industrial capitalist, the line of revolution must be immediately socialist and not go through the new democratic stage.

But the Trotskyites also say that socialism is not possible in one country. They first rely on Trotsky's unlikely permanent revolution and the signal of the anti-communist Fourth International. To put one over the real communists and real revolutionaries in the Philippines, the Trotskyites are claiming that Duterte became president because of the CPP's support for him in the 2016 elections. He is said to be the CPP's enabler. And the alliance with him or peace talks is surrender to him and solidarity with him. Trotskyites have a tendency to sow intrigue in the false hope that they will benefit from that. They are not in the character of communists who correctly and diligently

perform duties in the field of ideology, politics and organization.

3. *In the book Lipunan at Rebolusyong Pilipino, it is clearly stated that the Catholic Church is the most ardent defender of the landlord class. The current Pope Francis has made progressive pronouncements. An article written by the Trotskyite John Malvar titled "Communist Party of the Philippines embraces Catholicism," attacked the statement of Interim NDFP Negotiating Panel Chairperson Julie de Lima by accusing that the Party is not fighting for the interests of the working class but for the bourgeoisie, by further reinforcing the religious beliefs of the masses, and by recognizing the church as a liberating force. His accusation is "It has subordinated the interests of workers to the needs of the Catholic Church. What can you say here? How can the Catholic Church in general and the Pope, who is progressive in particular, be properly treated?"*

JMS: As an institution in Philippine history and current society, the Roman Catholic Church is responsible for being an instrument of colonialism, close to the reactionary state and the exploiting classes and also has the character of a large comprador and landlord. This Church is a major investor in the Bank of the Philippine Islands.

Despite this, the inspiration of Gomburza and the Aglipayans to the Filipino people cannot be discounted. Many priests and nuns participated in the Philippine revolution in the past and in the present. The Christians for National Liberation has been playing a major role in the National Democratic Front of the Philippines in supporting the new democratic revolution, in overthrowing the Marcos fascist dictatorship and upholding human rights and just peace and until now, against Duterte's tyranny.

Beginning in the 1960s, there was a change in the policy of the Catholic Church in accordance with its modern constitution. It promotes ecumenism to dialogue and cooperate with non-believers. Liberation theology had a positive influence on Catholics and other Christians in the Philippines.

The Trotskyite John Malvar is malicious in saying that by praising the good words of Pope Francis and the good deeds of Catholic bishops, priests and nuns and other Christians on human rights and just peace, the CPP has renounced its materialist viewpoint and revolutionary principles and has embraced all the doctrines and actions of the Catholic Church.

This John Malvar is no different from Joseph Scalice in invention and distortion. They do not understand the meaning of broad alliance in the field of politics. They always say that when the CPP allies with other forces, it is resigning its integrity, independence and initiative and it is surrendering to the philosophy, politics and economic interests of its allies. Trotskyites are sectarians. They want to isolate or separate the working class from the broad masses.

4. *Are commodity prices rising sharply, particularly pork prices and does the inflation rate continue to soar in general? What can solve these problems?*

JMS: The first step is to kick Duterte out of power. But this is not enough because there is no guarantee that inflation and corruption will be suppressed within the ruling system. Revolution is needed to change the whole system. The deterioration of agriculture and the stunting of Philippine industry, unemployment, lack of income of the working people and government borrowing inside and outside the country are already too much. Thus, there is inflation because the country lacks production and lacks funds to import necessities, such as rice and meat.

5. *In some rural provinces, the use of production machinery, such as the 'reaper', is said to be more widespread, causing more unemployment among the farm workers because it is said to be used to harvest rice. What can farm workers do to prevent this? In a socialist society, the mechanization of agriculture is important. But in the context of the semi-colonial and semifeudal society, such technologies are even harmful. Will the poor peasantry use technology to its benefit while fighting for genuine land reform?*

JMS: The reaper, tractor and other machinery are imported from abroad. When their use increase, they simply mean that many farm workers will lose their jobs because there is no development of local industry that will absorb the surplus population from the countryside.

As a result, an increasing number of people do not have regular employment in the countryside and in the cities, discontent grows and the desire for revolution also grows. We cannot prohibit the use of agricultural machinery. We must fight the reactionary government for obstructing the Philippines' own industrial development.

Unlike in the socialist system, the mechanization of agriculture is the result of industrialization. And those who are likely to lose their jobs in the countryside due to mechanization, get jobs in the growing industrialization in the socialist economy.

6. Marcos crony Danding Cojuangco has died. What will be the condition of the haciendas he owns and in the matter of the coco levy? Will they have more hope of winning their struggle?

JMS: Danding Cojuangco's more than 25 haciendas and other wealth will only be shared by his heirs. And the coco levy has long been played with by Cojuangco, Duterte, Calida and the Supreme Court. They have devised ways to deny the coco levy fund to the coconut farmers.

7. Duterte has been dubbed the Massacre King. Of all the past presidents, is Duterte the cruelest to peasants?

JMS: Duterte is really a massacre king. He has surpassed Marcos' documented record of more than three thousand killed in his longer reign. Duterte has killed more than 33,000 people suspected as drug suspects and hundreds of workers, peasants, youth, and women activists. This is 11 times more than the number Marcos killed. Due to the alleged anti-terrorist law, Duterte and his armed minions have a license to kill more. I just wonder why until now, there has been little or almost no retribution for monsters, especially the worst of them. But I wouldn't be surprised when eventually there will be massive retribution or justice for their victims.

8. What can you say about Sara Duterte's impending run for the presidency? Duterte has repeatedly announced that he will not allow his daughter to run?

JMS: Duterte is just acting like he doesn't want his daughter Sara to run. He did the same about his running in 2015. Sara herself is also acting like she doesn't want to run but the tarpaulin "Run, Sara, Run" is already flooding streets.

Duterte has not completely relinquished his plan regarding fascist dictatorship through charter change, fake federalism and pseudo-revolutionary government. But he reserves Sara's run for the presidency to maintain his dictatorship and dynasty.

***On the Friend-and-Foe Relationship of Duterte  
and the Legal National Democratic Forces  
in 2016-2017***

**March 6, 2021**

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This longish abstract of the paper, “Friends and Foes: Human Rights, the Philippine Left and Duterte, 2016-2017” by Jayson Lamchek and Emerson Sanchez describes accurately and adequately, in general and in the main, the “friend-and-foe” relationship (dual tactics) between Duterte and the legal national democratic forces (BAYAN and the Makabayan Bloc). It is far superior to the rubbish output of the so-called soc-dems and Trotskyites obsessed with misrepresenting the relationship of Duterte and the CPP in 2016-2017 and holding the CPP responsible for Duterte.

BAYAN as a “friend” to Duterte was such only insofar as it made friendly gestures to encourage him to adopt its people’s agenda and to engage in peace negotiations with the NDFP, without giving up its condemnation of Duterte’s neoliberal economic policy and violations of human rights. There was never a formal alliance between BAYAN and Duterte. The abstract correctly states that BAYAN made its first mass protest against Duterte on the issue of burying Marcos as a hero as early as November 25, 2016 and big street protests on December 10, 2016 against human rights violations.

There was an alliance between the Makabayan Bloc with the pro-Duterte super-majority in the Lower House of Congress. And the abstract correctly points out that said bloc bolted out of the super-majority as early as September 15, 2017 and denounced the Duterte regime as a fascist, pro-imperialist and anti-people government.

In 2016 Duterte wanted to appoint three cabinet members as CPP representatives but the CPP and NDFP told him to appoint them on their own individual merits as legal personalities and not to prejudice the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations by appointing cabinet members as CPP representatives. The abstract falls short of explicitly noticing how the CPP and NDFP frustrated the attempt of Duterte to compromise them with the cabinet appointments.

The abstract abundantly presents the legal and political integrity and autonomy of the legal national democratic forces but sometimes lets the term “Left” cover both the armed people’s democratic revolution led by the CPP and the legal democratic forces and at no instance does it state categorically that the CPP, NPA and NDFP never had an alliance with the Duterte regime. The civil war never stopped despite the temporary reciprocal unilateral ceasefires and the glowing remarks and gestures of the NDFP, the legal democratic forces and the peace advocates to encourage Duterte to engage in peace negotiations with the NDFP.

The best evidence that there was never an alliance between the Duterte regime and the armed revolutionary movement is that there had to be peace negotiations between two parties contending in a civil war, that these negotiations had rough sailing from the beginning because of Duterte’s failure to fulfill his promise to amnesty and release all political prisoners and that Duterte eventually terminated the peace negotiations on November 23, 2017 and went further by designating the CPP and NPA as “terrorist” organizations on December 5, 2017.



# ***Struggle for National Democracy***

## **Initial Questions by Youth for Tribal Filipino**

**September 26, 2021**

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### *1. What is your book about?*

JMS: The principal content of the book is the call on the youth and broad masses to struggle for national independence and democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. I want the Philippine revolution to continue. This is clear in my speech during the establishment of Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth). It gets inspiration from Rizal as a social critic and from Recto as an anti-imperialist.

It refers to the struggles of the youth during the 1960s, especially the mass protests of students, the October 24th Movement, as a result of the struggle against the Manila Summit led by US president Johnson against Vietnam. The calls were focused on organizing groups for mass work and cultural work, going to the communities in the countryside and to the factories to learn from the masses and participate in their struggles. There were messages for different mass organizations after the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

I presented the anatomy of Philippine politics based on its economy and the relations of the exploiting and exploited toiling masses. I presented the national democratic movement and how to be an activist. I stressed the need for national independence and class liberation of the toiling masses. I clarified the need to obliterate US imperialism and implement genuine land reform and national industrialization.

I pointed out the leading role of the working class and importance of the workers movement. I stated that national democracy has a socialist perspective or future. I criticized the mercenary tradition of the reactionary army and sophism of anticommunist Christian Social Movement. I discussed the important role of the cultural revolution and the Second Propaganda Movement suggested by Recto. I encouraged simultaneously the students and groups to mobilize and advance the national democratic movement.

### *2. Is democracy really a government system that we can appropriate and adopt for our societal and cultural make-up? If yes, how can we appropriate and adopt it? If not, what is the compromise, what form of democracy can we use?*

JMS: To know the character of a political system as well as the social and cultural system, you have to know the mode of production at the base of society. The mode of production encompasses the economic classes and their relations. The mode of productions ensures that a certain kind of superstructure of politics and culture is sustained. In the history of mankind, we have had the following forms of society: slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist.

Western historians have misused the political term democracy to refer to the law-making assembly in Athenian slave society, especially when they contrast this assembly with the tyrant who monopolizes law-making through decrees. But the democratic assembly was the gathering of the biggest slave owners and freemen who had slaves on a smaller scale. How can you speak of democracy in the modern sense if the overwhelming majority of people (the slaves, the plebeians, the artisans, the traders and so on) are not represented in any ruling system?

The concept of democracy as a political system which is based on the sovereign will of the entire people and which follows majority rule arose with the liberal democratic revolution of the bourgeoisie against the feudal monarchy in France in the late 18th century. Though few in society but already economically and politically powerful, the bourgeoisie raised the rags of the poor workers and peasants as their banner for mobilizing them against the feudal monarchy. It put forward the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. Liberty, equality and fraternity were the slogans of the French revolution.

In the further development of capitalism and liberal democracy so-called, respect for the freedom of speech and assembly and the evolution of universal suffrage would be considered as democratic equalizers of the exploiting and exploited classes and yet the bourgeoisie in free competition as well as monopoly capitalism would use the basic democratic rights and the electoral process to accumulate power and wealth at the expense of the people and continue the oppression and exploitation of the many by the few. You are well-acquainted with the fake democracy in underdeveloped Philippines and in overdeveloped USA.

It is through the people's democratic revolution in a country like the Philippines and through the proletarian-socialist revolution that real democracy is attained as in China in 1949 and earlier as in Russia in 1917. The

overwhelming majority of the people (workers, peasants and the middle social strata) overthrow the exploiting classes and take power as the sovereign people and build the democratic political system in accordance with an economy and society already freed from the big bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes.

### *3. What is the difference between SocDems and NatDems?*

JMS: In the Philippines, those who call themselves social-democrats are really not like those in Western Europe. They are more like the fascists of Italy and the anti-communist Christian democrats of Italy after World War II. Even if they mouth the slogan of democratic socialism, their main interest is to advocate anti-communism and denounce the people's democratic revolution and they thereby seek to perpetuate the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. They capitalize on their links to the dominant Catholic Church in order to seek the suppression of the revolution and rise politically within the ruling system. Thus, we have called them the clerico-fascists.

Before World War II, some American Jesuits and Spanish Dominican friars extolled the fascist rebellion of Franco against the Spanish republic and the communists in Spain in the years of the Civil War from 1936 to 1939. Thus, a number of students would be influenced. The influence would be passed on to students like Manuel Manahan and Raul Manglapus after World War II. They tried to benefit from the anti-communism of the Cold War and the campaign to suppress the revolutionary movement that had arisen in the struggle against the Japanese Occupation.

Walter Hogan, an American Jesuit, established the Institute of Social Order, promoted anti-communist labor and peasant organizations to take the place of those genuine labor and peasant organizations suppressed by the military in the anticommunist crackdown of 1949 to 1957. Manahan and Manglapus became political assets of the CIA operative Col. Edward Lansdale to support the anti-communist Ramon Magsaysay in faking land reform and other kinds of reforms to seize the initiative from the revolutionaries and mislead the people.

In the 1950s the University of the Philippines became a political battleground between the defenders of academic freedom and the principle of separation of church and state against Fr. John Delaney, S.J. and other religious-sectarians in the UP administration who were trying to use the UP Student Catholic Action in their favor. As the struggle between the Left and the Right intensified in the 1960s, Manglapus would raise the slogan of Christian socialism and tried to organize the Christian Social Movement against the resurgent national democratic movement.

Subsequently, Fr. Romeo Intengan and Norberto Gonzalez would emerge in the late 1960s and organize the Philippine Democratic Socialist Party as the extreme Right wing of the so-called socdems. They are undeniably clerico-fascists as they have been instrumental in forming anti-communist groups within in the military and police and waging anti-communist actions in collaboration with generals like Hermogenes Esperon during the Arroyo and Duterte regimes. Norberto Gonzalez became the national security adviser and defense secretary during the Arroyo regime.

The national democratic movement is diametrically opposed to the socdems. It is for the class leadership of the working class in continuing the unfinished Philippine revolution on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and the broad alliance of all patriotic and democratic classes and forces. It is for the national and social liberation of the Filipino people from US imperialism or any other imperialist power and from the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrats.

It is for the establishment of a people's democratic republic and not a theocratic state as some of the worst socdems suggest. The democratic republic must be a secular state and give full play to the democratic rights of the people, develop the economy through genuine land reform and national industrialization, advance a national, scientific and mass-oriented culture and adopt an independent foreign policy of solidarity of all peoples and countries for peace and development against US imperialism and all reaction.

### *4. Aside from AOM, how could we advance the national democratic movement to those whose viewpoint are still backward?*

JMS: The broad masses of the people are daily exposed to the social and economic controls, propaganda and the threat of surveillance and suppression by the political and military agents of the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. It is not surprising if large sections of the exploited people behave and talk like the exploiting classes before the national democratic movement can reach them. Those youth who come from upper and middle classes absorb the pro-imperialist and reactionary ideas from the reactionary educational system.

There is no other way to raise the level of political consciousness and militancy of the broad masses of the

people but for the supposedly ideologically advanced to engage in AOM. To arouse the people is to inform and educate them through study meetings about their own national and democratic rights and interests. To organize them is to encourage them to form class and sectoral organizations and alliances along the national democratic line. To mobilize them is to engage in campaigns of protest actions and constructive actions on the immediate and long running issues pertaining to national independence and democracy.

The cadres of the Communist Party of the Philippines would be useless with their book learning and theoretical studies if they did not apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the concrete conditions of the Philippines, propagate the general line of new democratic revolution and engage in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people. In the course of AOM, you will notice the emergence and development of the advanced, middle and backward sections of the masses.

From the advanced section of the masses who are organized, you can recruit and develop the cadres of the revolutionary party of the proletariat and leaders of the mass movement. The advanced section must see to it that it wins over the middle section of the masses through alliance work and exert all efforts to keep on effectively developing both the middle and backward sections of the masses. You find them together in the same meetings, organizations and communities. The cadres and advanced activists must simply do their best in carrying out mass education and mass work among the masses.

*5. How could the broad understanding of national democracy reach the masses?*

JMS: Let us assume that there are revolutionary cadres and advanced mass activists who have a comprehensive and profound knowledge of the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. They should not just throw around jargons and alienate themselves from the masses. But they should learn to apply theory to practice. They should know concrete conditions and should be able to discuss issues, problems and possible solutions with the masses in everyday language can be very well understood.

There should be a national democratic program of action that is understandable to the masses because it clarifies their problems and offers feasible solutions. It can thus be easily promoted and propagated by every mass organization or alliance. This program can be elaborated upon by further study of the situation and by doing mass work in order to learn from the masses what are their conditions, needs and demands. It is good to learn from accumulated knowledge in books and old documents as well to learn from new experiences and interrelations with the masses.

*6. How can we advance democracy in the country when our movements are limited due to the lock-downs in the time of the pandemic?*

JMS: The number of the military, police and paramilitary is small to be able to control the 110 million Filipino people. They will not be able to control more than 10 percent of the people every day. Especially in the countryside, people are still relatively free to move around the neighborhoods, communities and barrios. Even in the cities, there is still relative freedom. It is easy to spot and avoid the checkpoints. What prevents action is fear or the climate of fear because of the closure of many establishments.

But it is still possible to hold small meetings and study groups, launch webinars and propaganda on social media, gather at a few public places (streets, parks, etc.), paint graffiti or wall slogans and launch lightning protest actions and noise barrage. In other countries today, the masses are pouring into the streets against the restrictions and violations of democratic rights. We must be prepared for the possibility that Duterte will make excuses for not going ahead with the elections and that he will remain a tyrant and a dictator. If that happens, a great number of people should immediately rally and pour into the streets.

*7. What was your point in your speech "The Youth are Advancing" during that time? Does it still hold true today despite clearly small participation of the youth in the mobilizations on social issues?*

JMS: When I wrote Youth on the March in 1968, the youth and toiling masses in the Philippines and in the world were rising up. The youth were inspired by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The level of activism and militancy of the masses rose to the strikes of drivers, workers and students in 1969. It continued to the First Quarter Storm of 1970, Diliman Commune of 1971 and other actions until the declaration of martial law. The armed revolution further advanced during martial and the fascism of the dictator Marcos despite his suppression of legal organizations and protest actions against him.

Even early on, in 1974, Marcos could not stop the La Tondeña strike and the outbreak of 300 strikes nationwide. In 1976, the students demanded the return of student governments. Major movements of workers, students,

peasant, women and other formations were already being established since 1980. From 1983 to 1986, the mass protests were tremendously growing until Marcos was overthrown in 1986. Even his military was split.

The crisis of a semicolonial and semifeudal system is more severe. The Filipino masses are indignant against poverty and the huge crimes of the treasonous, tyrannical, mass murderer, plunderer and swindler Duterte. The situation is favorable for the advance of the national democratic movement. Simultaneously, there is also the crisis of the global capitalist system and the growing worldwide anti-imperialist and democratic struggle of the people.

*8. With the intensifying economic crisis in the Philippines and other countries under the sphere of US imperialism, what are the actions to be taken to strengthen the movement for economic independence against US imperialism?*

JMS: The workers unions and the organizations of peasants and national minorities, whose majority are peasants, must be strengthened and mobilized. These must be supported by student organizations. There must be a basic alliance among the toiling masses and this should be the basis of a broad united front of patriotic and democratic forces.

Genuine land reform and national industrialization, and immediate needs of the poor, such as jobs, health services, housing and education, must be fought for. There must be genuine and large-scale economic development, alleviation of widespread poverty, solution to the problem of huge unemployment and low income in the face of the rising prices of basic commodities.

***October 2, 2021***

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Dear colleagues and friends, I wish to thank the leading committee and member-organizations of the Philippine chapter of the International League of Peoples' Struggle for inviting me to be one of the speakers in the third part of the educational webinar series on the national democratic struggle in the Philippines. I agree with the declared objectives of the webinar series.

The first part on September 11 was on understanding the roots of the crisis of semicolonial and semifeudal Philippines and the second part on September 25 was on imperialism in a multipolar world: where does the Philippines stand? Today, the third part is on the Filipino peoples' struggle for national and social liberation, development, and lasting peace.

I am assigned to discuss the short-term and long-term prospects of the national and social liberation movement in the Philippines. I propose that two-thirds of my speech are on the prospects. But I shall use the first one-third of the speech to discuss the current conditions that favor the struggle for national and social liberation to lay the basis for the prognosis.

***1. Current conditions that favor the struggle for national and social liberation***

The persistent semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, which is dominated by foreign monopoly capitalism and directly run by the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists, is in ever worsening chronic crisis. The escalating conditions of exploitation and oppression drive the people to assert and fight for their national and democratic rights and interests.

Since the end of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the revolutionary forces and people led by the Communist Party have been willing to engage in peace negotiations in order to confront the basic problems of the Filipino people, such as imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, which are the roots of the civil war, and to work out comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms as the basis for a just and lasting peace between the belligerent forces.

But under every post-Marcos regime, the ruling reactionaries followed the pattern of pretending to be for peace negotiations and eventually bowing to US imperialism and the pro-US reactionary armed forces as objectors to the further progress of the peace negotiations. The Ramos regime seemed to be truly interested in the peace negotiations because it agreed to The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 as the basic framework of peace negotiations and several other major agreements but failed to sign the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law, already initialed in 1996 by the GRP and NDFP negotiating panels.

The worst of the post-Marcos regimes is the current one of Duterte after promising in the 2016 presidential elections that he would amnesty all political prisoners and negotiate a peace agreement. But in less than a year, it became evident that he was out to sabotage and terminate the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations in order to scapegoat the CPP and the NPA and use state terrorism in the style of Marcos to pursue his own ambition of fascist dictatorship.

He continued Aquino's Oplan Bayanihan until he adopted his own Oplan Kapayapaan in January 2017. On May 23, 2017, he included the CPP and NPA as targets of martial rule in Mindanao. On November 23, 2017 he formally terminated the peace negotiations. On December 5, 2017 he designated the CPP and NPA as "terrorist organizations". He launched focused military operations against the revolutionary forces and mass base in certain regions. And on December 4, 2018 he created the National Task Force-ELCAC to red-tag social activists, peace advocates, human rights defenders and target them for abduction, torture and murder. He applied against them the same brutal methods applied in the bogus war on drugs.

Since then, the Duterte regime has increasingly manifested its character as traitorous, tyrannical, addicted to extrajudicial killings and obsessed with plunder. He has acted as the puppet to US imperialism in order to obtain advice and weapons for the armed counterrevolution as well as to Chinese imperialism in order to sell out Philippine sovereign and maritime rights over the West Philippines Sea and to seek personal benefit from lopsided loan agreements and construction and supply contracts and from the smuggling out of mineral ores to China and smuggling in of illegal drugs, rice and other commodities and from gambling operations and human trafficking by

Chinese criminal syndicates.

Under the brutal and corrupt Duterte regime, the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions have become far worse than ever before. The exploitation and oppression of the toiling masses of workers and peasants have escalated as never before. Unemployment, low incomes, destruction of livelihoods and mass poverty are rampant while inflation is raging. When Duterte became president in 2016, the public debt was ₱5.9 trillion incurred by all previous governments since 1902. Now, it is ₱11.6 trillion and will be more than ₱13 trillion next year, more than double in one presidential term of six years.

Under the neoliberal policy, the regime has wasted limited resources and rising local and public debt through unbridled bureaucratic corruption and profligacy, military overspending at the expense of social services (education, health and so on), depressed production in agriculture and manufacturing in favor of the big compradors and their foreign principals, debt-fuelled and import-dependent consumption and rising debt burden due to huge budgetary and trade deficits. The debt bubble is unsustainable and about to burst.

The global crisis that began with the 2008 financial meltdown was, by end of 2019, again taking a steep fall when Covid-19 began to spread worldwide, pushing more than one-third of all countries to go into general lock-downs. These served to ensure what is widely perceived as the start of a Great Depression even worse than that of 1929 onward. The Philippines, being heavily dependent on the global capitalist system, is now drowning in a tsunami of collapsing international trade and supply chains, capital flows, and labor markets. By early 2020, the country began to feel the impacts of this global tsunami in terms of the sudden drying up of overseas jobs and tourist arrivals.

The chronic crisis of the ruling system was already rapidly worsening when the Covid-19 pandemic hit the country in early 2020 due to the regime's earlier decision in November 2019 to continue the influx of tourists, especially half a million Chinese tourists and casino players. Duterte has taken advantage of the pandemic by pressing Congress to give additional emergency powers to the executive, especially to his narrow militarist clique masquerading as an "inter-agency task force against emerging infectious diseases" (IATF-EID).

He then used these powers to short-circuit regular governmental processes, tightly control people's movements and other civil rights through lock-downs, realign already budgeted funds supposedly for mass testing, medical treatment and economic assistance to the people severely affected by the lock-downs, and then siphon massive amounts of funds in tens and hundreds of billions of pesos into his own pocket and those of his gang-mates by overpricing and faking purchases of supplies. This hijacking of public funds and loans surpasses any robbery done previously in the history of puppet presidents.

Duterte has also used the pandemic and the extreme lock-down restrictions to railroad the Anti-Terror Act of 2020 which is a license for state terrorism. This is a key move in his scheme to realize a fascist dictatorship. And the retired and active generals he has been corrupting and using to promote fascism and militarize the civilian departments and agencies of the reactionary government are happy to have a law of state terrorism in order to commit atrocities freely against the people and steal from them larger amounts of public money under such pretexts as Enhanced-Comprehensive Local Integration Program, Community Support Project and Barangay Development Program.

They have the notion that they can defeat the revolutionary movement of the people by blaming it for the underdevelopment, mass poverty, oppression and exploitation done by the imperialists and exploiting classes, by offering palliatives and false promises of development, by unleashing state terrorism and military campaigns of suppression and by facilitating land grabbing by bureaucrat capitalists and domestic and foreign owners of logging, mining and plantation companies. But the reactionary armed forces, police and paramilitary units are never enough to terrorize and control the 111 million Filipino people and the highly motivated revolutionary forces, especially the people's army that is skillfully waging the people's war.

Duterte and his armed minions boast from month to month that they can totally destroy the revolutionary movement of the people by using these programs in combination with focused military operations. But in fact, they steal most of the funds by faking lists of NPA surrenderers and death casualties, faking intelligence, psy-war and combat operations and by faking community development projects. The open rule of terror, as previously exercised by Marcos from 1972 to 1986, failed to destroy the armed revolution and only succeeded in generating the conditions for its nationwide expansion, especially among the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the intelligentsia. The Marcos path of state terrorism is the same path of failure that Duterte has taken.

There is no way that the Duterte regime can destroy the revolutionary movement. The rapidly worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation are driving the people to carry out various forms of struggle for national and social liberation in both cities and the countryside. The legal forms of mass struggles in the cities have been irrepressible. And the rural-based armed revolution is even far more difficult to suppress because the CPP and NPA are using the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war to carry out the people's democratic revolution.

In both cities and countryside, there is no way for the enemy to stop the time-tested processes of recruiting, training and deploying people as cadres and members of the CPP, NPA, the mass organizations, alliances and local organs of people's democratic power. The enemy will have to kill so many non-communists before it can kill one communist. The indiscriminate abductions and murders being done by the enemy are futile and have succeeded only to goad the revolutionary forces to increase their ranks from the millions of oppressed and exploited masses.

Enemies and detractors of the people's democratic revolution led by the CPP have maliciously claimed that it is already a proven futile project by failing to seize political power in Manila during the last 52 years. We must recognize that the CPP has scored a great achievement in defeating so many campaigns to destroy it and has succeeded in building itself, the NPA, revolutionary mass organizations, alliances and the local organs of political power constituting the people's democratic government on a nationwide scale in an archipelago, on a self-reliant basis and without the advantages of cross-border connection with any socialist bulwark that the Chinese and Indochinese revolutionaries had during and after World War II.

## ***II. Short-term prospects of struggle related to the 2022 presidential elections***

We can be certain that the Duterte regime will not be able to destroy the armed revolutionary movement before the 2022 presidential elections. But it keeps on drumming up the psy-war line that it will be able to do so before the end of 2021 or 2022 to try to deceive the people and persuade the US to support the continuance of Duterte's power through a stooge. We are certain that the social, economic and political crisis of the ruling system will deteriorate faster than ever before, will rouse the broad masses of the people and the organized forces of the national democratic movement and the conservative opposition to intensify mass protests and will isolate the Duterte regime.

The more notorious Duterte has become due to his grave crimes and the grave deterioration of the economic and social conditions, the more he is touted as extremely popular by paid poll survey firms, radio broadcasts, troll armies in social media and many local and foreign corporate mass media. This phenomenon is the result of the fear factor and deference to authority not only among the deprived and insecure masses but also among members of the exploiting classes who are protective of their interests and are afraid of Duterte's vindictiveness. But as in the time of Marcos from 1982 to 1986, the reality of the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation and the rapid discredit and isolation of Duterte is increasingly crying out louder than the propaganda churned out by his regime and his agents.

Right now, the Duterte ruling clique is the target of public outrage and mass struggles because of its betrayal of the people by personally profiting from relations with the Chinese state and criminal triads, the rampancy of illegal drugs under the dominance of the Duterte crime family, the unprecedented high proportions of plunder by Duterte, his business cronies and favorite generals before and during Covid-19, his notorious alliance with his predecessors in plunder (Marcos, Arroyo and others), widespread corruption among the high bureaucrats and military officials and the extrajudicial killings and other atrocities perpetrated in the bogus war on drugs and in the armed counterrevolution.

The Duterte policy and campaigns of state terrorism, characterized by abductions, torture and mass murders, takeover of civilian functions by the reactionary armed forces and widespread daily acts of systematic abuse against the masses in the guise of "strict enforcement of health protocols" are inflicting intolerable suffering on the people, driving them to join the various forms of resistance and impelling some of the people who have relatives in the reactionary military, police and paramilitary forces to turn against the Duterte ruling clique as the chief oppressor and exploiter of the people. Even among the armed minions of the Duterte regime, there is a system of favoritism, corruption and bullying at the expense of the lower officers and enlisted personnel.

There are manifestations of the structure of Duterte loyalists cracking up at a faster rate even if for a while Duterte tried to use his propaganda machinery to conjure the illusion that he is immune to the usual phenomenon of a sitting president becoming a lame duck in his last year and his blessing for his chosen successor is a kiss of

death. He rigged the 2019 mid-term elections to gain control of both houses of Congress and to strengthen his clique's hold on local governments.

But in the Senate some of his key apologists in the recent past are now active in exposing the extreme cases of corruption in which Duterte and his cronies are directly involved. Certain governors and mayors have also become bolder in their own assertions of local authority against the worst of Duterte's arbitrary impositions. Whether related or not to their own plans in the approaching 2022 elections, these are clear-cut signals to the electorate and the opposition that they have begun to be more vocal in their own anti-Duterte criticism and to distance themselves from his narrow clique.

It is a source of widespread speculation whether the current exposés in the Senate of Duterte's corruption and cronyism, the intensified campaign of religious leaders to denounce his crimes, the growing clamor among certain business groups against Duterte's extreme favoritism and arbitrary impositions amid the bankrupt economy and the decision of the International Criminal Court to investigate the extrajudicial killings in the bogus war on drugs are definite indications that major domestic and international forces which he used to ignore or make fun of are now determined to junk him as an intolerable liability to the entire ruling system.

Many people are still wondering why there are yet no clear signals from the US authorities that they cannot take the risk of letting Duterte continue his rule through his daughter or another stooge and allow China to acquire more advantages in the Philippines. And there is yet no sustained campaign by retired generals to expose Duterte's crimes and prepare the active disgruntled officers of the reactionary armed forces and police to express their rejection of a commander-in-chief who has betrayed their trust.

In contrast, China, the Chinese cronies directly around Duterte and the Chinese criminal triads in the business of casinos and smuggling continue to support Duterte for their own purposes. The biggest gains made by China under the Duterte regime include its successful building of artificial islands as military bases in the West Philippine Sea, control of its marine and mineral resources worth so many trillions of dollars, control of the national power grid, insertion of cell towers in AFP military camps and smuggling out of mineral ores from open pit mines all over the archipelago. China and Chinese private interests can easily put their money on the Duterte slate in the forthcoming 2022 elections.

In the meantime, the Duterte ruling clique appears to be confident of retaining US support if only because Duterte is still useful in the bloody counterrevolution. It still appears that he can continue to use to his advantage his incumbency as president, the bureaucracy and the military machinery, the relentless flow of his press releases to the corporate media and black propaganda campaigns of his troll army. And most important of all, with regard to the 2022 presidential elections, there is yet no visible counter to his complete control of the COMELEC and TIM-Smartmatic. Not even a Namfrel-type of independent body with a mass-based network has arisen, with legal authority to mirror instantly the COMELEC vote count from the precinct level upward.

The 1Sambayan has already taken the initiative to put forward the line that there must be one presidential candidate to challenge the candidate put up by the Duterte dynasty and thus facilitate the electoral victory of the opposition candidate (like Cory Aquino in 1986 against Marcos) and generate a mass uprising to topple the fake victory of the Duterte candidate. Indeed, if there would be three or more presidential candidates, it would be easier for the beneficiary of Duterte's rigging the 2022 presidential elections to claim that the opposition lost because it had split its votes.

It is widely presumed that Duterte is confident of being able to rig the 2022 presidential elections and does not have to take the high risk of proclaiming a "revolutionary government", even though some of those who were his previous sycophants in Congress have become disgruntled or have been rejected by him. Nevertheless, all patriotic and democratic forces must be vigilant and be ready to fight any attempt of Duterte to impose a fascist dictatorship through the proclamation martial law nationwide and the use of the ATA to carry out mass arrests and mass murders.

According to sources close to Duterte, he retains the option of either rigging the 2022 presidential elections or proclaiming nationwide martial law in order to retain power and prevent his arrest either by order of the International Criminal Court for the extrajudicial killings in the bogus war on drugs, the Philippine courts for charges of corruption now being exposed in the Senate or the people's court of the people's revolutionary government for all the grave crimes that he has committed. He is uncertain whether he can escape to China or any other country in order to avoid arrest.



The imminent possibility of a prolonged Covid-19 pandemic and failures in the mass vaccination strategy, a new financial meltdown, or major outbreaks of social unrest, have their own dynamic which could greatly impact the short-term political and socioeconomic conditions in the Philippines. This may include changed priority levels that the US and China (as two imperialist powers with major Philippine stakes) may give to the 2022 presidential elections.

For instance, should the Covid emergency in the country extend to the 2022 election period, the incumbent Duterte regime and its candidates will definitely take advantage of their power to rig the vote count from the precinct level to the national level. They can use their authority to impose local lock-downs, restrictions on mass gatherings, relief aid and vaccine deliveries as carrot and stick, control of media airtime, special COMELEC and police powers, and so on.

In any case, the national democratic movement and the conservative opposition are obliged to form a broad united front against the Duterte ruling clique to denounce its gross and systematic crimes against the people and to prepare against the immediate prospect of Duterte's rigging of the 2022 presidential elections. Such a broad united front can allow the national democratic mass movement to continue calling for the ouster of the Duterte regime. The possibility of ouster can gain reality only when Duterte loses control of his own reactionary armed forces and police as Marcos did in 1986 and Estrada in 2001.

It is not an idle exercise in futility for the national democratic movement to keep on calling for the ouster of the Duterte regime. The call can help to intensify the people's hatred for the crimes of the Duterte regime and to step up the efforts of the broad popular movement to oust Duterte. Without such call, the possibility of ouster before or after the presidential elections is given up in advance.

Such a call of the national democratic movement and the broad united front must result in large and sustained mass struggles of the workers, peasants, and other progressive sectors in their millions on a nationwide scale. It can also be inspiring to the people in their revolutionary armed struggle for national and social liberation.

In the coming years from 2022 to 2028, if it is necessary for the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces to wage the armed revolution, they will have excellent conditions and opportunities for bringing about the maturation of the advanced phase of the stage of strategic defensive in the people's war and the beginnings of the strategic stalemate in certain provinces and regions. We are assuming that despite current enemy campaigns of suppression the CPP and NPA will further excel at carrying out the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever growing and deepening mass base and that the crisis of both the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system will continue to worsen.

### ***III. Long-term prospects of the people's democratic revolution with socialist perspective***

If the Duterte ruling clique continues to rule the people by rigging the 2022 presidential elections, the patriotic and democratic forces must arouse, organize and mobilize the people to rise up to topple the usurper of power in the same manner as Marcos was removed from power in 1986. If that were not immediately possible, then the people have to proceed to continue the struggle for some longer time, even if only to oust the fake president.

We must recall that the 1986 snap elections and people's uprising were preceded by more than two years of gigantic and sustained nationwide mass campaigns, united front developments, such as JAJA, CORD, NAJFD and the people's congresses (BAYAN and KOMPIL), and major street mobilizations with peak strength in the hundreds of thousands of participants in major cities, from the 1983 Aquino assassination onward.

The extension of the power of the Duterte ruling clique cannot last very long because Duterte has already bankrupted the economy and the reactionary government and the broad masses of the people cannot tolerate for a long while a ruling clique that is extremely detestable because of its crimes of treason, tyranny, mass murder, plunder and swindling. The longer such a clique remains in power, the faster will all forms of revolutionary struggle develop and advance against the entire ruling system.

If an opposition presidential candidate wins, it is possible that he or she will stand or pose for a while as the patriotic and democratic opposite of Duterte and will probably offer the resumption of peace negotiations to the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. Such a new president has to come on top of the crisis that the Duterte ruling clique has so extremely aggravated. And there is the need for the broadest possible national unity to address the roots of the armed conflict and achieve a just and lasting peace. In this case, the peace negotiations can be resumed by reaffirming all previous agreements and improving the safety and immunity guarantees for the negotiators, consultants, resource persons and staff of the two negotiating panels.

But it is also possible for the winning opposition candidate to accept the dictates of US imperialism and pro-US military officers to continue the campaign of Duterte to destroy the revolutionary movement or to pretend to engage in peace negotiations but only to seek the capitulation of the revolutionary movement. The Filipino people and the revolutionary forces must therefore be ready to continue the revolutionary armed struggle without any let-up. If there are peace negotiations but the reactionary government turns out to have no serious interest in attaining a just peace, then the NDFP can disengage anytime from such a waste of time.

The recrudescence of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in the form of the Duterte state terrorism with worse forms of mass murder and corruption proves the decadent and moribund character of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. There may be regimes that pose as bourgeois democratic, like the ones from Aquino the mother to Aquino the son, but they will continue to perpetuate the daily violence of exploitation and military campaigns of suppression against the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the revolution. The compelling reasons for the revolutionary movement will continue.

The multiplication of guerrilla platoons and companies and increase of guerrilla fronts on a nationwide scale and the continuance of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare will characterize the strategic defensive stage of the people's war from the middle phase to the maturation of the advanced phase. The platoons will continue to develop localized stalemates with the local police forces in many towns and the viability of organic companies in many guerrilla fronts in many provinces and regions will indicate the advance towards the stage of the strategic stalemate. The further advance from the strategic stalemate to the strategic offensive will be relatively fast but it is too early to dwell on it now in this webinar.

The enemy will continue to be unable to stop the expansion and consolidation of the CPP, the NPA, the revolutionary mass organizations, alliances and the local organs of democratic political power. The CPP will expand and consolidate its ranks in both cities and countryside. The NPA will develop its forces in the guerrilla fronts and expand towards the urban areas. The revolutionary mass organizations will expand and consolidate even faster than the CPP and NPA. The alliances will expand their constituents and influence. And the local organs of democratic power will multiply at the grass roots and will develop to higher levels of self-government.

The conditions for the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war will become more favorable. Within the Philippines, the reactionary state will become more unable to control the various armed organizations of the Moro people and other national minorities whose continuing struggle shall benefit from the advance of the revolutionary forces led by the CPP. The latter will in turn benefit from the advance of the armed struggle of the national minorities.

The people's democratic revolution shall be basically completed upon the seizure of political power and the establishment of the people's democratic republic under the leadership of the CPP and the proletariat. This shall mark the start of the socialist revolution, with all the transitory measures. The national united front shall be maintained and further developed to ensure the fulfillment of the remaining tasks of the new democratic revolution and the success of socialist revolution and construction.

The commanding heights of the economy shall be socialized. Land reform shall be completed and agricultural cooperatives will advance from one level to a higher one. National industrialization shall be carried out by the socialist state and the patriotic sectors. A national, scientific and mass culture shall thrive. Foreign relations shall be based on independence, friendship, equality and cooperation and shall serve the purpose of development and peace against imperialism and all reaction.

The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system will aggravate the crisis of the domestic ruling system. And the advance of revolutionary movements and anti-imperialist and socialist states abroad will favor the advance of the Philippine revolution. At the same time, the Philippine revolution will contribute to the advance of the revolutionary movements and anti-imperialist and socialist states abroad.

It is of particular significance for those who are interested in the Philippine revolution's medium-term and long-term prospects to analyze and monitor more closely the frequent convulsions of the global capitalist crises, the worldwide resurgence of the anti-imperialist and democratic movements and the fast-worsening rivalries among the imperialist powers, especially between the US and China.

The Philippines and neighboring countries in Southeast Asia lie in a long "belt of flash points" in the worsening US-China rivalry, and every major tremor in this region may produce twists and turns in the country's socioeconomic and political situation, including possible realignments among the factions of the exploiting classes.

Such developments will provide the Philippine national democratic movement with more opportunities for it to advance solidarity work and participate in a broad united front along the anti-imperialist and democratic line.

The international relations of the Philippine revolutionary movement adhere to the principle of proletarian internationalism among the communist and workers' parties, the international solidarity of peoples and the international united front of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces. In the course of the people's democratic revolution, the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people develop mutual understanding and cooperation with corresponding forces abroad. Such relations shall develop further in the course of socialist revolution and construction.

# ***It Is True that Isko Moreno Is not a Communist***

**Press Statement, October 14, 2021**

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The claim against Isko Moreno that he is a communist is a brazen lie by the propaganda agents of some of his political rivals. It is unfair and unjust to both Isko who denies being a communist and the Communist Party of the Philippines which has a high ideological, political and organizational standard for membership.

Isko does not become a Communist by merely having a photo-op with me in the course of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. I had such photo-ops with other GRP officials. When Duterte has a photo-op with Mocha Uson, it cannot be interpreted that they are partners in bed because in the first place Duterte is often seen as having difficulty standing erect.

Let us respect Isko's declaration that he is not a communist because in the first place he is not qualified to be one. We should look at him as a high bureaucrat capitalist dedicated to preserving the present anti-national and anti-democratic ruling system and serving the exploitative interests of foreign monopolists, big compradors and landlords, unless he becomes enlightened and proves himself otherwise.

As of now, Isko is far beyond the integrity, calibre and dignity of the great anti-imperialist patriots and democrats like Claro Mayo Recto, Lorenzo Tañada and Jose W. Diokno who upheld their patriotic and progressive principles and who did not have to attack the Communist Party to prove that they were not communists.

Communism is not the issue now in the Philippines. It is not even socialism. The Philippines cannot become socialist because the Filipino people have not yet succeeded in achieving full national independence and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The quality of the current presidential candidates can be determined by how much they expose and oppose the Duterte regime's crimes of treason, tyranny, state terrorism, mass murder and plunder; and the rapid deterioration and worsening of the socio-economic, political and health crisis as a result of wrong policies, bureaucratic corruption, military overspending and other anti-people transgressions.

Moreover, the presidential candidates must present what is their program of government. The broad masses of the people demand full national independence, genuine democracy, social justice, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization, expansion of social services, a national, scientific and mass-oriented culture and independent foreign policy.

Red-tagging progressive and patriotic organizations and individuals as communists or terrorists will not deflect the people's attention from the grave crimes and anti-people policies of the Duterte regime. The campaign of red-tagging and worse forms of anti-communism and state terrorism is being carried out to enable the tyrant Duterte to rig the 2022 presidential elections or even postpone these as Marcos did when in 1972 he declared nationwide martial law.

At any rate, it would be beneficial to the people if there is an effective broad united front of legal patriotic and democratic forces to counter the Duterte regime's scheme of rigging the 2022 elections or even postponing these indefinitely. If the regime commits fraud and terrorism in the elections or calls off the elections, the broad masses of the people will rise up more quickly and successfully than ever before.

The Filipino people are already fed up with the many grave crimes of the Duterte regime, the bankruptcy of the government and economy, the high rate of unemployment, mass poverty and inflation. They are eager for revolutionary change.

And they have the revolutionary forces to rely on, such as the revolutionary party of the proletariat, a people's army, revolutionary mass organizations, alliances and the local organs of political power that constitutes the people's democratic government.

# ***Whichever Presidential and Other Candidates Win, Conditions Will Worsen and Favor the Revolution***

October 16, 2021

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Like all previous electoral exercises staged within the framework of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, the 2022 elections administered by the Duterte regime are intended to conjure the illusion that the people are democratically choosing their own political leaders from among agents of the foreign monopoly capitalists and the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats.

The contest for the presidential and vice presidential positions is definitely one among bureaucrat capitalists who are demagogic agents of foreign business interests and local exploiting classes. All of the top presidential candidates are long time and well-proven bureaucrat capitalists who are financed by their own corruption and by the exploiting classes.

In general, the major senatorial candidates are political agents of foreign monopoly interests and local reactionary classes, with the exception of a few who have excelled in their professions and in speaking and acting in favor of the oppressed and exploited. The former clear-cut status of the “pink” presidential candidate as opposition is now decreased by the exclusion of Neri Colmenares from her senatorial slate and the inclusion of long-time Duterte loyalists.

There are definitely some national slates of candidates that present themselves as independent of rather than in opposition to the Duterte regime and its own national slate of candidates. Duterte propagandists themselves have admitted that these “non-opposition independents” have been hired to split the vote of the opposition and facilitate the rigging of the elections in exchange for appointments in a renewed Duterte regime.

The representatives of the lower middle class and the toiling masses of workers and peasants who run as candidates at the national level are so few. They are under the banner of the Makabayan Coalition. This bloc of party list groups has the biggest and strongest campaign machinery of volunteer campaigners from the best organized legal democratic forces of the broad masses of the people. But they lack the funds for TV and radio ads and are now being targeted by the anti-communist campaign of state terrorism by the regime and its fascist arm, the National Task Force-ELCAC.

The NTF-ELCAC and other ultra-reactionary forces are pressuring the parties and groups of the conservative opposition to exclude from their slates of candidates the Makabayan Coalition candidates and thus to undermine the urgently needed broad united front against the Duterte tyranny. Any success of the Duterte regime in this regard can only further convince the broad masses of the people that there can be no change for the better through the elections in 2022.

While the Duterte regime gains immediately from any narrowing of what ought to be a broad anti-fascist united front, a great number of the best and brightest of the patriotic and progressive intelligentsia are driven to join the legal mass movement of the patriotic and democratic forces and the people’s democratic revolution as the most effective way towards the defeat of the unjust ruling system and the ultimate victory of the people’s struggle for national and social liberation.

As of now, it is reasonable to expect the electoral victory of the national and local candidates that are credibly opposition because they stand out in exposing and condemning the grave crimes and anti-people policies and actions of the Duterte regime. But the elections in 2022 are not going to be clean and honest. The Duterte regime is determined to rig the 2022 elections by using its control of the reactionary armed forces and police, the COM-ELEC and the electronic vote count.

The tyrant Duterte is on the way to making the pro-Duterte candidates win by fraud and terrorism. He is hell-bent on rigging the elections by way of protecting himself and his cohorts from charges of crimes against humanity before the International Criminal Court and probable charges of plunder before Philippine courts. With his accumulated power, he can even postpone the elections and proceed to rule by decree as Marcos did from the time he declared nationwide martial law in 1972.

At any rate, whoever wins the presidential derby, whether from the Duterte ruling clique or from the opposition, will inherit an economy that is bankrupt and extremely burdened by debt and a government that is

challenged by the rising discontent of the broad masses of the people and by the various forms of struggle waged by the legal democratic forces and by the armed revolutionary movement.

It is of crucial importance that the enlightened sections and personages of the conservative opposition, the legal democratic forces and the forces of the people's democratic revolution prepare for widespread and intensified struggles against any action taken by the Duterte ruling clique to stay in power and against the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation during and after the electoral campaign period.

The chronic crisis of the ruling system continues to worsen rapidly. The broad masses of the people desire revolutionary change. They are sick and tired of false promises of political agents of the exploiting classes. The conditions for the further advance of the people's democratic revolution are therefore more favorable than ever before, especially if the alliance of the Duterte and Marcos dynasties succeeds in using the 2022 elections to impose their reign of greed and terror on the people.

## ***On the Second Propaganda Movement***

**Message of Solidarity to League of Filipino Students-Saint Louis University, October 22, 2021**

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Dear fellow activists and friends, I thank the League of Filipino Students - Saint Louis University for inviting me to speak on the Second Propaganda Movement in this educational discussion and for holding this to celebrate the 55<sup>th</sup> anniversary of my speech, "The Tasks of the Second Propaganda Movement", which I had the honor to deliver at the Saint Louis University on October 12, 1966.

I express warmest greetings of solidarity to all of you who are participating in the online discussion. By way of joining this event, let me underscore the historical significance of the call for carrying out the Second Propaganda Movement, the most important consequences and the continuing relevance of said movement to the current struggle for national freedom and democracy.

The First Propaganda Movement, led by Dr. Jose Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar and Graciano Lopez Jaena. was the reformist prelude and somehow contributed to the emergence of the Katipunan and the eventual victory of the old democratic revolution. This was led by the liberal bourgeoisie. It overthrew Spanish colonialism and established the national independence of the Filipino people for the first time. US imperialism waged a war of aggression and imposed a new colonial regime on the Philippines.

The great anti-imperialist senator Claro Mayo Recto called for the Second Propaganda Movement. It became the duty and task of Kabataang Makabayan to wage the Second Propaganda Movement and generate the conditions for the rise of the new democratic revolution led by the proletariat in consonance with the world era of modern imperialism and the world proletarian revolution.

In waging the Second Propaganda Movement, the KM discreetly promoted the study of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat and its application on the concrete conditions of the Philippines; and militantly propagated the general political line of the national democratic movement. As originally intended, the Second Propaganda Movement developed into a cultural revolution upholding a national, scientific and mass-oriented within the framework of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle of the people for national and social liberation.

In carrying out the Second Propaganda Movement, the KM became a nationwide comprehensive youth organization, deeply rooted among the masses of students and young professionals, young workers and young peasants. It served as the training school of the proletariat and it provided cadres and members, with ideological, political and organizational preparation, to the Communist Party of the Philippines on a national scale.

The KM has a major share in the development of the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines in the last more than 52 years. KM members in their thousands joined the people's war when Marcos suspended the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 and imposed fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people and outlawed the KM in 1972. The cadres and members of the KM easily became those of the CPP, the NPA, the revolutionary mass organizations, the alliances and the local organs of political war.

The chronic crisis of semicolonial and semifeudal system continues to worsen. The conditions of underdevelopment, high unemployment and mass poverty have become more grave than ever before. The escalating conditions of exploitation and state terrorism are driving more and more people to join the armed revolution. They are outraged by the traitorous, tyrannical, mass murdering and plundering Duterte regime and by its scheme to rig the 2022 presidential elections through its control of the reactionary armed forces, the Comelec and the vote count.

The reappearance of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in the form of the state terrorism of the Duterte regime exposes in the most stark way the decadent and moribund character of the ruling system. In so many ways, Duterte has surpassed Marcos, especially in the mass murder of mere suspects in the bogus war on drugs and in the armed counterrevolution and in bankrupting the reactionary government and the economy in so short a time.

He has taken advantage of the Covid-19 pandemic to railroad the Anti- Terror Act which is actually his license for state terrorism in the name of anti- terrorism, to further militarize civilian agencies and functions of the reactionary government and to steal hundreds of billions of public money intended for mass testing, medical equipment, medicines and economic assistance to the people who have lost their jobs and other means of livelihood.

The Second Propaganda Movement has continuing validity and relevance for exposing and condemning the

three evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism that afflict the Filipino people, for propagating the legal national democratic movement and for participating in the people's democratic revolution.

The crisis of the world capitalist system continues to worsen and generates conditions favorable to the Philippine revolution. The anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles are surging forward on a global scale. They are the prelude to the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution. While the world is in great turmoil and great disorder, we are looking at the rise of the proletariat and people of the world in mass struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism. Thank you.



## 2022 Elections: Where Does It Really Lead?

Itanong Mo kay Prof, November 15, 2021

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JMS: Militant patriotic greetings to you, Prof. Sarah Raymundo and to all our listeners.

*SR1. Prof. Sison, our topic for today's program is a hot one. Our first question, what can you say about what seems to be a game of Sipa (Kick) by politicians wanting to run in the 2022 election?*

JMS: Before substitutions were made in November, this was the move of the Dutertes and Marcoses that I saw. They were the principal players of the Sipa to fool, confuse and deceive the people. They wanted to make as president and vice president, Bongbong Marcos and Sara Duterte. the representatives of the two most evil dynasties of bureaucrat capitalists. Most notorious for murdering people, plunder and destruction of the country's economy.

But after the substitutions ended in November 15, I was able to gather some information on why Duterte is now cursing Bongbong Marcos and why he had Bong Go ran for president. He is mad at Bongbong for not getting his approval before running as a presidential candidate and for not stating that he will protect Duterte against an arrest order of the ICC.

There is also a problem within the Duterte family. When Duterte withdrew his VP candidacy, his choice to substitute him was Bong Go and he still wanted Sara to be the presidential candidate. But Sara did not want Bong Go to be his VP and she would rather be VP of Marcos. In the end, Duterte made Bong Go a presidential candidate, cursed Marcos and is forcing Sara to be Bong Go's VP.

*SR2. Can you explain to our listeners, Prof Sison, what is meant by "substitution" in Comelec? Why are candidates transferring from one political party to another similar to Sara Duterte who left her party, Hugpong ng Pagbabago, and transferred to Lakas-CMD or Lakas-Christian Muslim Democrats?*

JMS: Substitution is deception of the people. At the beginning, Sara pretended to run for mayor of Davao City as leader of Hugpong ng Pagbabago. But she ended up running as a vice presidential candidate under the Lakas-CMD. The candidate she substituted for was her lackey. Duterte did the same in 2015 and it now has become the trend.

*SR3. Senator Bato dela Rosa withdrew from the presidential race and people saw this as a move to give way to Senator Bong Go. Bong Go resigned from the vice presidential candidacy and is now running for president. It looks like a free-for-all, Prof. Sison, but what can you say about these events and the candidacy for presidency of Bong Go?*

JMS: The presidential slot of Bato dela Rosa was initially for Sara but she decided to run as Bongbong Marcos' VP because she did not want Bong Go to be her VP. For a long time, Sara had been angry with Bong Go because as in charge of the cordon sanitaire of Duterte he blocks even Sara and those with her working for Duterte's approval.

Because Sara was firm in running for the VP under Bongbong, Duterte made Bong Go the presidential candidate. He wanted to force Sara to be the VP of Bong Go. For that reason, Duterte is cursing Bongbong to make it obvious that the winner in the elections is whoever he plans to make the winner through the electronic add-subtract of the Comelec.

*4. In your opinion, Prof. Sison, what must be the characteristics or criteria for a person running for president or vice president of the country?*

JMS: They must not be murderers and plunderers like the Marcoses and the Dutertes, including Bong Go who is a collaborator of Duterte in plunder. They must be patriots, for complete national independence, democracy, social justice, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization, widespread social services, national, scientific and mass culture and independent foreign policy.

*5. What can you say about former president Gloria Macapagal Arroyo's participation in the election? She said she is the operator for the tandem of Marcos and Duterte.*

JMS: Gwen Garcia of Cebu was the first in arranging the Marcos-Sara tandem. After this, there was news that Gloria Macapagal Arroyo was arranging the Marcos-Sara tandem. It is another monster full of bureaucrat capitalists.

Being part of the arrangement, it can be said that there is a MAD Alliance of Marcos-Arroyo-Duterte. This is an

alliance of plunderers with many cases of plunder. There is a possibility that Duterte is just acting as if he does not like Bongbong and that he wants Bong Go as in tandem with Sara as VP candidate. The brain of Duterte is shifty because he is crazy.

6. *Prof. Sison, what can you say on Bongbong Marcos running as president of the country? Many are saying he is shameless. A few are saying the past should be forgotten.*

JMS: Bongbong is definitely shameless. He wants the people to forget the crimes of Ferdinand Marcos and Imelda and wants to be president to continue the thievery and violence against the people committed by his hateful father. He must ask for the people's forgiveness and return to the people all that his parents stole.

7. *What is your opinion in Leni Robredo's candidacy for the presidency, Prof. Sison? Can Leni win the fight in the 2022 election?*

JMS: Leni Robredo is the most credible presidential candidate of the opposition. She will win if there is no cheating by Duterte. If Duterte cheats, the people will rise up as what the people did in 1986 to oust Marcos. And the people's revolution will further inflame and advance because the people are hateful of Duterte due to his treachery, tyranny, plunder and destruction of the economy.

8. *Former Congressman Neri Colmenares was not included in the opposition slate under Leni Robredo. Colmenares is known to be leading and fighting against the return of the Marcoses to Malacanang and critical of Duterte's many anti-people policies. What is your opinion on this, Prof. Sison?*

JMS: It is unfortunate that Neri was not included in the slate of Leni. Nevertheless, they will be together in the fight against the Dutertes and the Marcoses. Because of Duterte's cheating, Robredo would not be able to sit as president. A united front is still needed to fight the cheating and to oust those who will rise to power because of cheating.

9. *Former National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC) spokesperson Antonio Parlade, Jr. is trying to run after a presidential candidacy. He substituted for Antonio Valdes of the Katipunan ng Demokratikong Pilipino. What can you say about Parlade's running, Prof. Sison? What do you think is the view of the reactionary military and police regarding this?*

JMS: Parlade has no wide political base to become a presidential candidate. But he is running to carry his anti-communist campaign and interest of NTF- ELCAC and do red-tagging against Robredo and other candidates.

10. *What is your opinion, Prof. Sison, on the call of Vice President Leni Robredo that she will abolish the NTF-ELCAC once she becomes president?*

JMS: Robredo is fine in saying this. She must immediately dissolve NTF- ELCAC because it is an instrument of state terrorism and plunder. Because of Duterte's crimes and destruction of the economy, peace negotiations must be revived to achieve just peace and have national unity and cooperation.

11. *President Rodrigo Duterte is running for senator. He substituted for Mona Liza Visorde of the Pederalismo ng Dugong Dakilang Samahan. At first, Duterte's target was the vice presidency but because his daughter Sara is running as vice president, he deemed it best to run as senator. What can you say about this, Prof. Sison?*

JMS: The senatorial candidacy of Duterte is his way to cling on to power and protect himself from the trial of the ICC. If he is elected senator, he could easily be the Senate president if the senators who won due to cheating and bribery are his.

12. *What can you say, Prof. Sison, on the accusation of President Duterte that Bongbong and Leni are pro-communist?*

JMS: It shows that Duterte is obviously crazy and how easy it is to red-tag in order to slander and terrorize anyone.

13. *What do you think is the role of US and China in the coming election, Prof. Sison?*

JMS: Certainly, the US and China have their respective role in the coming election. They have high stakes in the result of the election. They just have different styles. The US has experience and capacity for overt or covert operations to support its preferred candidates or parties. It is the style of the Chinese government to let money flow to the candidates it supports through Chinese businessmen such as those around Duterte.

14. *Are there anymore issues and platforms that candidates for different government positions must carry during the 2022 election that you would want to impart to our listeners, Prof. Sison?*

JMS: The Makabayan Bloc, BAYAN, Movement Against Tyranny, CARMMA and other national democratic organizations and movements must call on the candidates to read the national democratic program and join the

fight against the Marcos and Duterte dynasties.

15. *What are your additional words to our listeners, Prof. Sison, who are very confused on what is going on in our society? It seems like there is a big fair happening in the country.*

JMS: The problems of the country will not be solved through election. It is controlled by Duterte and the exploiting classes. And certainly, Duterte will cheat. The people must be ready for intense struggle after the elections. As the crisis worsens, the Filipino people will increasingly want revolution. Thank you for the program Ask the Professor. Long live Prof. Raymundo and all our listeners!

# ***On the Limitations of the Reactionary Elections***

**Questions from Paaralang Jose Maria Sison, November 16, 2021**

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*1. Despite the many limitations of reactionary elections against progressive forces and advance masses, why should we take advantage of the democratic space no matter how small this is?*

JMS: If we follow the desire of Duterte, the military, NTF-Elcac and Anti-Terrorism Council, the progressive forces and advance masses will lose whatever space there is. But they cannot just do what they want against the democratic rights and capability of the progressive forces, advance masses and their sympathizers who advocate democratic rights.

To date, the desire of the fascists to disenfranchise the whole Makabayan Bloc and its partylist group from the 2022 elections through red-tagging and petitions with the Comelec has remained unfulfilled. The capacity of the Makabayan Bloc in the field of legal struggle cannot be minimized even if this Bloc is harassed by the fascists and the partylist system is being made a mockery and sullied by the dynasties and reactionaries.

It is not right that the progressives and advance masses just let go of the legal struggle including electoral struggle. They must fight to expose the anti-people and anti-democratic character of the reactionaries and fascists. They should not surrender whatever space they have gained from their legal struggle, including electoral. In fact, they must strive to establish a systematic legal party that is active, not only during several months in every three years, but daily.

*2. Aside from fielding senatorial or partylist candidates, is there anything else the progressives can do to widen this democratic space?*

JMS: Since the fall of the Marcos dictatorship, the habit of the traditional politicians to switch parties and insert themselves within the party or alliance under the new president has become pronounced. And every election, different groups emerge representing themselves as opposition party once the president and his/her ruling party or alliance stink.

Because many parties compete every election, a big minority vote can elect the president like Ramos, Estrada, Arroyo, Noynoy Aquino and Duterte. For the 2022 elections, major parties and presidential candidates on the side of the opposition, including that of the ruling party, are just improvised.

In the face of such confusion among the reactionaries, the advance masses can dare establish a progressive electoral party, prepare its own congress and program and choose a complete slate of candidates for all the positions at stake. Unfortunately, this could not be done by the national democratic movement for the 2022 elections because no preparations were made during the past three years.

Perhaps, this is possible for the coming 2025 and 2028 elections, unless in the coming years there will be a fascist dictatorship that will arrest and kill the opposition and force them to go underground and launch revolution similar to the period of the Marcos dictatorship. If this happens, it is better for them to join or stand with the Communist Party of the Philippines and participate in armed revolution.

*3. What can we say is the "correct political bearing" that the legal, progressive and democratic forces should maintain during the conduct of the 2022 elections? How to avoid swinging "Left" or "Right"?*

JMS: The most striking problem is that the two senatorial candidates and partylist groups of the Makabayan Bloc are just "saling pusa" (token candidates) despite the fact that BAYAN and the legal national democratic movement are far more gigantic compared with the Liberal Party, Akbayan, Magdalo and improvised groups of Manny Pacquiao, Isko Moreno and others. Part of the problem is the lack of a national democratic party especially created as the machinery for elections.

It is correct that the Makabayan Bloc accepted the invitation of 1Sambayan to have a representative. But when candidates for president, vice president and senators were being chosen, it became clear that the Pink Party or Alliance was the result of 1Sambayan and at its base was the Liberal Party plus Akbayan, Magdalo and other groups. They refused the inclusion of Neri Colmenares in its senatorial slate. It appears that the Pink Party and Leni were swayed by the red-tagging even as they want to profit from the anti-Marcos and anti-Duterte line and the following of the national democratic movement.

Nevertheless, it is good that Leni is open to studying the program of the Makabayan Bloc to see what points

she agrees with. It is also good that last November 9 Leni stated her pledge to dissolve the NTF-Elcac and that she wants a favorable situation for the continuation of peace negotiations between the GRP and NDFP. Leni has an advantage of being the longest opposition among the presidential candidates and had the initiative to agree with a number of important points in the program of the Makabayan Bloc.

It is good that the Makabayan Bloc has its own national democratic program, has an anti-Duterte and anti-Marcos stand and encourages the candidates of several parties to agree to most of the points of the national democratic program if they are to be voted by the advance masses of the Makabayan Bloc. These are the standards and measures of how patriotic and progressive the candidates are. If they agree to the program of the Makabayan Bloc they will attract the votes of the supporters of the Makabayan Bloc.

“Left” is the belief that the candidates of the Makabayan Bloc, even with no funds for TV and radio ads, can win if there are less candidates and prominently featured in Facebook. “Right” is to suck up to any presidential candidate without consideration to his/her points of agreement with the Makabayan Bloc program. There should be respect for the Makabayan Bloc because it has the correct program, and the national democratic movement has far bigger following than the bloc or command vote of the Iglesia ni Kristo, and more effective in offensive propaganda and in carrying issues.

It is true that the refusal of Leni Robredo to include Neri in the senatorial slate of the Pink Party is comparable to what Cory Aquino did in November 1985 when she distanced herself from BAYAN on electoral matters because she was told to do so by the US even though there was strong cooperation between BAYAN and the yellow forces during mass protest actions since Marcos killed Ninoy Aquino in 1983. Nevertheless, because of the cheating of Marcos, the EDSA uprising, the surrounding of Malacanang Palace and downfall of Marcos, happened. In the face of Duterte definitely cheating in the 2022 elections, the anti-Marcos and anti-Duterte line is important to fight the continuing rule of the fascists and plunderers.

*4. In your view, is it possible to establish a broad united front against Marcos-Duterte if the opposition is not united due to the many presidentiables and there are militarist and anti-progressive elements that are boxing out the Makabayan Bloc?*

JMS: A broad united front against Marcos and Duterte is still possible even if there are three or four major presidential candidates stating that they are opposition or independent from Duterte. The candidate that hits the Duterte regime and the Marcos-Duterte tandem the hardest will be believable as the genuine leader of the legal opposition.

Based on the present situation, Leni Robredo is the front runner as being a credible opposition candidate. Thus, she will emerge as the credible winner against the cheating of Duterte, while Duterte will say his candidate won because the opposition was split.

But whoever will sit as president or whatever happens after the 2022 elections, the crisis in the Philippines will continue to worsen and there will be chaos in the Philippines due to all the crimes of Duterte such as treason, tyranny, murder, plunder, squander of military funds and acquiring too much debt. The people’s democratic revolution will strengthen whether Duterte imposes what he wants upon the people or not.

If Duterte succeeds in cheating and the Marcos-Duterte or Duterte-Marcos rises in power, fascism or state terrorism will surely continue. If Leni wins, the US will still do what it can to dictate upon Leni to continue the armed counterrevolution similar to what Cory Aquino did when she became president. We should have no illusion that imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism will disappear through elections.

*5. In your opinion, what should be the proper dynamics and relation between the progressive party lists and the national democratic mass organizations during the 2022 elections?*

JMS: The Makabayan Bloc and the NDMOs should help one another in spreading the national democratic program, hitting the Dutertes and Marcoses as enemies and supporting one list of patriotic and progressive senatorial candidates. It is up to the presidential candidates to prove who is the closest to the program of the Makabayan Bloc.

Based on the strength of the Makabayan Bloc and the NDMOs, the Makabayan Bloc could select progressive candidates on the municipal, district and provincial levels. In my view, the Makabayan Bloc will establish alliances with local candidates with a good record and stature. They should also prepare for the establishment of a solid legal party that is national democratic in nature for 2025 and 2028.

*6. What key issues should the progressives firmly hold on to during this coming 2022 and why?*

JMS: Duterte and his cohorts must be held accountable for the crimes of treason, tyranny, murder, plunder and swindle. The use of the next regime by Duterte to exonerate himself from his responsibility for his crimes must be frustrated. Duterte and his collaborators must be punished for their crimes, they should return to the people what they have plundered and victims of human rights violations must be compensated. The Anti-Terror Act must be repealed and the National Task Force-Elcac and Anti-Terrorism Council dissolved. Political prisoners must be amnestied and released and compensation must be given to the victims of Duterte's tyranny and terrorism.

The Philippines should have full national independence from imperialists, democracy for the toiling masses, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization, social justice, support for those who lost their jobs and employment due to the pandemic and constriction of the economy, expansion of social services (education, health and housing), advance of national and scientific system of culture and education, self-determination and upliftment of national minorities and independent foreign policy for peace and development of all peoples of the world.

Peace negotiations between the GRP and the NDFP must be resumed based on agreements forged in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration. Strengthen the protection of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees for the negotiators, consultants, resource persons and staff against surveillance, kidnapping and murder perpetrated by the Duterte regime. In relation to this, localized peace talks under the control and surveillance of the enemy are not allowed. Fast track the negotiations and the forging of agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms.

*7. What do you think should be the political gains of the progressives from the 2022 elections whether their senatorial candidates win or lose?*

JMS: The national democratic program will be widely spread, the dynasties and Marcos-Duterte gang will further be condemned and isolated, more people will be mobilized and will learn how to establish a legal patriotic and progressive party that will not only be a token party. If the Dutertes and Marcoses continue to be in power due to cheating, they will surely heighten fascism or state terrorism to suppress the Filipino people. This then will result to massive mass uprisings and strengthening of the armed revolution.

*8. It has been quite a long time ago since there was an anti-imperialist, patriotic and democrat such as Claro Mayo Recto, Lorenzo Tanada and Jose W. Diokno in the senate? What do you think is the factor for this?*

JMS: There is a general decay of the ruling system and the nature of the reactionary parties. Under this situation, an anti-imperialist and democratic leader should stand out. But no patriotic and progressive party was able to establish a machinery for elections and daily legal struggles. Those who are like the types of Claro Mayo Recto, Tanada and Jose W. Diokno are Neri Colmenares, Chel Diokno, Erin Tanada and other former Otso Diretsos. But they were cheated in 2019. And it is likely that the cheating will be repeated in 2022.

*9. In a post-2022 elections scenario, what must the progressives do if the winners are (a) from the opposition or (b) Marcos-Duterte tandem?*

JMS: If the opposition wins and Duterte cannot stop a president from the opposition from taking office, push for the resumption of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and undertake reforms. But be vigilant because the US will do everything it can to have a hold and dictate upon the new president. We must learn from the experience when Cory Aquino obeyed the dictates of the US when she became president after the ouster of Marcos. If the Marcos- Duterte tandem wins, the civil war will surely continue and the condition for revolution will be more favorable.

*10. In your opinion, what lessons did the progressives learn from a few progressives and pro-environment personalities temporary holding positions in the Duterte cabinet? If such positions are offered once again by the next winning president, what should the attitude of the progressives be towards such offers?*

JMS: In 2016, Duterte's pretense that he was Left and socialist, and wanted to have peace, was deep. But his monstrosity fully manifested after a year and a half. He wanted to make it appear that the three or four progressives he appointed to his cabinet were representatives of the CPP and that the CPP has surrendered to his regime. But I immediately told Duterte that they were appointed as patriotic individuals with high capability and diligence.

It is unclear if in 2022, there will be a president who would offer cabinet post to someone patriotic and progressive. If that happens, they should be appointed based on their individual merit as a patriot, capable and diligent and not as representative of the CPP nor the NDFP. They will not last long in the cabinet if they are called

representatives of the CPP or NDFP.

*11. What would be the effect on the alliance with the anti-Dutertes, many of whom are pro-Leni if, for example, the national democratic movement chooses a different candidate (based on being anti-Duterte/Marcos, an open platform favorable to the people, including resumption of the peace talks)?*

JMS: It is good if there is a presidential candidate who is anti-Duterte and anti-Marcos, and his/her open platform, which includes the resumption of the peace talks, is favorable to the people. Whether he/she is chosen by the Makabayan Bloc as its presidential candidate or not, the united front against Duterte and Marcos shall continue to exist.

It is likely that the strongest opposition party will win in 2022, but it is also more likely that Duterte will cheat. It is very easy to cheat with the electronic “dagdag-bawas” (add-subtract), especially when there is multiplicity of presidential candidates. During the 1986 elections, there was a boycott policy simultaneous with Cory Aquino distancing from the Left. But in the end, when she was cheated by Marcos, everyone united and mobilized to oust Marcos.

*12. What do you think of the tactics of Laban ng Masa to field a presidential candidate?*

JMS: They are daring. But it is difficult to hope that their candidates for president and vice president will win due to the lack of machinery and funds. The national democratic movement is far stronger if it had used the past three years to prepare for the 2022 elections and tried more or less to have a complete slate of national and local candidates, and ready to forge alliances with different parties that have patriotic and progressive program.

Dear fellow activists in BAYAN Metro Manila, I am grateful for your invitation to give a message at your gathering on the theme of rising and advancing in the face of the worsening crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and intensifying oppression and exploitation. I will try to provide knowledge, lessons and combat duties that must be performed in the immediate and long- term to rise and rise from the vile rule of the Duterte regime in Metro Manila.

The re-emergence of the overt reign of terror in the Marcos era during the Duterte era is a sign that the ruling system of oppression and exploitation has not disappeared even after the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986. US imperialism and domination continue. of the local reactionary classes of big bourgeois compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

State terrorism under Marcos and under Duterte is the same. Its re- emergence under Duterte is the result of the continuing decay of the ruling system. Even in the regimes from mother Cory Aquino to son Noynoy, the exploitation and oppression of the toiling masses continued to worsen and military campaigns were launched to suppress the legal patriotic and democratic forces and the armed forces of the people's democratic revolution.

Marcos failed in his scheme to crush the revolutionary movement through 14 years of fascist dictatorship. He only aggravated the crisis and further strengthened the revolutionary movement. Duterte will be even more disappointed by his boast that he will crush the revolutionary movement before the end of his term. The revolutionary movement will grow stronger because Duterte has further corrupted the ruling system due to his treacherous, mass murdering , plundering and swindling regime.

He has bankrupted the economy and his own government through relentless thievery, militarization, destruction of local production and over-dependence on the export of cheap raw materials and cheap labor power and on rapid borrowing. He took advantage of the pandemic to further accelerate plunder, intensify state terrorism and borrowing. The Filipino masses are now experiencing widespread unemployment, low incomes, poverty and rising prices of food and other basic needs.

If the 2022 elections are clean, the tandem of Bongbong Marcos and Sara Duterte and other Duterte candidates will surely be defeated. But Duterte controls the Comelec and the agency for the electronic vote count. He will surely cheat because he does not want to be arrested to be brought before the International Criminal Court in connection with his crimes in the murder of alleged drug addicts and illegal drug dealers. He is also afraid of being brought before the Philippine courts in connection with his crimes of plunder and murder of mass activists, critics and human rights defenders and advocates of just peace.

The Filipino people must frustrate the bogus election of the Marcos-Duterte tandem. Should this rise to power, Ferdinand Marcos Sr.'s and Duterte's treachery, terrorism and plunder of the nation's wealth at the highest levels of the ruling system would continue. The Filipino people must overthrow the monsters Marcos and Duterte in the quickest way as they overthrew Marcos in 1986 or in any necessary longer period. The role of BAYAN Metro Manila is key and decisive in preparing and carrying out a national mass uprising to overthrow these monsters. The regions always look to the course of events in Metro Manila as the center of the country.

To carry out its fighting tasks, BAYAN-Metro Manila must always grasp the national and global situation and issues in the framework of the program of the national and democratic movement. It must always strengthen and expand its organization through meetings and courses of study regarding the issues. This should be done in factories, communities, schools and other institutions. It is also a good idea to have publications and webinars to discuss important topics and issues. You have a wide reach.

We must launch campaigns and activities to mobilize the masses, promote correct policies on issues and fight the wrong policies of those in power and any narrow interest. Protest actions against policies of oppression and exploitation are important. Use information and education campaigns for comprehensive propaganda and for solid organizing. BAYAN Metro organizations must be strengthened so that they can trigger giant mass actions.

Strengthen the united front to reach the millions of masses and increase the number of activists who will join the organizations of BAYAN Metro Manila as well as BAYAN National. Even though you are committed to the legal



patriotic and democratic movement in Metro Manila, your advance helps the people's forces on a national scale as their advance also helps you. You must also increase the influence of BAYAN Metro Manila to reach out to your compatriots abroad and their foreign allies in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

- Long live BAYAN Metro Manila!
- Advance the national democratic movement!
- Long live the BAYAN and the Filipino people!

# ***Fight for Justice And Peace***

## **Message of Solidarity to the Concerned Students for Justice and Peace-Metro Manila**

**January 20, 2022**

Dear fellow activists, I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity with you in your fight for justice and peace on the second anniversary of your organization, Concerned Students for Justice and Peace-Metro Manila. I am happy to join you in celebrating the occasion with a community program with the theme, “Sulong Karapatan: Kabataan Laban sa Diktadura, Pasismo at Tiranya” (Advance Rights: Youth Fight Against Dictatorship, Fascism and Tyranny.)

I agree with you that 2022 is a challenging year for human rights defenders and advocates for a just peace like you. The traitorous, tyrannical, mass murdering and plundering Duterte regime is conducting a presidential election in which the representatives of the worst political dynasties, Marcos and Duterte, are running for the highest positions under conditions extremely favorable to them and their party mates.

The fascist tyrant Duterte regime is a rule of open terror and greed and controls the COMELEC and the vote count and is expected to commit massive electoral fraud in favor of the Marcos-Duterte tandem. It has taken advantage of the Covid-19 pandemic to escalate state terrorism and plunder and has continued its threat to declare martial law to suppress the legal democratic forces of the people.

I commend you for staying resolute and militant in the struggle for national sovereignty, justice and democratic rights and condemning the suffocating climate of state terrorism and impunity in which all the patriotic and democratic organizations and individuals are easily subjected to red-tagging for the evil purpose of intimidation, abduction, torture, extra-judicial killing and other human rights violations.

Duterte wants to make sure that he retains power through the Marcos-Duterte tandem in order to keep his accumulated ill-gotten wealth and prevent his prosecution and trial for crimes against humanity before the International Criminal Court and for crimes of plunder and mass murder before Philippine courts. To assure Duterte, Bongbong Marcos has declared that he shall continue state terrorism under the so-called Anti-Terror Law against the people's clamor for justice and peace.

The conditions for the people's resistance will be exceedingly favorable in 2022 and thereafter. The broad masses of the people are fed up with the gross crimes of mass murder, plunder and fascism cum military over-spending and corruption committed by the Duterte regime. The economic, social and political crisis of the ruling system will become more manifest than ever with the bankruptcy and debt burden of the economy and the state, the increased mass poverty, high unemployment and soaring inflation.

Like the rest of the Filipino people, you must be prepared for gigantic mass actions against the fraudulent election of the Marcos-Duterte tandem as in 1986 when the fascist dictator Marcos was overthrown as well as for protracted struggle beyond 2022 for as long as the enemies of national sovereignty, democracy, social justice, economic development, cultural progress and international solidarity for justice and peace persist and need to be overcome.

Long live the Concerned Students for Justice and Peace-Metro Manila!

Carry forward the struggle for national and social liberation!

Long live the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution!

# ***On the 2022 Elections and Political Situation***

## **Questions from BAYAN-National Office and JMS School**

**February 12, 2022**

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### ***1. What were the factors that led to the Marcoses returning to power?***

JMS: First of all, the ruling classes in the Philippines were under US imperialism and it wants the stability of the ruling system after the overthrow of Marcos from power in 1986. The US brought the Marcos family to the US to give it protection. The US stopped Enrile and RAM from creating turmoil against the Cory Aquino regime and also out of fear that the oligarchs and the revolutionary movement will benefit from the turmoil. The US chose Ramos to alleviate the conflict, initially as Cory's defense secretary then as the next president in 1992. The Marcoses retained influence as the AFP and PNP and the bureaucracy were consolidated.

Second, as bureaucrat capitalists and big comprador-landlords, the Marcoses and Aquinos belong to the same class and some who are part of the factions or cliques are related. From 1989 to 1991, it was easy for Peping Cojuangco, brother of Cory to talk with their cousin, the pro-Marcos Danding Cojuangco. The cousins agreed that those who left the country in 1986 could now return to the Philippines, including the Marcoses. Simultaneous with the talks between Peping and Danding, there were also Marcos' intermediaries to Cory such as Ramos who is a cousin of the deceased Marcos.

Third, when the Marcoses returned to the Philippines, Imelda ran for president during the 1992 elections and she placed 5th as presidential candidate. It was most important for the Marcoses and Romualdez to return and work on their local bulwarks in Ilocos Norte and Leyte, and they ran as sure winners as representatives in Congress, governor and other local executive positions.

Fourth, Imelda threatened to run again as president in 1998 but withdrew. She was after continuous national attention. In the 2010 elections, Bongbong ran for senator under the Nacionalista Party of Villar. Initially, Villar included as senatorial candidates Satur Ocampo and Liza Maza. Then he included Bongbong in its senatorial slate. Since he had money for nationwide campaign, he became the first Marcos to get elected into the national level. Satur and Liza lost because they could not launch an effective campaign due to lack of funds.

Fifth, since 2010, the way has been cleared for the Marcoses to run for positions at the national level. Bongbong ran for vice president in 2016, he was defeated but deliberately staged a protracted electoral protest to keep national attention on him and he simultaneously used social media propaganda through his troll army to beautify his image and that of his father. Imee, on the other hand, became a senator in the 2019 elections which was rigged by Duterte. Thus, she also became a feature on the national scene like Bongbong.

Sixth, all the above elements combined for the Marcoses to hold on to their ill-gotten wealth, abroad or inside the country. They carefully used their gigantic ill-gotten wealth to further strengthen, deodorize and expand their influence. It is not surprising that the interest of the Marcoses converged with the interest of the three future presidents who like them were infamous for plunder: Erap, Gloria and Digong. Their collusion became blatant even if they each have their own initiatives and maneuverings.

And seventh, the Marcoses used their wealth, influence, and positions in the bureaucracy to prevent any significant demands by the people at least at the level of education, culture, and social institutions — which would have been key to effectively instill on the younger generations the great struggles and bitter lessons of the dictatorial rule in 1972-1986 and the deeper understanding of why the rottenness of the system continued in the ensuing decades despite EDSA 1 and EDSA 2. As a result, the Marcoses seem to be revising history, and even succeeded in moving the corpse of the late dictator to the Libingan ng mga Bayani after it was displayed for decades in Ilocos Norte like a mummy.

### ***2. What are the major differences and similarities of the elections now to past elections? Particularly the elections of 1986.***

JMS: There are major similarities and of course differences. I will first mention the similarities. Just like the dictator Marcos in 1986, the tyrannical Duterte has a tight control of most of the local executive officials, military, COMELEC and the electronic device for counting votes. He could easily rig the counting the votes such as what he did in 2019 which was called the 7-hour glitch.

Just like Marcos who has accumulated so many criminal responsibilities in 1986, Duterte is also facing many cases of murder before the International Criminal Court. In the Philippines, once he is no longer in power or has no more influence on government, he could be charged, arrested and detained for murder and plunder. Therefore, it is in his interest to cheat in the elections and make the Marcos-Duterte “win” through electoral fraud and terrorism.

As in 1986, the president stinks and if he cheats in the elections the gigantic protest actions of the masses will be inflamed in Metro Manila and in nationwide scope, especially with the grave livelihood crisis, lack of employment, inflation and widespread poverty, and with the blatant and systematic violation of human rights perpetrated by his cohorts, the ruthless military.

An outstanding difference in the political situation now from 1986 is that the legal patriotic and democratic forces and the revolutionary armed forces are far more stronger today than in 1986. Likewise, the legal national democratic movement is active in building the national united front to unite the basic toiling masses, middle forces and conservative forces to fight the illegal and immoral schemes of Duterte to cheat in the 2022 elections.

Despite of the revolutionary forces and legal national and democratic forces being stronger compared to 1986, it is also necessary to mention the absence of outpouring in the streets of huge protest actions these past two years or more. If we mechanically measure the length of time, the intensity and vitality of the political campaigns are different compared to the present. If we call to mind the assassination of Ninoy Aquino in August 1983 when nationwide gigantic protest actions poured into the streets.

There were huge mass actions almost every month, even before Marcos called, in 1985, for the February 1986 snap elections. Compared to the rousing protest actions in the different parts of the country in 1983-85 as a prelude to the elections, in the two years (2020-2022) of the pandemic, the protest actions launched nationwide were scarcer and narrower. However, the coming months offer more opportunities to accelerate huge mass struggles. There are other secondary or technical differences between the situation of 1986 and at present 2022. I will immediately mention two.

First, the scope of the internet then was minimal and there were no Facebook and Tiktok, unlike today when social media is an arena of propaganda war. Nevertheless, the opposition in 1983-86 was able to firmly hold on to the mass media such as radio, TV, newspaper and magazine and the non-stop pamphleteering and mass agitation in the streets – the sources and the propaganda war that were zealously monitored by the masses while continuously protesting in the streets. It is a big challenge during this time of 2020-2022 how the rousing fight in the social media could be translated into massive surge into the streets and the building of mass machinery against cheating and suppression.

Second, the rigging of elections of 1986 was more physical, in the form of ballots, ballot boxes, election returns, and other electoral processes that could be doctored in a mechanical way but also not difficult to guard from the precinct level to the national tally. The nationwide machineries such as NAMFREL and church formations became an effective counter against cheating in 1986.

Since the implementation of the automated election system (AES) in the last decade, cheating, too, became automated. How to guard against and frustrate cheating is a bigger challenge to the opposition and the whole electorate. But there will always be ways. If there was a successful whistle-blower and mass walkout in the COMELEC count in 1986, surely there are also cracks in the fraud system of the AES from which evidence of widespread cheating could be obtained.

If Duterte will insist on imposing the Marcos-Duterte tandem over the Filipino people, the pace of people’s democratic revolution through people’s war will surely accelerate. The Filipino people and revolutionary forces are ready to fight the scheme of the Marcoses and Dutertes to continue their reign of state terrorism and plunder while the crisis of the ruling system that they have previously exacerbated continues to worsen.

*3. There was a time when the stand of the legal democratic movement on bourgeois elections was to boycott these because of its characteristic of being dominated by parties and politicians representing the interest of the ruling classes. When did this stand change? What is the situation or circumstance that led the national democratic forces to join the elections? What were the advantages and disadvantages? How can we avoid spreading reformist illusion when joining elections?*

JMS: Never did the legal patriotic and democratic organizations have the principle or policy to boycott elections controlled by the ruling classes. They have no clear policy to boycott all elections. But there has always been

criticism of elections as a tool of the ruling classes. The revolutionary armed forces have their own government and forbidden by the reactionary government beforehand to participate in elections it holds.

During the time of martial law since 1972, Marcos suppressed and illegalized the patriotic and democratic mass organizations. When he staged the elections for the national legislature in 1978, he pretended to loosen his iron grip and even encouraged Ninoy Aquino to run. Aquino and others in the conservative opposition ran. They lost but they were able to gain the opportunity to speak and gather the people who were against the fascist regime. The electoral campaign of the opposition ticket in Metro Manila, Lakas ng Bayan, was a great help to further expand the legal democratic movement that has been surging since 1974-77.

Even I who was imprisoned at that time was sent word by Marcos that I could run if I wanted to. But I refused and said how could I run in the elections when I can't even walk inside my cell. I was chained to the bed. But there was the opportunity for the newly formed patriotic and democratic groups to join the campaign of the opposition and severely criticize the KBL and the regime. The opportunity was not fully utilized due to the chaos and confusion caused by the boycott policy – which was also not strictly followed.

By 1981, many new patriotic and democratic organizations had emerged. Marcos even pretended to lift martial law and held a presidential elections. I think it was correct that the legal patriotic forces and conservative forces agreed to boycott the election because their participation would only serve as a blessing on Makoy's (Marcos) blatant rigging of the election.

A similar situation occurred in 1984, when Marcos once again called for sham elections for the Batasang Pambansa, the rubber-stamp parliament of the dictator. Since this was during the upsurge of huge protest actions after the assassination of Ninoy, Marcos failed to divide the ranks of the opposition even if there were a few who ran but majority decided to boycott the elections.

With the snap presidential elections in 1986, the situation had changed, even though Marcos was still president and could cheat, he was foul-smelling and going down rapidly. Against him, the US used what it had previously done in Haiti against Duvalier. Duvalier was asked to hold presidential elections and was later accused of cheating until he was overthrown by massive protests. This is what happened to Marcos in 1986.

In my opinion, the patriotic organizations could have participated in the electoral campaign in 1986 to criticize Marcos over political and economic issues and to play the key role in the imminent overthrow of the dictator by the broad masses. It was obvious in the electoral campaign that the conservative opposition has gathered hundreds of thousands of people but the progressives have gathered only about 50,000. It would have been better to combine the two mass followings in preparation for the overthrow of Marcos after his rigging of the counting of votes.

There is a big difference between the illegal revolutionary organizations and the legal patriotic and democratic organizations. The CPP, NPA and NDFP cannot participate in the elections of the reactionary government because they are banned and illegal and they also have their own revolutionary government. But the legal patriotic and democratic organizations could decide whether to boycott or participate depending on the situation. In the run of the post-Marcos regimes from the Partido ng Bayan (People's Party) in 1987, legal patriotic and democratic parties and candidates had been participating in reactionary elections for a long time.

#### *4. What is the important role and responsibility of the mass movement during elections?*

JMS: It is an important duty of the mass movement to explain the fundamental control of the ruling class on elections, and worst, if this is controlled by a fascist dictatorship or tyranny such as Duterte's. Said nature should be criticized and the masses must be informed on how to fight it and how the electoral campaign could be used to expose and fight the enemy and strengthen the patriotic and democratic organizations, with or without elections.

During electoral campaigns, the patriotic and democratic legal organizations never gave up on vigorously addressing other economic and political issues, through the continuous arousing, organizing and mobilizing of the broad masses to resist the wanton tortures inflicted upon them. The present electoral campaign is no different. In fact, the most effective basis for the legal mass movement's participation in elections is to carry, as a platform, the outcry of the masses' grievances and demands that have intensified during pandemics and lockdowns.

One particularity of the 2022 elections is that it is also the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the imposition of martial law that started the 14 years rule of the dictator Marcos, and which had deep effects on Philippine society that could be felt up to now. With or without elections, and whatever the outcome of the candidacy of Bongbong (or maybe

Imee will be a replacement if Bongbong is disqualified), one special but very important responsibility of the mass movement is to launch a systematic and sustained educational campaign to review the past 50 years especially the different aspects of the rotting system, the Marcos dictatorship and the historical struggles of the Filipino people. The youth and student movement has a big role to play in this campaign.

There are legal patriotic and democratic parties that intentionally participate in elections while they can. They should stand up for the patriotic and democratic program even when the fascists or ultra-reactionaries in the reactionary government try to forbid them or force them to turn their backs on their principles and policies. They must fight Duterte's instruments for suppressing democratic rights such as the Anti-Terror Act, Anti-Terrorism Council and the National Task Force-ELCAC.

So far, the parties in the Makabayan Coalition have been successful in fighting all tactics and steps of the National Task Force-ELCAC to terrorize and make them illegal – from red tagging and non-stop propaganda to issuing blatant threats and petitions with the COMELEC to take away their existing constitutional rights. Once fascism reigns totally as in 1972, the situation shall necessitate the going underground of patriotic parties or allow their membership to join the people's war.

*5. What are the scenarios that could be the outcome of the 2022 elections? And what preparations are needed for the people's response? If the result of the elections is favorable to the Marcos-Duterte tandem, what must the mass movement immediately do?*

JMS: It is correct that the opposition participates in the elections like the party of Robredo, 1Sambyan and Makabayan Coalition and show that the majority of the electorate are on their side and they won. Duterte and his Marcos-Duterte tandem is so foul-smelling. If there are no genuine opposition parties and candidates to oppose the Marcos-Duterte slate, Duterte will field his henchmen as candidates like Marcos fielded Santos as fake opposition in 1981. The slate of Leni Robredo and Kiko Pangilinan is a sure winner if they can overcome Duterte's scheme of electoral fraud and terrorism. But if there is clear cheating, those who profit from this will fall just like Marcos in 1986.

Only US could order Duterte not to continue with the cheating because there will be chaos and not all in the military will obey him, and just like in 1986, it will be divided due to Marcos' cheating. But so far, there is no clear order for Duterte not to cheat. If Duterte continues with his scheme to rig the election and put the Marcos-Duterte tandem in power, there must be immediate giant protests until the monsters are ousted from power, such as the overthrow of Marcos in 1986.

If the cheaters are not immediately ousted from power, the people must be ready for a protracted fight because the people's disgust with those in power and the certain worsening of the socioeconomic and political crisis are favorable for fighting and revolution. The crisis is now severe due to Duterte's actions of excessive corruption, military spending, economic collapse, the heavy debt burden of the Philippines, unemployment, inflation and more widespread poverty.

*6. In carrying out the anti-Marcos and anti-Duterte campaign, what is the most effective propaganda that could be used against this tandem?*

JMS: It is correct to tell the electorate outright that the Marcos-Duterte tandem is a thief and corrupt. The money that they are wantonly spending in their campaign and in buying leaders and votes is from the corruption of the Marcoses and Dutertes. It should be explained that their purpose and scheme in holding power is to plunder the country's wealth and to satisfy their thirst for violence. It is almost sure that among the first measures of Bongbong, in case he sits in Malacanang, is to dismiss all cases facing their family, especially those connected to ill-gotten wealth, and "rehabilitate the name Marcos." Likewise, it is for sure that Sara Duterte will use all leverage, once she becomes vice-president, to protect her father and siblings from any case they might face, especially with regard to ill-gotten wealth and drugs.

Bongbong Marcos has already declared that he will continue state terrorism and use the Anti-Terrorism Act and NTF-ELCAC. He also declared to appoint Sara as defense secretary to ensure continuity of her father's tyranny and terrorism against the poor and the use of the military, police and paramilitary to terrorize and oppress the Filipino people through red tagging, kidnapping, torture and murder. It must be exposed that Bongbong and Sara, once in power, will deny the responsibility of Duterte and will impede his trial in connection with his serious crimes of treason, tyranny, murder and plunder.

Justice will be suppressed and all the evil and criminal policies and actions of Duterte will continue.

Regardless of the particular style of leadership and political plans of Bongbong and Sara, abusive and brutal military and police and different kinds of petty tyrants and warlords, especially from their bailiwicks in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao under their control will prevail.

*7. What do you think of the endorsement of Makabayan Coalition of the Leni-Kiko tandem, and likewise, the endorsement of 1Sambyan of Neri Colmenares?*

JMS: The Makabayan Coalition is legitimately part of the legal and electoral struggle. It is the right and duty of Makabayan Coalition to do everything possible to strengthen its own ranks and expand further its alliance with different forces fighting against the Duterte regime and other forces it mobilizes for elections.

The Leni-Kiko tandem is the credible opposition against the common enemy that is Duterte and also credible to be the front runner and winner in the election. Therefore, the decision of Makabayan Coalition to support the said tandem is correct. It is also good that 1Sambyan endorsed Neri Colmenares as a senatorial candidate.

The legal mass movement has sufficient depth and breadth for tactical maneuverings before, during and after the elections to exercise the appropriate united front principles, especially the principle of unity and struggle and the principle of independence and initiative. In such context, even within the Makabayan Coalition, said united front principles could be exercised. The worker and peasant formations are not prohibited, for example, from relating with and supporting other progressive candidates in the national and local levels—as long as they are not counter to the agreement already forged.

*8. Marcos is still leading in the surveys. Is this just one way to condition the minds of the people or a scientific way to get the pulse of the masses? What more do you think must be done by the supporters of the candidacy of the Leni-Kiko tandem to make a mark upon the masses and defeat the Marcos-Duterte tandem?*

JMS: The surveys that say Marcos will win are controlled and fake, not scientific. It is a way to condition the minds of the people to accept the fake Comelec electronic count that will be used by Duterte's experts. Marcos is the front runner of poll survey done by paid poll survey business and troll armies but according to genuine survey, the Leni-Kiko tandem are the front runner. Marcos has been ahead in using anti-Robredo paid media, especially the social-media, in connection with his long-running electoral protest which has failed. Leni has beaten Bongbong in the past and he really looks like a loser.

The Leni-Kiko tandem should do a catch-up in the use of corporate media in TV-radio, print and on social-media including conducting genuine poll survey. They should also take advantage of the wide and deep capability of the Makabayan Coalition in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses, especially if there are adequate funds. Much could be done by the mass organizations because most of them are volunteers and serious in campaigning and mobilizing.

*9. The Trotskyite Joseph Scalice has accused the national democratic movement of being an enabler of the ruling class like Marcos when he ran for president in 1965 and recently, of Duterte in 2016. With the upcoming elections, this will again be an accusation as a result of the endorsement of the Makabayan bloc of Robredo. What can you say about this?*

JMS: The Trotskyists are blatant liars and often caught in self-contradiction. They say that the Stalinists (their curse of the old and new Communist Party) became an enabler to make Marcos president in 1965 and Duterte in 2016. Aside from their false claim that the old and new Communist Party were the strongest enablers of those who became president in 1965 and 2016, they also falsely claimed that by entering into alliances the CPP only became an instrument of the national bourgeoisie.

The Trotskyists assume that when the communists form an alliance with any force it has already surrendered and is in complete unity with the ally. The Trotskyists do not grasp the CPP's policy of independence and initiative in united front work and they do not understand the whole breadth of united front: the leadership of the proletariat, the basic alliance of workers and peasants, persuading the middle strata of society, and taking advantage of the conflict of the reactionary classes to isolate, aim the main blow and defeat the enemy that is the most evil reactionary or foreign invader.

They are opposed to Lenin's teaching that in a backward country the national bourgeoisie could be an ally of the revolution because they have anti-imperialist interest. They just say this line is wrong because it merely came from Stalin and then Mao. This is the mindset of Trotskyists like Joseph Scalice and John Malvar who detest the national bourgeoisie. But this is a sign that the Trotskyists are special agents of the big bourgeoisie (monopoly capitalists and big compradors). And like Trotsky, who was a traitor to Soviet socialism, their special mission for

the imperialists and big compradors is to continuously attack the communists carrying out the revolution.

At present, the Trotskyists are actively in sync with the Duterte regime and ultra-reactionaries in red-tagging against the Makabayan Coalition. They say the CPP and Makabayan Coalition are one and the same. The red-taggers are wrong. The CPP is leading an armed revolution of workers and peasants. The Makabayan Coalition is composed of legal patriotic and democratic parties and is in the field of electoral struggle. They have the right to enter into an alliance with any party, group and individual in the ranks of the opposition against Duterte's regime, party and allies.

But these Trotskyists insist that the CPP and Makabayan Coalition are one and the same, and Joseph Scalice, John Malvar and other Trotskyists are abetting Duterte and his military aides in red-tagging the Makabayan Coalition as well as in the consequences brought by the red-tagging such as abduction, torture and murder. They want to reverse even the decision of the Comelec that it is incorrect to cite red-tagging in the petitions to ban the parties of the Makabayan Coalition to participate in the election.

In my observation, it is valid and correct for the Makabayan Coalition to form an alliance with 1Sambayan and the party of Leni and Kiko against the Duterte regime during the electoral campaign up to the time of more intense struggle due to Duterte's fraud and accession to power of Bongbong and Sara. And in case Leni wins and becomes president like Cory Aquino, it will be another matter to assess the situation as to whether the alliance with Leni is still valid and correct.

The reactionary allies in the fight against the worst reactionary are really temporary and unstable. There are also many lessons to be learned on how to correctly carry or apply principles on the united front and mass movement when Cory took office after EDSA 1 and when Gloria took office after EDSA 2.

*10. In one interview, Marcos Jr. mentioned that he plans to expand the NTF-ELCAC, and if he wins, he would award the Department of National Defense to Sara Duterte. What do you think of this?*

JMS: I have already earlier mentioned this statement of Marcos that he plans to expand the NTF-ELCAC, and if he wins, he will award the Department of National Defense to Sara Duterte. Here we see the evil scheme of the two children of the most evil executioners and plunderous presidents of the Philippines.

Bongbong and Sara have become accustomed to and enjoyed the fruits of thievery and use of brutal force to remove all limits to plunder and violence. They do not recognize the capacity of the Filipino people to investigate and fight criminals like Marcos senior and Duterte. They forget that the oppressed masses overthrew Marcos in 1986. And that Duterte is accountable for criminal cases inside and outside the country.

*11. What do you think will be the role of US imperialism and China in these elections? How will they again interfere? Does it appear that there are candidates they favor?*

JMS: US imperialism and China play a big role in elections. They play behind the scenes and in secret so as not to be accused of meddling or waiting till the time is ripe to issue their policies. They have high stakes in the Philippines and in elections in particular. Official and private entities are the ones that deal with the handing over of political and financial campaign support to any Filipino party and candidate.

But it is inevitable that there will be leaks and manifestations on the position or bias of the US and China regarding their respective favorite parties or presidential candidates, or that the presidential candidates themselves will want to make it obvious which imperialist power they favor.

Bongbong Marcos has stated his bias towards China more than the US and that for him, China's interference in the West Philippines is not important. He wants to increase and expand China's interest in the Philippines. That is why some commentators are saying that Marcos is the Manchurian candidate of China. Bongbong Marcos is upset that he is unable to enter the US without being charged with the liabilities of the Marcos estate in the human rights case won by the victims of human rights violations.

Leni on the other hand has stated that there is opportunity for China to enter into a joint agreement on oil exploration in the West Philippine Sea if China declares in advance that it agrees with the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and the 2016 judgment of the Permanent Arbitration Court that the Philippines has sovereign and maritime rights in the West Philippine Sea. Leni also hopes that the US will take the necessary actions to hold accountable for the human rights violations already being discussed in the US Congress and prevent Duterte from using the electoral and terrorism, and to have clean elections.

*12. We know the limitation of the electoral struggle, that this is not the way to clear the path to meaningful social change. Nevertheless, you mentioned during your last webinar that Lakas ng Masa has been daring in fielding its own*



*candidates for president and vice president. You also said that it was an advantage for them because their program became known to the people. With the development of the revolutionary movement and legal democratic forces, and if there is enough machinery and funds, is it possible to field presidential and vice presidential candidates?*

JMS: I think the Makabayan Coalition paid attention to preparing the party lists and selecting two candidates for senator. And not to immediately choose their own patriotic candidates for the position of president and vice president. They probably immediately thought a few billion pesos were needed for a credible presidential and vice presidential campaign.

It is in this context that I said Lakas ng Masa is daring because it has a candidate for the presidency even though it is far smaller than the Makabayan Coalition. He may not win but he is in the center of public attention. He participates in presidential debates and is asked about the major points of his comprehensive program. Because the Lakas ng Masa has its own slate, it has no candidate begging to be included in the slate of another party.

In the Philippines the situation does not exist where even if you are patriotic and progressive and even if you do not have large funds for the campaign, you still have a chance to win because of mass mobilization like in some Latin American countries recently (e.g. Ecuador, Peru, Chile and Honduras). In the future, the patriotic and progressive poor may be able to run for the presidency due to the further strengthening of the legal patriotic and democratic forces and having sufficient machinery and funds that do not need to be as large as the funds of reactionary parties and candidates.

#### **Additional Questions:**

*1. One historical chapter in the electoral struggle is the establishment of Partido ng Bayan, where the progressive and patriotic candidates dared to run for the senate. What major lessons can we learn from this?*

JMS: After the overthrow of Marcos in 1986, we formed Partido ng Bayan on August 30, 1986 as an electoral party that will participate in the May 11, 1987 elections for the Senate and Lower House. Gone was the possibility of alliance with former ally against Marcos, Cory Aquino, due to the Mendiola peasant massacre in January 1987 and when Cory Aquino unshielded and brandished the sword of war in February 1987.

Nevertheless, the Partido ng Bayan still dared to field some outstanding and accomplished candidates for the Senate. Crispin Beltran, Jose Burgos, Bernabe Buscayno, Romeo Capulong, Horacio Morales, Nelia Sancho and Jaime Tadeo. But the factors of their defeat were anti-communism or red-tagging by all the major reactionary parties (Aquino and Enrile-RAM), Cory Aquino's resistance to the patriotic and democratic forces, lack of sufficient funds for in the national campaign, chaos due to the Apos Campaign and other particular and big problems at that time.

It should be remembered that the Mendiola massacre was committed by presidential guards and that Cory did nothing to hold military officials accountable. Then the Lupao massacre of farmers followed. Even after the election, the RAM ambushed Bernabe Buscayno in June 1987 and assassinated Lean Alejandro in September 1987. In the ensuing elections, there was no declaration of boycott but patriotic organizations criticized the reactionary nature of the elections. The Partido ng Bayan disappeared until the patriotic party list groups joined the elections.

*2. Duterte once stated that he does not want Bongbong Marcos as a presidential candidate because he is a weak leader and snorts cocaine. Why is he still saying he has not chosen any presidential candidate?*

JMS: On badmouthing and his dislike of Bongbong, Duterte is probably just acting. He is obliged to support the Marcos-Duterte tandem up to using fraud because that is where the big money of the dynasties is channeled. Unless Duterte has more crazy plans such as martial law, chacha and postponement of the elections, or Duterte will kill Marcos, blame it on the CPP, NPA and NDFP and he remains the president or if the elections proceed, field whoever he trust as the presidential candidate. But extreme possibilities like these lack time for implementing and obtaining permission of the US and its CIA and DIA agencies.

*3. Why and how is Duterte using the National Task Force-ELCAC and red-tagging in the 2022 elections to benefit the Marcos-Duterte tandem? Is he trying to attack the alliance of Robredo's party, 1Sambayan and the Makabayan Coalition? Is he also targeting the other presidential candidates who want to resume the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations?*

JMS: Duterte thought that he could easily malign the Robredo-Pangilinan tandem and slate and fool the electorate by his use of the National Task Force-ELCAC and red-tagging against the alliance of Robredo's Party, 1Sambayan and Makabayan Coalition. He assumes he could use anti-communism as a way for the electorate to accept his use of cheating and terrorism.

The anti-communist propaganda will never overcome the truth that Duterte and his accomplices committed treason, tyranny, massacre and plunder. No amount of Duterte's propaganda can cover up the fact that the Filipino masses have suffered more due to plunder, state terrorism and militarization. The Filipino masses are fed up and angered by the rule of thieves and executioners like Marcos and Duterte.

With Duterte's criticism of all presidential candidates who want to resume GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, we can perceive that Bongbong is Duterte's presidential candidate. Duterte is unable to oppose Sara's wishes because this daughter of his and her husband, Mans Carpio, manage the largest portion of Duterte's corruption that has been transferred to foreign banks and investment accounts. The portion Honeylet is holding is far smaller.

*4. You have already mentioned that there will be chaos and more social conflicts if the Marcos-Duterte tandem "wins" through fraud. Can you give additional explanation? Isn't it the side of Duterte and the Marcos-Duterte tandem which initiates the unrest because of their hand in the election fraud, state terrorism and possibly martial law before or after election day?*

JMS: Your assumption is correct that the side of Duterte and Marcos-Sara tandem initiate the turmoil in the Philippines due to their hand on the rigging of the election, state terrorism and possible martial law before or after election day. What the Filipino people must do is to respond to the oppression and exploitation and fight through the different forms of struggle for national and social liberation.

I estimate that the legal forms of struggle by the legal patriotic and democratic forces and the anti-Duterte and anti-Marcos conservative forces will further intensify. The revolutionary forces will also advance in a large scale. It is guaranteed that the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system will rapidly deteriorate and the democratic revolution will surge vigorously.

# ***On the General Call for an International United Front***

**February 15, 2022**

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Dear Comrades and friends of the international Coordinating Committee of ICOR,

I acknowledge receipt of your letter to me dated February 15 through Coni. I thank you for the letter.

I wish to point out first of all that when I ceased to be the Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the International League of Peoples' Struggle and Comrade Len Cooper was elected the new Chairperson leading a new International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS he graciously allowed me to continue meeting with Comrade Monika Gartner-Engel, together with other ILPS and ICOR representatives in order to discuss, amend and redraft the basic documents of the Anti-Imperialist and Antifascist United Front (AIAUF).

Despite the general call for a international united front against imperialism and fascism being welcomed by the Sixth International Assembly of the ILPS in 2019 and other gatherings involving ICOR, the effort to form the AIAFUF never went beyond the provisional International Consultative Committee, with ILPS and ICOR standing out as co-initiators.

Despite previous best efforts to finalize the drafts, issues would crop up as early as January 2020 regarding three types of membership proposed by ICOR (international formations, individual organizations or parties and individual persons), regarding to what happened to the list of 15 to 20 international formations to be approached to form an international consultative committee, regarding decision-making and procedures before and during meetings, regarding drafting of statements other documents and of course regarding AIAFUF as a kilometeric name which is also equivalent to the English interjection pfft in the Spanish of Argentina and other Latin American countries.

In view of the aforementioned issues which dragged on for extended periods until 2021, I think that Comrade Len was correct and reasonable to call for a pause for reflection. And I am also happy that upon your urgent request that he as ILPS Chairman and President of the United Front has proposed a talk with the Main Coordinator of ICOR and Co-President of the United Front, Monika and that you consider and welcome his positive response as encouraging.

I suggest that before the scheduled talk of Comrades Len and Monika the ILPS and ICOR can separately strengthen their respective organizations, take up issues and make statements against the imperialists and fascists as common enemy, consider how to facilitate the rewrite of any common but contested draft or part thereof or otherwise the ILPS and ICOR can remain as separate but cooperating international formations in an informal united front, i.e. without formally bound by a common program and constitution.

I try in this letter to widen the range for agreement between the ILPS and ICOR.

Warmest regards,

Joma

# **Jose Maria Sison**

**By Gordan Stosevic, *Il Grido del Popolo***

**April 11, 2022**

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*José María Canlás Sison (1939) is a Philippine poet and writer, founder, leader and leading theoretician of the Communist Party of the Philippines of the ideas of Mao and the New People's Army. In 1962, young Jose Maria Sison served as executive secretary of the Philippines-Indonesia Society. While in this post, he visited Indonesia, where he got acquainted with the activities of the local Maoist Communist Party of Indonesia. In 1966, Jose Maria Sison traveled to Beijing, where he was finally inspired by the ideas of Maoism and, returning to his homeland, set about creating the Maoist Communist Party of the Philippines. In 1967, a group of pro-Maoist activists was expelled from the Communist Party. They began to create an alternative party. The official history of the CPP (Maoist) is counted from 1968 and is connected precisely with the political activities of Jose Maria Sison. In 1969, at the initiative of Sison, the New People's Army of the Philippines was created as the armed wing of the Maoist Communist Party.*

*Jose Maria Sison himself was forced to leave the country and settle in the Netherlands, which has not prevented him from speaking on current events and issues in the Philippines as Chief Political Consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines as well as on global events and issues as Chairman Emeritus of the International League of Peoples' Struggle. He has written dozens of books, the most famous of which are: "US Terrorism and War in the Philippines"; "The Philippine Revolution"; "Philippine Economy and Politics"; "Prison and Beyond: Selected Poems, 1958-1983"; "For Democracy and Socialism Against Imperialist Globalization"; "For Justice, Socialism and Peace"; "Struggle for National Democracy"; "Specific Characteristics Of Our People's War"; "The Guerrilla Is Like a Poet"; "Reflections on Revolution and Prospects"; "Strengthen the People's Struggle against Imperialism and Reaction"; "People's Resistance to Greed and Terror"; "Combat Tyranny and Fascism".*

*At the outset, dear Comrade Joma, to thank you for accepting this interview for my website, and to ask you immediately, do you see an end to this state terror by President Duterte?*

JMS: You are always welcome. Of course, there will be an end to the state terror unleashed by Duterte, like everything else that is malignant and offensive to the people. Nothing is permanent but change. Duterte is a bumbling kind of mimic to the Marcos fascist dictatorship which lasted for 14 years (from 1972 to 1986) and was overthrown by the Filipino people.

The broad masses of the people are outraged by the grave crimes of Duterte and are calling for his ouster. The legal democratic forces of the people are rising up against the law recently signed by Duterte to enable himself and his civilian-military junta to engage in unlimited state terrorism against social activists, critics and the legal opposition. The armed revolutionary movement of the people is also rapidly growing. The Duterte regime is goading the people to engage in all kinds of resistance.

Thus, the downfall of Duterte is foreseeable even as he seeks to rule beyond 2022 as a fascist dictator or at least choose a successor who can protect him from charges of human rights violations and crimes against humanity before the International Criminal Court as well as from the people's court of the revolutionary movement. According to his own bootlickers, he is prepared to flee to China.

*Duterte next to Bolsonaro is today considered one of the most authoritarian statesmen in the world, and his actions increasingly resemble those of the fascists from before World War II. Proof of this is the recent closure of the ABS-CBN TV station, which took place on May 5th this year. How do you view these actions of Duterte's regime?*

JMS: I agree with you that Duterte like Bolsonaro is authoritarian or tyrannical and resembles the fascists before World War II like Mussolini, Hitler and Tojo as well as the fascist puppet leaders put up by the US in South Korea, Vietnam, Indonesia, especially during the Cold War. They are all brutal anti-democratic agents of the big bourgeoisie, who spout demagogic slogans to mislead the people and bring great harm to them.

The biggest crimes that have been committed by the Duterte regime are those against the masses of workers, peasants and indigenous people, the middle social strata and the various social sectors.

In the process, the regime has gained notoriety for being tyrannical, treasonous, genocidal and extremely corrupt. The closure of ABS-CBN TV station is to silence the reporting of facts about the Philippines, disemploy thousands of employees and broadcast talents and force the owners of the station to sell their station to Dennis Uy, a

business crony of Duterte who collects bribes for him and launders his ill-gotten wealth.

*Another important thing that Duterte carries out is the complete control of the judicial system of the state, so that out of 15 members of the High Court, as many as 11 judges are under his control. Can this trend of judicial control be stopped at all?*

JMS: If Duterte is ousted from power, there is a chance for ending his complete control over the judiciary. You are correct that as many 11 justices of the Supreme Court are under Duterte's control. His control is not just the result of appointing them to their positions. He and they collaborate in getting bribes from the favored party in big money cases. Their most scandalous kind of collaboration involves the release of convicted big plunderers and dismissal of the plunder cases against them. The big plunderers include members of previous presidential families like the Marcoses, Estradas and Arroyos who supported the presidential campaign of Duterte in 2016.

So long as Duterte is president, corruption will thrive in the Supreme Court and the lower courts. The cases are being rigged in the lower courts in favor of the Duterte loyalists and partisan to save them from longer processes in higher courts. Duterte retains the loyalty of his bureaucratic and military subalterns at various levels by emboldening them to commit various types of lucrative crimes, from taking part in the illegal drug trade to stealing from the public treasury, and by assuring them of his protection.

*Duterte also, for many years controls every aspect of public administration and there is no verification and balance in its power. Where does such complete control of state institutions lead unlimited power in relation of the legislative, executive and judicial power in the country?*

JMS: Aside from controlling the judiciary by appointing judges loyal to him and corrupting them, he has gained control over the Senate and Lower House of Congress by rigging the 2019 mid-term elections. The officials of the Commission on Elections are his appointees and rabid loyalists. The Philippine TIM corporation as partner of the foreign computer firm Smartmatic is now owned by a Duterte crony. The electronic transmission of the election results for both houses of Congress were rigged by reconfiguring them during a seven-hour glitch.

Thus, the entire Congress, which is servile to Duterte, has railroaded his state terror bill, which he has just signed into law. This fascist law nullifies the Bill of Rights in the 1987 Constitution, Amendments are also ready to change the 1987 Constitution supposedly for shifting the system of government to federalism but in fact to a highly centralized fascist dictatorship. By way of pleasing the US and other foreign investors, a major constitutional amendment is set to allow foreign corporations unlimited ownership of Philippine land, natural resources, public utilities and all kinds of businesses.

*Since Duterte launched the "war on drugs", more than 29,000 people have been killed, of whom as many as 23,000 victims have been classified as "investigative homicides", while official figures say there are only 3,257 victims. Does this war have a different background, and what is the involvement of the Chinese Triads in it?*

JMS: As a result of Duterte's bogus war on illegal drugs, he has become the supreme lord of all the drug lords smuggling and distributing illegal drugs all over the Philippines. His own son and his son-in-law are his chief operatives in dealing with the Davao-based Chinese agents of the Chinese criminal triads, which are masterminding the drug and casino operations in the Philippines. There is now a monopoly of the illegal drug trade by the Duterte crime family.

Just to convince the people that he is serious about combating the illegal drug trade, Duterte has ordered his police agents and death squads to murder already more than 30,000 poor people suspected of being drug users and street level pushers. He ordered the killing of only a few local officials in control of smuggling points and their own independent drug kingdoms. Thus, the Duterte crime family has gained a monopoly over the drug smuggling and distribution. The Philippines is now more than ever flooded by illegal drugs from the Chinese criminal triads.

*Death squads in the city of Davao, where Duterte was mayor before coming to the presidency, increasingly reveal a picture similar to that Colombian Medellín during the '80s and '90s, or Mexico's Sinaloa during the 2000s. Is there any indication that this terror will end in the near future?*

JMS: The drug monopoly of Duterte in Davao City, involving drug laboratories, smuggling and distribution in Mindanao, while he was long-time mayor, has spread nationwide since he became president. The same military and police officers whom he ordered to kill street-level drug users and peddlers just to conjure the illusion of being tough on illegal drugs and cover up his interest in the illegal drug trade are the same officers he has put into high positions in order to kill tens of thousands of poor people and realize the nationwide Duterte monopoly of illegal drugs. The terror arising from the criminal regime of Duterte can end only if he is ousted from power.

*Duterte asked Congress to pass a bill to introduce compulsory military training in schools the so-called ROTC program. Is this his attempt to completely militarize Philippine society that would later allow him to introduce martial law as Ferdinand Marcos did in 1972?*

JMS: Yes, you are correct. The bill pushed by Duterte and his military adjutants to introduce compulsory military training in schools the so-called ROTC program is a major part of his scheme to completely militarize Philippine society and is intended to help pave the way for him to impose martial law on the Philippines as Ferdinand Marcos did in 1972.

*What has been talked about a lot in the Philippine public is the enactment of the so-called Anti-Terrorism Bill (ATB), which is actually a bill to carry out of state terrorism against the people as in the Marcos era. How different is this law from the already established martial law, and how much does such a law allow imperialist powers to conduct witch-hunts, in the case of the Americans, whose US Department of State in 2008 ranked the CPP and NPA in a group of 44 terrorist organisations in the world, dangerous to their security?*

JMS: The so-called Anti-Terrorism Bill, which Duterte has already signed into law last July 3, is in fact a law of unlimited state terrorism. It nullifies the Bill of Rights in the 1987 Constitution and all other provisions pertinent to human rights and fundamental freedoms. It is far worse than the martial law proclamation of Marcos in 1972, which was based on the so-called commander-in-chief provision in the Constitution and left the Bill of Rights intact but circumvented anyway.

The unconstitutional and anti-democratic character of the Duterte state terrorism is so flagrant that all respected personages, institutions and organizations have joined up with the forces of the Left in opposing this fascist law. Duterte intends to use this law to engage in witch-hunts, mass arrests and mass killing and to confiscate the properties of those labeled as communists and terrorists, including the social activists, critics and even the rivals of the Duterte faction among the oligarchs.

In November 2017, Duterte promised to Trump that he would terminate the peace negotiations with the National democratic Front of the Philippines, escalate his all-out war against the Communist Party of the Philippines and New People's Army and do everything to wipe them out and to make a constitutional amendment to allow US corporations unlimited ownership of Philippine land, natural resources, public utilities and all kinds of businesses. Thus, US imperialism has given to Duterte the license to engage in state terrorism and impose a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people.

*Duterte's fascist rhetoric, which transcends the boundaries of far-right populism, is often prone to calls such as that the military and the police units must learn the "art of assassination" in order to fight NPA units effectively, called them "sparrows". To what extent does this kind of rhetoric allow Duterte's populism to stay in power today?*

JMS: The methods of mass murder and destruction of evidence used in Oplan Tokhang in order to kill with impunity more than 30,000 poor people, suspected of being drug users and peddlers, are increasingly being used in military and police campaigns against individuals and organizations that are anti-imperialist and democratic in character but are being labeled as communists and terrorists. Duterte's new law of state terrorism enables his military and police death squads to engage in abductions, torture, assassinations and seizure of properties without any legal restraint and with far more impunity than ever before.

Before and after this new law, Duterte has publicly called on his military and police to master the art of assassination and has emboldened them to commit murders and plant false evidence. He misrepresents the NPA in order to push his own armed minions to abuse their authority and to commit murders. So-called sparrow operations of the NPA are legitimate combat operations against armed units or elements of its enemy or are acts of self-defense against armed resistance of suspects who are subject to arrest upon the warrant of the people's court of the revolutionary movement.

*Who do you see as Duterte's successor, and is it at all realistic to think about this topic at the moment, while foreign imperialists and the domestic bourgeoisie support him?*

JMS: There are anti-Duterte groups of officers and enlisted personnel within the reactionary military and police forces who are now planning to withdraw support from Duterte for committing treason by selling out Philippine sovereign and maritime rights to China in the West Philippine Sea and by allowing China to control the national power grid and China Telecom to put up cell towers in Philippine military, for criminalizing and corrupting the military and police through the system of rewards in the murder of suspects and in the faking of surrenders and projects and for plundering the public treasury. The corruption of the Duterte regime has been widely exposed

during the COVID-19 lock-downs for misappropriating hundreds of billions of pesos of public funds, while depriving the people of livelihood, food assistance and economic relief .

As in the 1986 overthrow of Marcos, these military and police officers are mainly pro-US but describe themselves as democratic-minded and wish to invoke the constitutional provision for withdrawing support from a president who has become physically and mentally incompetent. They also invoke the provision for constitutional succession by the vice president. The withdrawal of support can be coordinated with the gigantic mass actions of the people, as in the overthrow of Marcos in 1986 and Estrada in 2001. The NDFP does not oppose the plan of the aforesaid officers to oust Duterte. The ouster of Duterte can be a relief for the people.

The revolutionary forces of the people in the countryside, including the CPP, NPA, the mass organizations and the local organs of political power which constitute the people's democratic government are rapidly expanding and gaining strength. But they need to grow further before they can launch the strategic offensive to seize political power in Manila and other cities. They need to accumulate enough political and armed strength to be sure of overthrowing the ruling system. In the meantime, they are sure of winning in the countryside by expanding the scope of the people's democratic government in more than 110 guerrilla fronts, thousands of villages, hundreds of municipalities and 74 of 81 Philippine provinces.

*China, in the fight for complete domination in the South East Region of Asia, has more and more territorial aspirations towards some countries, such as Vietnam and Philippines. To what extent are such undisguised aspirations passed on by China's aggressive economic policy, which is the result of the technocratic power of existing state capitalism, dangerous to the sovereignty of the Philippine state today, and can it successfully defend itself against such attacks?*

JMS: China claims more than 90 percent of the South China Sea as its sovereign property in violation of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and the 2016 judgment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in favor of the Philippines against China. China is committing acts of aggression against the Philippines, Vietnam and Malaysia by taking over islands and other maritime features in their exclusive economic zones and extended continental shelves. The so-called historic claim of China over the South China Sea is as absurd and spurious as India claiming the entire Indian Ocean just because of the name of the ocean or Italy invoking the Roman empire to claim the entire Mediterranean Sea.

Particularly in the West Philippine Sea, China has built and militarized several artificial islands in the exclusive economic zone of the Philippines and the Scarborough or Panatag Shoal. These are rich in marine resources worth at least US\$1.5 trillion as well in gas and oil resources worth at least US\$26 trillion. As an imperialist or monopoly capitalist power, China covets these natural resources and is engaged in acts of aggression in order to acquire them. In the process, they are prohibiting the Filipino people from availing of these resources that belong to them. And the big traitor Duterte allows China to violate the sovereign rights of the Filipino people and damage the marine environment.

*Today reformist European left has completely abandoned Marx's thought and taken a liberal form from which the revolutionary idea has been excluded. That is why more and more space is being opened for counter-revolutionary and subversive elements such as Trotskyism, which work exclusively in the interests of imperialism. How are we going to suppress such degenerative phenomena like a Trotskyites IMT in the ranks of the modern left, which is slowly becoming saloon, excluded from historical reality?*

JMS: The crisis of the world capitalist system keeps on worsening. Before the imperialist powers can fix the crisis that resulted in the so-called Great Recession from 2008 onwards a still graver crisis has arisen called the Great Lockout which is supposed to be far worse than the Great Depression of 1930s which led to fascist regimes, World War II and the eventual victory of several socialist countries and national liberation movements all over the world.

Right now the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization has become bankrupt. The public debt bubble in most countries have begun to burst. The main partners in neoliberal globalization, the US and China, are beset by their respective crises and by the crisis of the world capitalist system and have become the chief competitors and rivals in the sharpening contradictions among the capitalist powers. The proletariat and people are undergoing so much suffering and are already rising up and shaking off the setbacks of Marxist parties and revolutionary movement since the years of 1989 to 1991. The anti-imperialist and democratic struggles of the proletariat and people are coming to the fore and are paving the way for the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

As regards the anti-Marxist groups, liberal reformists, revisionist, Trotskyites, anarchists and otherwise, let

them exercise the freedom of expression with their pens and mouths. They can wallow in their own shit. There is no need to suppress them. As you yourself say, they are further degenerating. They are becoming more irrelevant and smaller. If you have spare time from serious revolutionary study and work, you can write your own article to debunk their false claims and wrong ideas. That's what I have done recently in dealing with some Trotskyites writing and talking against the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people. Attached hereto is an interview I did recently concerning Trotskyites. You may publish it if you wish.

*In the end, I would like to greet you and wish you a further revolutionary struggle and your return to your homeland as soon as possible, with the hope that Marx's famous maxim "that history is the judge and the proletariat the executor of judgment" will come true.*

*Have a nice day and good luck!*

JMS: Thank you.



# ***Testimony on the Arbitrary Censorship and Disabling of my Facebook Account***

April 20, 2022

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To Jonas Staal (artist), Jan Fermon (lawyer) and All Concerned:

I make this testimony to establish the basis of my complaint against Facebook and to signify my joining the *Collective Facebook* as a collective action lawsuit to compel legal recognition of Facebook as a public domain that should be under ownership and control of its users: Facebook must be collectivized.

1. I have had an account with Facebook under the name of Joma Sison since 2009 or thereabouts. Last February 3, 2022 Facebook gave me notice that my account was being blocked temporarily for three days because it “looked like” that I posted on my Timeline content against Facebook Community Standards. The specific content pictured and referred to in the notice was an announcement of the Zoom launching of my book *On the Communist Party of the Philippines* on February 6, 2022. This book was earlier published by American publishers who enjoy the freedom of enterprise.

On February 10, 2022 I got the notice from Facebook that my account had been disabled and that the decision cannot be reversed.

Facebook has abruptly made drastic decisions against me without hearing my side before imposing a penalty on me, disrupting my communications with my colleagues, friends and especially my political constituencies through Facebook and Messenger, interfering with the announcement of my book launch, adversely affecting the distribution of my book, causing serious damages to my moral and material interest, and the collective interest of the national democratic movement of the people in the Philippines.

Facebook has arbitrarily prevented me from and deprived me of access to my property in the Facebook account, including my writings, documents, songs, poems, videos, photos, communications with colleagues, friends and my political constituency. I have been robbed by Facebook of what belongs to me, and to my political community. I do not remember having ever surrendered ownership of the aforesaid property in whole or in part.

2. As an individual and as a recognized leader of the national democratic movement, in my formal name of Jose Maria Sison and nickname Joma Sison, my democratic right and freedom of expression have been grossly violated by Facebook and I have suffered moral and material damage and I therefore demand compensation. Worst of all, Facebook has unlawfully acted against me in favor of its direct relationships with the Duterte regime in the Philippines, whose grave and systematic violations of human rights and scandalous corruption I have exposed and opposed in Facebook. In fact and effect, Facebook has a disproportionate impact on Philippine politics in favor of an oppressive and exploitative regime.

It is well-known in the Philippines, inside and outside the Facebook Community, that the National Task Force-ELCAC and the Marcos and Duterte regime’s troll armies and ‘fake news’ managers thereof have caused the initial blocking up to the disabling of my Facebook account. Facebook is now being widely criticized as an awesome instrument not only for superprofit-making but also for imperialist and fascist ideological and political regimentation. The people are therefore demanding that Facebook be under the collective control of its public users and builders.

3. In addition to my demand for the return of my property as above-mentioned and compensation for the moral and material damages inflicted by Facebook on me, I join the public clamour and demand for a future Facebook to be in the collective control of the people through a non-profit foundation whose board of directors is elected, not on the basis of stock ownership but on the basis of public interest in social media, by the users of Facebook who have been in fact its main and essential builders but whose collective efforts and results thereof have been misappropriated for private profit-making and ideological and political monopoly and censor culture by a clique of billionaires.

Signed: Jose Maria Sison

Utrecht, The Netherlands

April 20, 2022

# ***The Filipino People's Democratic Revolution Led by the Proletariat***

**April 30, 2022**

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Dear comrades, first of all, I wish to convey warmest greetings of international anti-imperialist solidarity and proletarian internationalism and to thank you for inviting me about the Philippine situation in the context of May 1, the international day of the proletariat.

Because Philippine society is semicolonial and semifeudal, the Communist Party of the Philippines as the vanguard of the proletariat has adopted as general line or program the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. The socialist stage of the Philippine revolution can commence upon the basic completion of the people's democratic revolution through the seizure of political power by the proletariat in a protracted people's war.

## ***1. Worsening crisis of the ruling system***

The semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines is in an ever worsening chronic socio-economic and political crisis because three monsters, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, are always sucking blood and sweat from the toiling masses of workers and peasants. All these monsters have been favored by the US-instigated policy of neoliberalism under the dogma of unbridled private greed of the monopoly bourgeoisie as the chief motive force for wealth creation in opposition to the truth that labor power creates wealth.

The basic lines of operation of the three monsters are as follows:

a. Imperialism keeps the country underdeveloped in order to take superprofits from the export of cheap raw materials, agricultural products and semi-manufactures, importing higher-priced manufactured and luxury products for the exploiting classes and providing the onerous loans to cover the perennial trade deficits.

b. Feudalism in the form of landlord-tenant relations is predominant in the countryside despite so many bogus land reform programs and development of a certain amount of semifeudal relations. In the absence of national industrial development, bourgeois land reform programs have always retrogressed to the revival of traditional feudalism in old and new settlements.

c. Bureaucrat capitalism is what characterizes the highest officials of the reactionary state who use their offices to accumulate private wealth in the form of bureaucrat capital in bank deposits and urban property as well in big comprador enterprises and agricultural landholdings. The favorite methods of corruption by bureaucrat capitalists include the so-called pork barrel in infrastructure projects, cutting into private contracts, government purchases of equipment and the like.

In all the years that he is president, Duterte has followed the policy dictates of the US government, the multilateral financial institutions and foreign credit rating agencies, as well as the promptings of the local American Chamber of Commerce and their local big comprador partners. These are in line with expanding the interests of the US and other foreign big banks and corporations and local big bourgeois compradors, big landlords and the bureaucrat capitalists.

The economic policies adopted by subservient regimes have caused the Philippine economy to stagnate and remain underdeveloped, agrarian, semifeudal and non-industrial. Production remains import-dependent, export-oriented and debt-burdened due to trade and budgetary deficits. Limited industrial production is low-value added and involves mainly the assembly of imported components or packaging. Agriculture remains largely small-scale employing hand tools and very limited use of machinery.

Under the Duterte regime, the ruling system has become even more rotten and unable to address the needs of the Filipino people who suffer from a high rate of unemployment, grossly low wages, loss of income, landlessness and land grabbing, rising prices, grave lack or inadequacy social services in education, health and public housing and other serious social ills. The regime has bankrupted the economy and has sunk into deeper into crisis.

In less than six years, the public debt doubled from ₱5.9 trillion in 2016 to more than ₱12 trillion last March, and is expected to rise further to ₱13.42 trillion by end of this year. Large-scale corruption, wasteful and anomalous infrastructure projects and military overspending have bankrupted the government, resulting in record levels of deficit spending reaching a high of ₱1.67 trillion last year.

The traitor Duterte regime has allowed the foreign monopoly firms and banks to tighten their control and

expand their domination of the local economy through amendments of the Foreign Investments Act, the Retail Trade Liberalization Act and the Public Service Act which all circumvent and violate the categorical limits in the 1987 Constitution against full foreign ownership and operation of businesses. These laws will now allow the imperialists to fully own and operate enterprises in all fields of investments, except defense, certain public utilities such as distribution of electricity and water, and in smaller retail trade.

He has enacted the Rice Import Liberalization Law in order to flood the domestic market with imported state-subsidized rice and to harm the interest of rice farmers who have suffered from the low buying price of palay set by the government. Vegetable farmers and meat producers are also being subjected to unfair competition by rampant smuggling under the cover of all-out liberalization.

He has expanded the business privileges of the foreign monopoly firms and has reduced their taxes. But under the Tax Reform for Acceleration and Inclusion (TRAIN) Law, he has required the people to shoulder onerous excise taxes on commodities and services. It is at the expense of the poor consumers and working people that he seeks to cover the mounting debts and revenue losses due to tax cuts in favor of foreign and big comprador corporations.

As bureaucrat capitalists, they use their power to accumulate ill-gotten wealth. Corruption continues to worsen in the form of kickbacks and bribes in exchange for government favors in state-related contracts and white elephant projects that are reminiscent of and comparable to the wasteful infrastructure spending under the 14-year Marcos dictatorship. Many of these graft-laden bridges, coastal roads and land reclamation are unnecessary and take away the source of living of peasants and fisherfolk.

The Filipino people have suffered greatly from Duterte's overspending on the military and police for the purchase of overpriced surplus military equipment from the US, and to raise above standard the salaries of officers of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and Philippine National Police (PNP) in order to buy their loyalty. It is now a big problem for the finance officers of the reactionary government to raise the yearly amount of ₱800 billion to maintain the salary increases for uniformed personnel and upward adjustment of their pensions.

Due to military overspending and corruption, public education, public health and other social services have suffered from lack of funding and from drastic budgetary cuts. The Covid-19 pandemic has highlighted the gross shortage of doctors, nurses and medical workers in public hospitals and high costs of laboratory tests and treatment and brought to light the Pharmacy racket and scandal in which Duterte, his mistress Honeylet and his valet Bong Go have re-channeled to their private pockets tens of billions of pesos from the national budget for the public health campaign against Covid-19.

Right now, the broad masses of the people, especially the workers and peasants, are overburdened by displacement from work and the rising prices of fuel, food and other basic commodities and utilities while big comprador companies rake in gargantuan profits. Under Duterte, the toiling masses have suffered from wage repression and wage cuts which can no longer cover the daily cost of living of the majority of Filipino families. The exploitation and oppression of workers are intensified through short-term job contracting, other flexible labor arrangements and outright dismissals.

Millions of jobless people are desperately cramped in large shanty towns in cities. In the countryside, rampant land-use conversion and land grabbing by big landlords, mining companies, infrastructure projects and expansion of plantations have forced the displacement of hundreds of thousands of peasants from their land. All in all, up to 70 percent of Filipinos precariously live on or below the poverty threshold.

It is preposterous that the Duterte regime and its followers still boast that the Bongbong Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate of crooks and butchers are so popular that they will win the 2022 elections. They can do so only through fraud and terrorism. The Filipino people abhor the Duterte regime for its treasonous, tyrannical, brutal and corrupt rule. They perceive and detest Marcos presidential candidate and Sara Duterte the vice presidential candidate as the combination of the worst of the political dynasties that have ruled the Philippines. The Duterte regime is extremely isolated.

But Duterte's lust for power knows no bounds, especially because he wishes to avoid prosecution for his crimes against humanity before the International Criminal Court, for crimes of plunder before the courts of his own state and for his crimes of counterrevolution before the people's court. His scheme to use the Marcos-Duterte tandem to avoid criminal accountability has heightened contradictions among rival factions of the big comprador-landlord ruling class.

He is hell-bent on rigging the 2022 elections in favor of the Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate. And he is inclined to declare nationwide martial law supposedly to preempt the “disruption” of the electoral process and ensure a “seamless transition” to his chosen successors. But this will certainly incite widespread mass protests and cause further instability of the ruling system. Mass rallies being mobilized by the main political opposition party and the progressives forces continue to grow large, disprove the false claims of popular support for Duterte and his candidates and indicate the victory of the Robredo-Pangilinan tandem and slate.

There is certainty or at least high probability that Duterte will rig the vote count and even declare martial law in the remainder of his term in May and June to declare martial law. But the huge mass rallies being mobilized by the opposition, the churches and the legal democratic forces can still dissuade or prevent him from committing electoral fraud and declaring martial law. But of course US imperialism and its Central Intelligence Agency and Defense Intelligence Agency operatives and assets within the reactionary armed forces will provide the puppet Duterte with the most weighty advice.

Whatever the outcome of the May elections, the broad masses of the Filipino people are determined to continue with their struggles to assert, defend and promote their national and democratic rights and aspirations. They can rise up to overthrow the usurpers of political powers as swiftly as in 1986 after the Marcos fascist dictatorship rigged the elections or they must wage a relentless struggle for a longer period of time just to overthrow the usurpers. At any rate, they must contend with and resist state terrorism and the high degree of militarization of the reactionary state counterinsurgency state.

## ***II. The forces of armed counter-revolution***

Despite the attempts of the Duterte regime to sell out the sovereign rights of the Filipino people to China in the West Philippine Sea and to lure China to extend a loan of US\$24 billion for infrastructure projects, the US remains the dominant imperialist power in the Philippines and retains command and control over the puppet reactionary armed forces. It has used the reactionary state and its coercive apparatuses to impose imperialist and fascist power over the Filipino people. The puppet reactionary armed forces and police follow US “counterinsurgency” doctrine, despite its repeated failures and defeats elsewhere in the world.

The US provides military indoctrination, training, intelligence, military supplies by grants and credit sales within the frame of the Mutual Defense Treaty, the Visiting Forces Agreement, the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement, and its Operation Pacific Eagle – Philippines. US troops, military equipment and weapons are permanently stationed in AFP camps and elsewhere in the Philippines alongside China telecom towers. To enhance its command and control over the AFP, the US has conducted more than 1,300 bilateral military activities in the Philippines and docked their war ships at least 850 times over the past six years.

Under the direction, planning and funding of the US Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency and openly known American military advisers in the US-RP Military Advisory Group, the Philippine reactionary state has brazenly adopted fascist policies, militarized the bureaucracy, suppressed civil liberties and human rights and unleashed brutal attacks, including abductions, torture, assassinations and massacres .

They have put counter-insurgency and anti-communist suppression in the center of state policy. They have enlarged the power of the military and police, under the so-called Anti-Terror Law of 2020. The bureaucracy has been reorganized to place civilian state agencies under the control of the Anti-Terrorism Council and National Task Force-ELCAC. These constitute a civil-military junta that actually commands the entire government.

Violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by the military and police have run rampant both in the cities and rural areas. Labor unionists, community organizers, youth and women activists, as well as human rights advocates, progressive religious leaders, teachers and health workers have been subjected to surveillance, red-tagging, harassments, arbitrary arrests and extra-judicial killings. The situation is even worse in the countryside. Gross and systematic violations of human rights by the military and police are under-reported by reactionary government agencies and corporate media.

Entire villages or clusters of villages are placed under military rule, bringing about a climate of terror and hardships on the peasant masses. AFP detachments turn civilian structures into barracks, deploy perimeter guards to hamper people’s movements, set up checkpoints to control commerce (under the pretext of stopping the NPA’s food supplies), prevent them from going to their farms and the forest, and obstructing production on the false claim that the extra harvest will go the NPA.

The troops and police incessantly harass the peasant masses, arbitrarily accuse them of supporting the

revolutionary movement, make them sign attendance sheets in meetings and make them pose on camera as “surrenderers”, subject them to surveillance, conduct night raids on their homes, force them to disaffiliate from their legal community organizations, abduct or arrest people on false charges and murder peasant leaders and activists.

There are now 166 combat battalions of Army, Air Force, Marines, Scout Rangers, PNP Special Action Forces and other military and police units deployed against the NPA, 21 more than the previous year. The AFP conducts large-scale and focused military operations, coordinate its various branches and make full use of the whole range of its arsenal against the guerrilla forces of the NPA. But at any given time, the AFP and the PNP cannot cover and control more than 20 per cent of the Philippine population and terrain despite huge military overspending.

Duterte’s budget for the military further increased to ₱221 billion this year from ₱217 billion last year. Despite questionable spending, the budget of the NTF-ELCAC further increased to ₱17.5 billion (from ₱4.2 billion) although ₱10 billion is categorized as unallocated. Most of the public money being allocated for state terrorism is actually the object of massive corruption by the Duterte ruling cliques and a handful of military and police top brass, especially through overpriced payments for domestic and foreign supplies.

Even then, in the past six years, the AFP has received a total of US\$1.14 billion worth of military assistance in the form of Foreign Military Financing, military training programs and others. The Duterte regime has spent hundreds of billions of pesos to purchase attack and combat utility helicopters, jet fighters and attack aircraft, cannons and artillery systems, 500-lb and 250-lb bombs, rockets and missiles, drone systems, tanks, armored personnel carrier, electronic surveillance and communication equipment, rifles, ammunition and so on.

The US has provided GPS tracking systems, button-sized cameras to track guerrilla movement in forested areas, equipment for cellphone surveillance, and so on. It has trained AFP personnel to enhance their cyber-warfare capabilities in internal communication systems, real-time monitoring of the battlefield and improve command capability and mobilization of forces. It directs AFP to control the “information environment” through psy-ops and disinformation and to mount cyber attacks against the websites of the CPP and NDFP, and other patriotic and progressive websites that are critical of the Duterte regime.

The AFP tries vainly to politically undermine the revolutionary movement by parading “surrenderers” and corpses and claiming that they were “deceived by promises of a better life,” by criminalizing revolutionary forces through “lawfare”, and making repeated fake news of receiving “information from civilians” against operating NPA units. It unleashes campaigns to glorify the AFP through tokenistic and palliative “livelihood” or “housing” projects and misrepresents infrastructure projects and social services of civilian agencies as those of the military.

But by far the atrocities inflicted by the reactionary armed forces and police on the people outstrip the hypocritical attempts to “win the hearts and and minds of the people. The coercive apparatuses of the reactionary state cannot be but instruments of the gross and systematic violation of human rights. The main drive of the Duterte regime is to try in vain to destroy the revolutionary movement of the people and whip up fascist brutality, guarantees impunity and emboldens the violation of the people’s democratic rights and freedoms.

The evil purpose is to preserve the ruling system and serve the interests of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. State forces have wantonly committed crimes against the people including the massacre of civilians, the abduction, torture and murder of activists, as well as unarmed revolutionaries and even peace consultants of the NDFP, aerial bombing and shelling of civilian communities and so on. The number of political prisoners who languish in jail for prolonged periods continue to rise despite the priority given by the regime to the murder of suspected revolutionaries.

### ***III. The revolutionary forces of the people on the way forward***

As I have pointed at the beginning, the Communist Party of the Philippines is the advanced detachment of the proletariat. It is guided by the theory of of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and applies it on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. It leads the people’s democratic revolution through protracted people’s war. It builds the Party branches and Party committees at all levels of the NPA and the revolutionary mass organizations and at all territorial levels nationwide. It has a general membership of more than 150,000.

The people’s democratic revolution has persevered for so long and has grown in strength. It is invincible because the Party keeps on raising the level of revolutionary consciousness and practice of Party cadres and members, commanders and fighters of the NPA and auxiliary forces, the activists of the revolutionary mass organizations, revolutionary alliances and the officers and personnel of the people’s democratic government.

The Party wields as main weapon the armed struggle waged by the NPA in order to smash the state power of

the counter-revolutionary class and establish the organs of political power which now constitute the people's democratic government. It also wields the national united front built by the National Democratic Front in order to win the active support of the Filipino people in their millions and prepare the higher levels of the people's democratic government.

The national united front involves the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, winning over the petty and middle bourgeoisie and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy, be it the worst reactionary faction in the civil war or the foreign aggressor in the war of national liberation.

The anti-feudal united front policy of the Party is important because it is at the foundation of the national united front main form of struggle being carried out by the NPA. It involves the Party relying mainly on the masses of peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants, taking advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened and evil gentry and isolating and destroying the power of the local feudal tyrants.

The NPA has enjoyed the wide and deep-going support of the peasants masses because they have been a decisive factor in the implementation of genuine land reform, from the minimum to the maximum program, and have courageously and have indefatigably defended the people against the feudal and semifeudal tyrants and the fascist onslaughts of the AFP and PNP under the Duterte and previous regimes.

The NPA has thousands of Red commanders and fighters and is reinforced by the people's militia, consisting of the local guerrillas the self-defense of the revolutionary mass organizations. It aims to go through the probable stages of development in protracted people's war which include the strategic defensive with the guerrilla warfare as the main form of warfare, the strategic stalemate with regular mobile warfare and the strategic offensive combining mobile warfare and positional warfare against the final holdouts of the AFP.

The NPA is now carrying out intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the flanks and rear of enemy forces to annihilate enemy units and seize their weapons. It launches back-to-back inter-front or inter-sub-regional tactical offensives in order to make the enemy bleed from a thousand cuts and to deliver periodic blows to its head; and special tactical offensives along the enemy's main lines of transportation and communications. It mobilizes the militia units to maintain internal security, smash the enemy's intelligence network, gather intelligence, draw a complete map of the enemy's positions and help in the plan to deliver effective blows on the enemy.

It strives to disable the enemy's communication system, target the enemy's air assets and punish the fascist criminal bosses. It sabotages the capabilities of the enemy wherever possible and carries out punitive measures against vulnerable enemy units and elements in order to render justice to their victims and compel the enemy to go on the defensive wherever possible and reduce the number of enemy forces arrayed against the guerrilla fronts.

The NPA strengthens itself politically and militarily. It has a clear plan to recruit thousands upon thousands of Red fighters from among the toiling masses of workers and peasants, especially the youth. It also recruit from the ranks of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia. Local Party branches and mass organizations, both in the rural areas and cities, have clear plans and methods for deploying their members to the NPA.

The NPA builds itself both vertically and horizontally, striking the correct balance between the two. It builds and integrates the three types of NPA formations in every guerrilla front, sub-region and region: the NPA platoons for mass work (armed propaganda units); the guerrilla platoons to undersized company guerrilla units at the sub-regional and regional level that serve as centers-of-gravity of guerrilla warfare in their area, and which also bears the basic elements of mobile guerrilla warfare; and the local guerrilla militia units and self-defense militia units of mass organizations.

The NPA builds its armed strength and develops appropriate weapons to fight the enemy. It relies mainly on seizing rifles and other weapons from the enemy. It combines the use of high-powered weapons with indigenous or low-powered weapons, including home-made hand guns, as well as develops command-detonated and hand-held explosives or grenades from available materials. These weapons are made in large numbers for wide use among the Red fighters and militia units. The NPA trains to use its rifles or develop weapons against enemy aircraft.

Over the past six years, the NPA has successfully frustrated the enemy's brutal and large-scale strategic offensives and its declarations of ending the armed revolution before the end of term of the US-Duterte regime. It has preserved its forces by persevering along the path of protracted people's war and by resolutely advancing the

Filipino people's struggle for genuine national independence and democracy.

NPA units have successfully mastered the tactics of counter-encirclement through dispersal and quick movement of smaller units to penetrate through the gaps of enemy forces on the rough terrain of the countryside in order to strike at the weak points of the enemy on his flanks and rear. They have successfully compelled the enemy to overstretch his forces by expanding the NPA's areas of operation to cover 6-10 towns while maintaining close leadership of the masses and mounting armed actions across the breadth of its territory.

Units of the NPA are strictly observing military discipline and security policies, and further developing guerrilla methods of secrecy in maneuvering and encampment, in order to render ineffective the enemy's use of drones, satellite trackers, and electronic signals, combined with ground intelligence forces, for surveillance and target acquisition; and thus, deny the enemy of an opportunity to use their aerial assets to drop bombs and strafing.

In areas within the enemy's focus and villages under military occupation, the NPA and the masses are successfully standing firm, parrying the enemy's attacks, mounting counter-attacks and defending themselves. The masses are inspired by the slogan "Don't be cowed into silence!" and are fighting back through armed and unarmed forms of resistance. They have driven away military detachments from their communities.

The NPA raises the level of cultural activity within its ranks and among the masses. Red fighters and commanders are taught and encouraged to express their experiences, the oppression and aspirations of the masses, contempt for the enemy and propagation of revolutionary ideas in various creative forms which in turn can help raise and strengthen the revolutionary will of their fellow fighters and the masses. The cultural influences of the ruling system that poison the minds of the youth are rejected and the national, scientific and mass culture is promoted.

The masses are the source of strength of the NPA. The NPA therefore always aims to strengthen the ties that bind it with the masses. It mobilizes the masses in their millions. It defends and supports the agrarian revolution. The mass struggles against all forms of feudal oppression are combined with their struggles against imperialism and fascism. The number of organized masses run in the millions and support the CPP, NPA, NDFP and the people's democratic government.

The NPA and all other revolutionary forces work hard to carry out widespread propaganda, agitation, mobilization of the masses. They carry out all forms of propaganda to effectively reach the people in their areas of operation. They distribute actively and widely the Ang Bayan, other revolutionary publications, and statements of the CPP, NPA and NDFP at the national and regional levels to clarify the stand and views of the revolutionary movement on the outstanding issues confronting the country and people in the regions.

Local NPA units produce and distribute leaflets and local newsletters to present analysis of local issues and problems of the people to raise their consciousness and militancy to fight for their rights and interests. They always conduct social investigation and gather the facts on the pressing problems of the masses in their villages and towns. They can produce local radio or video programs. They can link up with the youth and the masses in their areas in various ways. They also exert efforts to work with media outfits to serve as platform for reaching out to the people.

The NPA resolutely and vigorously expose and oppose the lies and disinformation being spread by the enemy. It uses all means to gather all facts and proofs to express the truth. The units of the NPA conduct campaigns of mass education and mass organizing, raising production, public health and sanitation, self-defense, disaster relief and environmental protection. The NPA has excellent work in combating the Covid-19 pandemic, as well as other diseases endemic in the local area. They mount mass clinics and provide health services to the masses.

The NPA vigorously develops a revolutionary cultural movement among the masses by promoting revolutionary songs, poems, dances, dramatic act, skits and other works of art. It organizes local choral or dance troupes of youth and children, and mount inter-village or inter-town festivals to promote the local revolutionary culture. The NPA also teaches the masses the use of tactics to turn the reactionary law against their oppressors. They can make use of various forms of organization and mobilization to draw the biggest participation of a community, and apply the united front policy and tactics to rely on the basic masses and take advantage of splits among the enemy.

The Party, the NDFP and various mass organizations encourage the broad masses in the cities to join or support the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. Extra efforts are being exerted to carry out education and propaganda among the masses who are daily exposed to the lies of the enemy through mass media and social media. The connections and interactions of exploitation and oppression are being exposed between the problems

of workers and the unemployed, students, urban poor, professionals, ordinary employees and other oppressed sectors with the problems of the peasant masses in the countryside.

The masses in the cities are inspired to wage militant collective struggle to defend their rights and welfare, fight political repression under the fascist regime, and resist imperialist domination and military intervention. They issue timely slogans and calls to urge the masses to mount protest actions in their factories and workplaces, in school campuses and communities, and to take to the streets and demonstrate in big numbers to denounce the oppressive economic policies, mendicancy of the ruling regime, all-out liberalization, tax burdens, low wages and low salaries, skyrocketing of prices of food and fuel, tuition increases, and rising cost of other services.

Party branches and committees, and the underground revolutionary sectoral organizations allied with the NDFP are being built in the cities. These organizations have millions of members and perform their role in propaganda and education to raise the revolutionary consciousness of the people in the cities. They expose and oppose the “terrorist designation” against the CPP, NPA and NDFP which the fascists use as pretext for state terrorism and the US imperialists use as pretext for military intervention.

They have encouraged the masses in the cities to join the NPA in the countryside, facilitated integration and coordination and helped generate political and material support for the revolutionary armed struggle. They have helped to ensure the safety of activists and mass leaders who are subjected to fascist persecution or threats of arrest or murder, and facilitate their transfer to the countryside to avail of the protection of the NPA and to become ever more active and effective fighters for national and social liberation.

Revolutionary propaganda has been addressed specifically to the rank and file foot soldiers of the enemy who come from the toiling masses and are used as cannon fodder in the enemy’s brutal counterinsurgency operations. They are urged to leave the reactionary military and police and to join their class brothers and sisters in fighting for the just cause of the oppressed and exploited. They called upon them to expose their knowledge of the crimes, corruption and high-living of the officers of the AFP and to bring their weapons to the side of the revolution.

The CPP, NPA and the NDFP, as well as other revolutionary mass organizations, have had an outstanding record of being able to win over enemy officers, cadets and enlisted personnel to the revolutionary side. The disintegration of the enemy forces is complementary to the annihilation of enemy forces in the battlefield and is accomplished by prudent and persuasive methods outside of the battlefield, acceptance of enemy surrenders and lenient treatment to those who surrender.

The youth are called upon by the people and their revolutionary forces to shun the reactionary armed forces and police, no matter the promises of high salaries, by exposing the AFP and PNP as enemies of the people and exposing their crimes against the people. They are being persuaded by their friends and relatives to leave the military, police and paramilitary academies and training programs and not to become oppressors of the people.

In addition to the more than ten million Filipinos who stay unemployed in the Philippines, another more than ten million have left the country as cheap labor abroad since the late 1970s. They are more than 10 per cent of the Philippine population and more than 20 per cent of the Philippine labor force. Efforts are being intensified to inform the migrant Filipinos and the peoples around the world about the ever worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation in then Philippines and the justness of the revolutionary armed struggle for national and social liberation from US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

We strive to gain international support under the principles of anti-imperialist solidarity and proletarian internationalism, through solidarity mass work, partnerships of Filipino progressive organizations with their counterparts abroad and through proto-diplomatic and diplomatic relations with governments that are anti-imperialist and assertive of national independence and socialist programs or aspirations.

In this regard, we appreciate highly and are grateful for the international solidarity work and cooperation of the International League of Peoples’ Struggle and the various organizations of BAYAN and likewise the Friends of the Filipino People in Struggle and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. They have achieved a lot in their work and cooperative relations. They have strengthened themselves and extended support to the Filipino people in their struggle. They have also been supportive whenever the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations are held abroad to address the roots of the civil war in the Philippines.

In view of the red-tagging by the forces of imperialist and state terrorism in the Philippines, we must point out that both BAYAN and NDFP are for the noble and just principles of national independence and democracy but they cannot be equated with each other because BAYAN is a legal federation of patriotic and democratic forces



and NDFP is the national united front for people's democratic revolution and for the people's democratic government. Overseas Filipinos and their foreign friends have found more freedom to relate openly to either one or both of BAYAN and NDFP than Filipinos who are subjected to state terrorism in the Philippines.

Thank you.

# ***On the 2022 Philippine Elections***

**Interview by Eunice Barbara C. Novio**

**May 4, 2022**

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*1. Why can't we have a Philippine President from the labor sector? Why the Philippine Left is not supporting Leody de Guzman?*

JMS: It is possible to have a Philippine president from the working class with more effective work at arousing, organizing and mobilizing the toiling masses of workers and peasants as the electoral base and winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie on a program of full national independence, democracy, social justice, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrial development, expansion of social services, cultural progress and international solidarity for peace and development.

As done in certain Latin American countries, the effective work has to be done on a daily basis from year to year and from decade to decade and not only during the electoral campaign period. It has to be done in the course of resolute and militant struggle against the overall dominance of US imperialism, the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists, the reactionary state and the political dynasties.

The biggest of the patriotic and progressive organizations of workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie that are in BAYAN and Makabayan Bloc of parties did not make any move in the year 2021 to prepare for fielding ambitiously a full slate of national and local candidates in the 2022 elections or for making such a slate as temporary base for the modest purpose of negotiating a winnable coalition with other relatively progressive parties and groups. They seemed to be unable to anticipate that the competing bourgeois parties would be small and improvised and headed by mediocre presidential and vice presidential candidates.

Lakas ng Masa of Leody de Guzman has had the daring to present himself as the presidential candidate of the working class in 2022 but he belongs to Lakas ng Masa which is a minority part of the organized workers and has limited resources for nationwide campaign. Without their prior consent and support for Leody de Guzman, other working class parties and progressive parties made their own commitments and plans other than supporting him. At any rate, Ka Leody is commendable for taking a patriotic and progressive stand on major issues.

*2. When we say "mature" voters, have the Filipino voters reached that maturity already? What do you think?*

JMS: I consider the entire Filipino nation mature in view of the fact that the Filipinos have arisen as a nation since the Philippine revolution of 1896 and as the first nation in Asia to overthrow a Western colonial power (Spanish colonialism) and give a serious fight to the US imperialist war of aggression from 1899 onwards. Filipinos of various class interests have their respective serious interests. Those who use the term "mature" should explain themselves in concrete ways.

As far as I am concerned, the broad masses of voters in any society ruled by the exploiting classes can be divided into three general categories: the politically advanced, middle and backward sections. In the Philippines, the politically advanced are those who are anti-imperialist and truly democratic, those in the middle are mixed up and vacillate and those who are backward uncritically follow the dictates coming from the imperialists and exploiting classes through the reactionary state, the schools, media and other institutions and agencies.

The workers and peasants have their common rights, interests and aspirations in order to form their own political programs, parties and organizations. But it is a big task for them just to maintain and develop the unity of the working people in view of the accumulated power and wealth which enable the exploiting classes to use the state, the schools, the mass media, the churches and other institutions to mislead the exploited masses, manipulate the middle social strata and dish out as democratic the competitions and rivalries of ruling class factions in the form of the dominant political parties.

*3. What does the Philippine Left expect from the next president (Robredo or Marcos)?*

JMS: The anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-fascist Philippine Left expects the worst to come from the presidency of Marcos Junior and vice presidency of Sara Duterte. These will continue the brutal and corrupt legacies of their parents. Marcos Junior is out to consolidate and expand the bureaucratic loot of his parents and use state power to do so. Sara is out to continue the reign of state terrorism and to prevent the prosecution and trial of her father for crimes against humanity before the International Criminal Court and for plunder and mass murder

before Philippine courts.

On the basis of the large mass rallies that have supported her, Robredo is certain to win the presidential elections because she is the credible opposition leader. But the incumbent president Duterte is hell-bent on rigging the electoral vote count. He controls the COMELEC and all the civil and military personnel deputized for poll duty. The ballots can be pre-shaded, with cash incentives provided to voters, and then the Smartmatic merely reflects the pre-shading on the ballots.

If the Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate win, there will be gigantic mass uprisings in Metro Manila and nationwide. This is predictable because of the gigantic mass rallies that have supported the Robredo-Pangilinan tandem and slate and have overshadowed the small rallies of Marcos and Duterte. If Robredo somehow prevails over Marcos despite the electoral cheating by Duterte, the Filipino people will welcome her willingness to resume the peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines but will be wary over her neoliberal thinking in economic policy and over her discernible subservience to US imperialism in matters of national security.

1. *What can we expect from the Philippine Left, whoever wins the presidency?*

JMS: As a patriotic and democratic force against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, the Philippine Left will continue to wage all possible and necessary forms of struggle for full national independence, democracy, social justice, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrial development, expansion of social services, cultural progress and international solidarity for peace and development.

Marcos Junior and Sara have already declared their plan to continue the anti-people, anti-national and anti-democratic policies of their respective parents. Thus, the Philippine Left is ready to fight them and to continue the just struggle of the Filipino people for national and social liberation. In the case of Robredo becoming president, the Philippines Left will welcome the resumption of peace negotiations as an opportunity worth taking for addressing the roots of the armed conflict with comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms in order to achieve a just and lasting peace.

# ***Massive Political Rallies of Robredo-Pangilinan Tandem Ought to Serve As Warning against Cheating by Duterte***

**May 8, 2022**

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The massive political rallies held by the Robredo-Pangilinan tandem nationwide in vote-rich cities and provincial capitals and culminating in the May 7 miting de abanse in Makati should serve as a serious warning against cheating by the Duterte regime in the May 9 polls.

But according to reliable sources, the incumbent president Rodrigo R. Duterte has become even more hell-bent on rigging the elections in order to preclude his prosecution and trial for crimes against humanity before the International Criminal Court as well as for plunder and multiple murders before Philippine courts.

The basic scheme for rigging the 2022 elections involves the pre-shading of ballots in favor of the Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate of candidates, with cash incentives provided to the voters. The pre-shaded ballots are then fed to the Smartmatic vote counting machines. It is a scheme of GIGO (garbage in and garbage out), with Smartmatic pretending to be ignorant of the data breach.

To carry out the scheme, Duterte has complete control of the COMELEC and all its personnel, the teachers deputized for electoral duty and the military and police assigned to secure the electoral precincts, personnel and paraphernalia. Pro-Marcos and pro-Duterte local officials are mobilized to ensure that the pre-shaded ballots and cash incentives are handed to the voters.

There are yet no indications that the US is telling its puppet Duterte to back out of his scheme to rig the elections. Known assets of the US Central Intelligence Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency have not yet received orders to discourage Duterte from cheating. But military and police officers loyal to the Robredo-Pangilinan tandem are hopeful that the broad masses of the people would rise up like in 1986 as soon as the vote count would indicate fraud.

As in the presidential election of 1986, when the fascist dictator Marcos cheated, a broad range of organized forces and institutions are prepared to engage in gigantic mass actions in order to frustrate the electoral fraud.

Among those expected to rise up in the millions in Metro Manila and nationwide are the opposition parties, the Christian parishes and Muslim communities, the patriotic and progressive mass organizations and the broad masses of people who have long been oppressed and exploited by political dynasties and by the reactionary classes of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

# ***On the 2022 Philippine Elections***

**Interview by Edna Becker, *Radyo Pawikan* in Zurich, Switzerland**

**May 11, 2022**

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*1. Thank you for giving us the opportunity to have your insights on the election results. To start off, what was your reaction when you saw the results?*

JMS: I monitored the Philippine elections from 6 am of May 9 onward. I was getting reports from friends in different parts of the Philippines that they could not vote and were made to wait even past 7 pm because the local board of electoral inspectors told them that the Vote Counting Machines, SD cards or Precinct Count Optical Scanners were defective or out of order.

But starting at 8 pm the COMELEC began to broadcast that it has counted and canvassed nationwide more than 50 per cent of the votes and Marcos was winning by a landslide over Robredo at first with a uniform margin of 32 per cent in various parts of the country and than eventually with uniform margin of 47 per cent.

I immediately thought that the results were unbelievable as did the statisticians and mathematicians. The widespread malfunctioning of the VCMs, SDs and PCOSs did not jibe with the subsequent high speed of the vote count and canvass. In the 2016 elections, it took 10 days from May 9 to May 19 to complete the vote count and canvassing nationwide.

*2. How could this happen? Can you tell us about the historical revisionism that has led to a second Marcos presidency? Did it start with Duterte or has this been going on for a longer amount of time?*

JMS: The incumbent president Duterte rigged the elections this year. He controls the COMELEC, the entire process and the contracted suppliers of equipment and ballots which include his dummy company run by Dennis Uy and the Smartmatic. He has fixed the results of the elections in favor of the Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate in order to prevent his prosecution and trial for crimes against humanity before the International Criminal Court and for mass murder and plunder before Philippine courts.

Since it was allowed to return to the Philippines in 1991, the Marcos family had always tried to revise Philippine history in its favor. But it has always failed. It is not true that the Marcos propaganda machinery has been so successful at revising Philippine history to the point that the people have become stupid and have forgotten the brutal and corrupt rule of the fascist dictator Ferdinand Marcos Sr.

The false narrative that the Marcos family was successful at dumbing down the people is calculated to cover up the rigging of the 2022 elections and blame the people for the fake election of the Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate. The Dutertes, Marcoses and their allies and propaganda agents have spread the false narrative to dampen the people's outrage and the expected mass protests.

*3. Could the other candidates like Leni Robredo or Isko Moreno have done anything else? Especially Robredo had seemed to gain a lot of support. Was her political platform ultimately the cause of her loss or were the forces behind the Marcos-Duterte campaign too powerful?*

JMS: Robredo was the most credible opposition presidential candidate in terms of her pronouncements and the large mass rallies that she was able to gather. She was at the top of Google Trends and other credible surveys. The other presidential candidates who presented themselves as also opposition had less following to show.

Marcos was far worse than Robredo in having no platform or program, except for the empty phrase pagkakaisa or unity, without any substantiation. At the least in the case of Robredo, she was dishing out a few points about the substance of her platform. Indeed, it is more valid to say that Marcos made a fake victory by having powerful forces like the Duterte regime and Marcos money to rig the elections.

*4. There have been reports about irregularities regarding the vote counting machines. Has this won Marcos the election?*

JMS: At the outset, I pointed out the irregularities regarding the vote counting machines, SDs and PCOSs. There were claims of breakdown or defects of these. And so many people in tens of millions were not able to vote. But fake ballots were pre-shaded and later fed to the VCMs.

The fake ballots had been pre-shaded and kept in reserve for speedy count and canvassing after 8 pm of May 9. It is an obvious lie that only so few thousands of VCMs were deployed this year despite the billions

appropriated for buying new equipment and refurbishing old ones.

5. *A lot of campaigning was done on social media. There was a lot of fake news, disinformation, historical revisionism. Should social media be held accountable?*

JMS: Of course, the Marcos and Duterte families had their private troll armies and used government civil and military machines in favor of the Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate. But the opposition has had in its favor the reality of the ever-worsening social crisis, the mass protests against the crimes of the regime and and increased access to the social media.

6. *People have been taking to the streets since Monday night. The people are furious. What can those of us, that are not willing to accept a Marcos presidency, do both in the Philippines and here in Europe?*

JMS: The people have the right to rise up in mass protests against the electoral fraud committed by the Duterte regime. Their sovereign and democratic right of suffrage has been violated. And the scion of a brutal and corrupt political dynasty is being imposed on them.

The Filipinos in Europe and elsewhere abroad can also rise up in protest in support and coordination with their compatriots and relatives in the Philippines. They are even more free to do so abroad, unlike in the Philippines where state terrorism is rampant and is violent against the people.

7. *Can you tell us a bit about the Marcos-Duterte alliance? What can we expect?*

JMS: The Marcos-Duterte alliance has existed since a long time ago. Rodrigo Duterte is proud of his father Vicente being a cabinet member of the Marcos regime in the 1970s and being an ally of Marcos. When he ran for the presidency in 2016, Duterte sought the support of the Marcos family in order to get votes from the so-called Solid North.

The Marcos and Duterte political dynasties have been the worst, the most brutal and most corrupt in Philippine history. We can expect far worse from Bongbong and Sara because they are out to consolidate and expand the power and wealth that their parents have accumulated for decades.

8. *Here on Radyo Pawikan, we have often reported on the NTF-ELCAC, the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict. They have been the cause of a massive campaign against activists, journalists, human rights advocates and lawyers that has even resulted in murder numerous times. Will Marcos continue NTF-ELCAC? What will happen to progressive organizations and people?*

JMS: We expect the Marcos-Duterte regime to continue the so-called Anti-Terror Law, the so-called Anti-Terrorism Council, the NTF-ELCAC, the anti-communist campaign of military suppression, the red-tagging, abductions, torture, mass murders and other crimes against the people. Social activists, journalists, human rights advocates and lawyers, their patriotic and progressive organizations and the broad masses of the people will be further victimized on a wider scale.

9. *We've talked about what has happened and the negative effects it will have on the Filipino people. Let's turn this around. What is it that the Filipino people want? What are we fighting for?*

JMS: What the people want can be simply stated as follows: full national independence from US and foreign domination, genuine democracy for the people, social justice against class oppression and exploitation, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization, expansion of social services (especially, education health and housing), independent foreign policy and international solidarity of peoples.

10. *Do the Filipino people have a chance in improving the situation in the Philippines through the electoral process?*

JMS: Of course, the Filipino people have a chance to improve their situation. Within the ruling semicolonial and semifeudal system, they can try to struggle for and obtain reforms through the elections and mass campaigns. And if they fail to obtain reforms in this manner, the people can invoke their sovereign right to change the ruling system and carry out the new democratic revolution. Thus, there is now a growing and advancing armed revolution in the Philippines.

11. *Will there be peace negotiations?*

JMS: The Marcos-Duterte tandem has not shown any interest in the resumption of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, unlike most of the opposition presidential candidates. The new ruling clique has indicated so many times that it will continue the campaign of military suppression against the revolutionary movement of the people.

12. *As a result of the cheating in the 2022 elections and the lack of peace negotiations, what are the foreseeable consequences?*

JMS: The people will keep on engaging in mass protests and mass campaigns to expose the rottenness of the

ruling system and the usurpation of power by those who benefited from electoral fraud and terrorism. The ruling clique will not be able to solve the worsening chronic political and economic crisis and will continue to be brutal and corrupt.

The people, especially the workers and peasants, will be suffering a lot from mass unemployment, low incomes and mass poverty and from the repressive actions and campaigns of the ruling clique. The people's democratic revolution will be further growing in strength and advancing through protracted people's war.

# Concerning the May 9 Elections

Itanong Mo Kay Prof., May 15, 2022

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JMS: Warmest patriotic greetings to you Prof. Raymundo and all our countrymen. Our topic today is extremely important. It has to do with the issue of elections and democracy and struggle for the national and democratic rights of the Filipino people against the oppressive and exploitative Philippine oligarchy.

1. SR: *We have a lot of questions after the May 9 elections. Our listeners want to know your opinion and attitude regarding the issues related to the just concluded elections. First of this is what do you think about the big lead of Bongbong Marcos over Leni Robredo?*

JMS: What the Kontra Daya (Against Fraud) says is true that this Election 2022 is the dirtiest in the history of the Philippines. Various methods were used to commit fraud: vote-buying, gross disinformation in social media, threats and preventing opposition voters from casting their votes and suspension of voting on the pretext that vote counting machines (VCMs), SD cards and optical scanners were malfunctioning.

The worst thing that was done in order to give the Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate a fake landslide vote is to set aside the actual votes cast and use pre-shaded ballots which were fed into the vote counting machines after the voting precincts had closed. This is the reason why Marcos got an incredible 31 million votes with a 15 million advantage while the normal winning votes is 12 to 16 million and the winning margin over the closest rival in past elections was 2 to 5 million only.

The COMELEC could make an advance vote count and canvassing up to 97 percent within only 2 days instead of the 10 days it took to do this in the elections in 2016. But in only two hours in May 9 from 8 to 10 pm 50 percent of the votes had already been counted and canvassed.

2. SR: *What is your observation, Prof. Sison, of the conduct of elections throughout the country as well as in other countries?*

JMS: I monitored the elections and I was in contact with friends and other acquaintances in different parts of the Philippines; in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao from 6 am until midnight in May 9. I received reports that were in accord with the conclusions of Kontra Daya (Against Fraud) that these elections were the dirtiest and the most blatant fraud foisted on the people.

3. SR: *In your opinion, Prof. Sison, did the strong campaign of Leni's camp suffer from weakness? Why did the Filipino people become disheartened when Bongbong Marcos and Sara Duterte took the lead in the counting?*

JMS: Precisely because of the gigantic rallies of the Robredo and Pangilinan tandem and slate, the overwhelming majority of the people had high hopes of winning, of ousting the brutal and corrupt Duterte regime and of preventing the assumption to power of the most corrupt and brutal political dynasties in the Philippines. Their corruption was sharply condemned and their appeal for unity considered fake or empty.

It is clear that Duterte used his power to carry out the dirtiest and most blatant fraud. He used the military and police, the COMELEC, his dummy corporation in the hands of Dennis Uy, Smartmatic, to commit fraud. He needed to cheat to avoid his arrest and trial for crimes in the extra-judicial killings in his bogus war on drugs in the International Criminal Court and in the cases of mass murder and plunder that may be filed in the Philippines.

4. SR: *How do you explain how Marcos could win the elections? Have the people forgotten about the sins of the Marcoses?*

JMS: It is not true that through disinformation or the lies in Facebook and other social media, that Bongbong and the troll armies of Marcos and Duterte have succeeded in deceiving the people. While the propaganda of the troll armies of Marcos and Duterte was strong, it was effectively countered in all fields by those in the opposition, the patriotic and democratic forces and the militants in the parishes of the various churches.

The line that the Marcoses and Dutertes have made the Filipino people stupid is a line of putting the blame on the people and covering up the blatant cheating perpetrated by the Duterte regime and the henchmen of the Marcoses and Dutertes. It enables the cheats to claim that there is nothing more that can be done because the masses have truly elected the Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate.

5. SR: *Many are surprised at the 31 million votes of Bongbong and Sara. They surpassed the votes of past presidents and vice presidents, from Arroyo to Duterte which were 12 million and 16 million only. What is your opinion on this?*



JMS: I have pointed to this anomaly at the outset of this interview. The Marcos votes leaped to 31 million and leaped to a 15 million margin over those of Robredo. This is very unusual compared to the results of past elections in which the winners only got 12 to 16 million votes and the winning margins against the closest rivals were only 2 to 5 million votes.

The result of the elections was truly only an invention of the magician Duterte and his henchmen. The arrogance is extreme because of their blatant cheating and this will remain an issue as long as Bongbong and Sara are in power.

6. SR: *Now that the US president has congratulated Bongbong Marcos and is ready to work with this administration, what do you say to this, Prof. Sison?*

JMS: The US and Duterte are complicit in the electoral fraud. Duterte was noticeably wooing the US one year before the elections. He got frightened by the threat of being ousted by the US through coup d' etat if he was not subservient. The US and Duterte are sure that Marcos would obey everything the US wants because of his criminal cases and liabilities in the US as a result of the successful human rights case against the Marcos estate in the 1990s.

What the US and Duterte want is for the Marcos-Duterte tandem to continue the campaign of state terrorism and military suppression of the people's democratic revolution. They will fail in their objective because of the extreme anger of the Filipino masses due to the cheating and trampling upon of their sovereign right, and the certain intensification of the political and economic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal society.

7. SR: *Should Bongbong Marcos eventually sit as president, would everything that the people did to fight against the return of the Marcoses in Malacanang lose its value?*

JMS: What the people did to fight against the return of the Marcoses in Malacañang will not lose its value. Marcos and Duterte will surely force the worship of their fathers and dynasties and further intensify the plunder and violence against the masses. But the Filipino masses will resist even more because of the intolerable exploitation and oppression.

8. Sara has already accepted the work at the Department of Education. What does this mean? Many fear that this will mean the revision of textbooks and distortion of the true history of the Philippines especially during the period of Martial Law.

JMS: It will mean the forcible revision of history and cover-up of the crimes of the Marcoses and Dutertes against the Filipino people. Courses and textbooks and the true history of the Philippines will eventually be changed. They will also bring back the CAT and ROTC in accordance with the militarism and fascism of the Marcoses and Dutertes.

9. *Lastly, what is your message and food-for-thought for our listeners?*

JMS: Goodbye for now to you Prof. Raymundo and to our listeners. My last message for today to our countrymen is to stay firm and militant in fighting the exploiting and oppressing classes and the oligarchs that reign in our society.

The crisis of the ruling system will certainly worsen and the people will suffer greater oppression and exploitation. Thus, it will not do to slow down but we must fight even more to achieve complete victory in the struggle. If the toiling masses and middle-strata rise up such as in 1986, they will surely defeat again the oligarchs like the Marcoses and Dutertes and together with them still possibly the whole ruling system of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists who are the running dogs of the imperialists.

# ***Philippine Elections 2022: Concerns and Prospects***

## **Guide Questions from Malaya Movement in Canada in Toronto, May 22, 2021**

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Dear compatriots and friends, warmest greetings of solidarity! Thank you for inviting me to speak on the concerns and prospects related to the Philippine elections on 2022.

According to the Philippine Constitution, Duterte is required to step down in June 2022 and before that to allow the holding of elections in May 2022. Candidates for the presidency and lower offices are supposed to register with the COMELEC within the the last quarter of this year.

It appears that Duterte himself is interested in fielding his daughter as presidential candidate, with him as vice presidential candidate. Presuming that the elections would be held in 2022, 1Sambayan spearheaded by former Supreme Court Justice Antonio Carpio is trying to unite the opposition and lining up nominees to run for the presidency for such elections.

But there are indications that Duterte still wants to follow the example of Marcos. He can use nationwide martial law, the Anti-Terrorism Act and charter change as means for laying aside the presidential elections of 2022 and staying in power as a fascist dictator. In the crucial months of June to October this year, we shall see further indications of what Duterte wants to do.

If Duterte decides to allow the elections in May 2022, he shall enjoy an overwhelming advantage over the opposition parties and candidates. His crony Dennis Uy owns the TIM Corporation which is the Philippine partner firm of Smartmatic. He controls the vote count as he did in the midterm elections in 2019. In a seven-hour glitch, his minions were able to reconfigure the results in order to gain majorities in both houses of Congress and among local executive officials.

It is a source of wonder for me why the opposition parties, group and their leaders have not taken up as vigorously as they should the issue of cheating in the vote count during the 2019 elections and they act as if this cheating did not happen at all. Even before the holding of the 2022 elections, if these would be held, it should now be the concern of the people that there ought to be clean and honest elections and there ought to be safeguards.

Having successfully cheated in the 2019 elections, Duterte is even more motivated in cheating in 2022 because he wishes to pre-empt his arrest, trial and punishment for the grave crimes that he has committed against the people. The opposition and the entire people should close attention to and act on the issue of clean and honest elections. For those who believe in elections as the way to effect significant change, it should be of decisive importance to have a clean electoral process.

Aside from the issue of clean and honest elections, the Filipino people expect that before and during the electoral campaign period the opposition would take up the most substantial issues, such as the crimes of treason, tyranny, extra-judicial killings and corruption, which the Duterte regime has brazenly committed. The opposition must demonstrate that it is concerned about these issues and is willing to take all the necessary steps to deal with these crimes, punish the culprits and bring about new policies for the benefit of the people.

If elections were to be held at all, they are of crucial importance to the lives and future of the Filipino people as a way for upholding, defending and promoting national independence, democracy, economic development, social justice, all-round progress and peace. With regard to the issue of national independence, the people and the opposition must confront the continuing over-all dominance of US imperialism over the Philippines and the sell-out to China of Philippine sovereign and maritime rights over the West Philippine Sea and its marine and mineral resources.

The entire Filipino people must be determined to do away with the tyrannical laws such as the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2020 and presidential issuances that generate repression with malice aforethought and with impunity. Justice must be realized in favor of all those whose human rights have been violated, especially the more than 33,000 victims of the bogus war on drugs and the growing number of victims in the anti-communist, anti-people and anti-democratic campaign of state terrorism.

In plain terms, democracy must be upheld and realized in terms of civil and political rights as well as in terms of economic and social rights. Genuine land reform and national industrialization must be pursued in order to

achieve social justice and economic development. There must be all-round progress in the Philippines. The peace process may be resumed to achieve a just peace by addressing the root causes of the armed conflict with comprehensive agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms.

There should be a broad united front of patriotic and democratic forces to confront the Duterte regime in the electoral and other forms of political struggle. Duterte will surely cheat in the elections because he has the motivation to do so, he controls the system of voting and the vote count and he has the means of propaganda to make his regime appear as popular despite the most outrageous crimes he has been committing.

To make itself appear as popular, the Duterte regime uses mercenary poll surveys firms, troll armies, corrupt elements in the corporate mass media and all the government agencies. The propaganda consists not only of drumming up worship for Duterte but also of vilifying and discrediting the opposition, the critics, social activists, workers, peasant, women, youth, the human rights defenders and the revolutionary movement. This propaganda tries in vain to seek approval for every political act of the regime in connection with staying in power through elections or other means.

If and when Duterte cheats in the 2022 elections, the broad masses of the people should be ready to rise up in the same way that they rose up when Marcos cheated in the 1986 elections. They overthrew the fascist regime and installed a less repressive and more viable government. This recent history has proven to us that it is possible to do away with such unmitigatedly evil regimes as those of Marcos and Duterte.

As in 1986, the way to overthrow the tyrannical, traitorous, mass murdering, plundering and swindling Duterte regime is to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in their millions. In this regard, there must be a broad united front that can isolate and disintegrate the Duterte ruling clique by combining against it the strength of the basic toiling masses of workers and peasants, the middle social strata and the enlightened groups within the upper classes and within even the bureaucracy and the armed forces and police of the reactionary state.

It is noteworthy the Advocates for National Interest, an association of retired AFP and PNP officers, has issued a statement to call for national unity against China's transgressions against the sovereign and maritime rights of the Philippines. This reflects the patriotic stand of retired and active AFP and PNP officers who have been disgusted with Duterte's traitorous sell-out of Philippine sovereign and maritime rights and the surrender of the rich marine and mineral resources in the West Philippine Sea. Having the AFP and PNP officers on the side of the mass protests was of decisive importance in the nonviolent overthrow of Marcos in 1986 and Estrada in 2001.

Nevertheless, so long as the exploiting classes are not overthrown by the exploited classes, those who emerge as presidents in elections of the reactionary state pursue anti-national and anti-democratic policies because they come from the exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists. In the current crisis-stricken semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, the main trend is for the ruling classes to be incapable of ruling in the old way. There are mere short-term fluctuations between extremely repressive and less repressive regimes.

It is an absolute necessity for the patriotic and democratic forces in Philippine society to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people. It is not enough to engage in the electoral form of struggle and wait for the next elections after frustrations from the previous ones. It is not also enough to rely on the various forms of legal struggle other than elections. That is the reason why there is fertile ground for the growth in strength and advance of the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. That is a fact that we must at least recognize before deciding to join the revolution or to advocate peace negotiations.

Because of the persistence of imperialist domination, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, the revolutionary mass movement and armed revolution have continued to grow bigger and stronger. And the Duterte regime continues to fail in its ambition to destroy them. The campaign of state terrorism with the use of NTF-ELCAC, the ATA and ATC is failing. People laugh at the fake surrenderers, fake NPA casualties and fake development programs which Duterte and his generals are using to pocket large amounts of public money.

It is a big joke that Duterte and his armed minions have been claiming that because of their all-out war policy they have already destroyed several times over the supposed strength of the numerical strength of the CPP and the NPA. You can expect that in his last state of the nation address (SONA) this forthcoming July Duterte will boast that he has already wiped out or is still about to wipe out the entire revolutionary movement. But in fact the CPP, NPA and all other revolutionary forces in the NDFP are growing in strength because of the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation.

The entire Filipino people, including the overseas Filipinos, must pay close attention to the situation and trends in the Philippines, especially in this last year of Duterte's presidential term. The Duterte regime cannot be trusted. It is capable of committing the worst criminal acts to benefit itself. It is hell-bent on doing everything foul to keep itself in power and avert the possibility of Duterte being tried and punished not only before Philippine courts for crimes of plunder and mass murder but also before the International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity.

All overseas Filipinos concerned with freedom and justice have stakes in the situation and developments in their motherland. They still have their close relatives and friends in their motherland. Most of them wish to return home to the Philippines someday. All of them wish the Filipino people to enjoy the bounty of full national independence, democracy social justice economic development and all-round progress.

Overseas Filipinos have the special duty of building their conscious and organized strength as a community capable of looking after their own rights and interests abroad as well as of extending support and assistance to the Filipino people in their struggle for national and social liberation. They must engage in campaigns to gather moral, political and material support and assistance to this struggle from all other peoples in the spirit of international solidarity.

# On the 2022 Elections

Interview by Paaralang JMS

May 22, 2022

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1. In the 2022 elections, was there transparency that allowed the voters to witness every step of the electoral process? Is the process comparable to that in The Netherlands and Germany in which the computers are used to report the results to higher levels after the manual voting and manual count at the precinct level?

JMS: The elections on May 9, 2022 had no transparency that allowed the voters to witness every step of the process as in The Netherlands and Germany in which the voters vote manually and witness the manual account at the precinct level and then monitor the automated transmission of the votes to higher levels of authority. As in Oplan Tokhang, in which hostile witnesses are normally precluded, the COMELEC rules prevent witnesses from exposing anomalies, like feeding stocks of pre-shaded ballots to the vote-counting machines after the precincts are closed.

There was no way for the voters to monitor the transport of ballots, equipment and election returns by F2 Logistics owned by Dennis Uy and controlled by Duterte and his agents. Dennis Uy was deliberately given ₱600 million worth of contracts to supply the ballots and equipment to provinces and precincts where the Marcos-Duterte tandem was widely expected to win and where the votes for the opposition could be reduced drastically by pre-shading the ballots and pre-programming the VCMs.

Whatever fake ballots that have been fed to the VCMs will be verified as true and authentic when the audit shall be made on October 2022 according to law. In this kind of audit, the Smartmatic is ritually given a high rating of accuracy of more than 99 per cent. It is a case of garbage in and garbage out and there is no witness to expose how the anomaly was committed in the first place. The COMELEC officials boast that everything is under control to pre-empt the possibility of any witness testifying against any anomaly. There is a closed system for cheating.

There is already an ongoing random manual audit covering not more than 750 precincts to supposedly give credibility to the electoral process. The physical ballots from randomly selected precincts will be counted and compared to the printed ERs. The coverage of the random manual audit that is ongoing is just a tiny percentage of the more than 107,000 clustered precincts. It can be easily dismissed as reflective of only a tiny inconsequential number of the precincts. It is intended merely to foster the illusion that the elections were clean and credible in preparation for the proclamation of the winners by Congress.

2. How would you describe the 2022 elections?

JMS: The 2022 elections were rigged by the Duterte regime in favor of the Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate. I agree with Kontra Daya that they are the dirtiest elections that it has watched. You can read for yourself its series of reports in *Kontra Daya Bulletin*, especially its statement on May 11, 2022 with the title, "Machine errors, illegal campaigning remain widespread; VCM breakdowns prove AES a failure."

I have made my own inquiries from colleagues, relatives and friends in the Philippines. Various methods of electoral fraud were used, including vote-buying to involve local officials and ensure big blocs of captive votes, disinformation through social media, red-tagging and intimidation of voters in red-tagged areas and in opposition bailiwicks and flagrant prevention of voting by millions of voters on false claims of defective Vote Counting machines (VCM), SD cards and Precinct Count Optical Scanners.

One of the major methods of cheating used was to prevent the voters from voting on the pretext that the VCMs, the SD cards and the optical scanners were out of order. After the precincts were closed at 7 pm, the stocks of pre-shaded ballots were fed to the Vote Counting Machines. In the Marcos and Marcos bailiwicks, known Marcos and Duterte followers and their bought or captive voters freely voted but stocks of pre-shaded ballots were also fed into the VCMs, thanks to the F2 Logistics' share of the contracts.

Before 10 pm of May 9 the COMELEC was already announcing through its "transparency server" that 50 per cent of the votes had been counted nationwide. And on May 10, it announced that it had already counted more than 97 per cent of the votes nationwide, despite all the previous claims of defective equipment and notoriety of the Philippines for slow transmission. In previous national elections, as in 2016, it took 10 days to count and canvass the votes nationwide. The winning presidential candidate could get only 12 to 16 million votes and had a

margin of only 2 to 5 million votes over his closest rival.

But this time most unbelievable of all, the junior of the fascist dictator Marcos won not only by a landslide but by an avalanche of more than 31 million votes and a margin of more than 15 million votes over Robredo. The results of the vote count are patent lies that prove the commission of the electoral fraud. As in Oplan Tokhang, there may be no witnesses to testify against the specific murdering policemen but the bloodied victims of the mass killings are in the streets and in the photos of the mass media and Duterte keeps on boasting of the killing spree with impunity.

Duterte gave himself a big allowance for cheating. According to the National Statistics Office, the number of voters in the Philippines was posted at 43,331,228 persons or 56.64 of the total population. But the 2022 elections showed an unexplained increase of 60 percent cast ballots or a total of more than 19 million more ballots used by the voters. According to NSO/Comelec there are 44 million registered voters. But those actually counted by Smartmatic machines/unofficial are 61 million votes. The over-voting amounted to 18 million! This is proof positive of massive cheating. It is one of the large figures that expose the massive cheating in the elections.

*3. What do you think of the line that the elections were clean and honest and that the voters really voted overwhelmingly in favor of the Marcos-Duterte tandem because of the success of the Marcoses in more than three decades in using the ruling system to their advantage, rehabilitating themselves politically, revising and denying history and deceiving the people through the troll armies and influencers in the social media?*

JMS: I think that such line is deceptive and rotten. It is part of the electoral fraud. It is a clever line for denying and minimizing the electoral fraud and blaming the people themselves for the “avalanche” victory of the Marcos-Duterte tandem. The people are made to look stupid for swallowing the Marcos-Duterte propaganda and even the the leaders and masses of the conservative opposition, the Christians and Muslims and the patriotic and democratic organizations are made to look stupid and incompetent, despite their great success at holding gigantic rallies in favor of the Robredo-Pangilinan tandem and dwarfing the rallies of the Marcos-Duterte tandem.

We have to take into account all the efforts of the Marcoses in more than three decades of using the ruling system and their own bailiwicks to their advantage, rehabilitating themselves politically, revising and denying history and deceiving the people through the troll armies and influencers in the social media. But we should not exaggerate their success at these in order to validate in effect their sham election, deny or minimize the electoral fraud and blame the masses. It is absurd when some intellectuals who are both anti-Marcos and pro-Marcos agree in spitting at the masses and in effect expressing awe at the cleverness of the Marcoses.

*4. What do you think of the view that the Duterte regime has so monopolized and controlled the electoral process and all the information about the real and fake voting and that it can dismiss the findings of any civic group as being limited in scale and are mere nit-picking?*

JMS: The critical point in the question is valid. In the first place, the Duterte regime succeeded in monopolizing, controlling and manipulating the entire automated electoral system in favor of the Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate. There is nothing like the best years of the Namfrel, before the automated electoral system became an easy tool for massive electoral cheating, when the Namfrel could by law really make an instant count simultaneous with that of the COMELEC and had enough personnel and resources for the purpose.

The Duterte regime can easily dismiss or ignore the investigations, findings and conclusions of such civic groups like Kontra Daya and Vote Report Philippines because they can reflect only a tiny part of the electoral process. The regime has made sure in the first place that it deprives the people, the opposition parties, the mass organizations and the mass movement a full view of the electoral process. The Parish Pastoral Council for Responsible Voting is nothing but a rubber stamp of the Comelec on some hundreds of election returns and is even chaired by the daughter of a stalwart of the Marcos-Duterte array of political dynasties.

*5. Could you share with us the findings and conclusions of Kontra Daya and Vote Report Philippines?*

JMS: I agree with their findings and conclusions. Despite their limitations of scale, they provide enough empirical basis for rational and true conclusions. Let me read their May 11 report. “Kontra Daya and Vote Report PH continue to receive and verify reports of election incidents throughout the country. Out of the more than 4,000 reports received, 1,370 have been verified by volunteers.

“Machine failures continue to make up a significant percentage of election incidents. Kontra Daya has received 577 reports of machine failures from Luzon to Mindanao, accounting for 42 percent of total reported incidents. Machines have been seen rejecting ballots, failing to issue receipts or breaking down entirely, resulting in long

lines and significant delays in voting.

“Even after polls closed at 7:00 pm on election day (May 9), voters could still be seen waiting in line for replacement vote counting machines (VCMs) and SD cards to arrive at their precincts to be able to feed their own ballot. At a polling precinct in Teacher’s Village, Quezon City, a replacement VCM only arrived on the morning of Tuesday, May 10. Some areas were forced to conduct manual voting in lieu of replacement machines.

“Kontra Daya also received 152 reports of illegal campaigning, 109 reports of vote buying and 66 reports of red tagging. This proves that despite statements by COMELEC to the contrary, the 2022 elections continue to be plagued with incidents of fraud and disinformation.

“Kontra Daya maintains that the massive amount of reports received this year only serves to prove the failure of the automated election system in guarding the sanctity of the ballot. Widespread reports of machine errors and breakdowns can be attributed by a failure of the COMELEC, its election system contractor Smartmatic, and its logistics provider F2 Logistics to ensure timely, thorough and transparent testing of voting machines.

“It is difficult for voters to be confident in election proceedings marred by machine errors and breakdowns, as these cast doubt on the capacity of the machine to count their votes. This can be attested by reports of voters refusing to hand over their ballots to election officials, choosing instead to wait for replacement voting machines until the early hours of the morning to be sure that their votes are cast. There have also been multiple reports of gaps in election procedures, such as incorrect manner of storage of ballots and receipts.

“The proprietary source code of the VCMs and the lack of a genuine source code review process cast more doubt on the accuracy of the election results. As the software and hardware of the machines are both owned and protected by Smartmatic, it is difficult to completely vet the process by which the machines count the votes.

“Right from the start, Kontra Daya has remained critical of the conduct of automated elections in the country for its lack of transparency and accountability. The COMELEC must replace the current automated election system with one that is transparent, open source and locally made. An election system that maximizes local talent and allows for greater public scrutiny will allow voters to be confident that their vote has been correctly cast and counted.

“Kontra Daya continues to hold COMELEC, Smartmatic and F2 Logistics accountable for the widespread failure of election equipment, and calls for an investigation to ensure that those responsible will be held accountable.”

*6. Kontra Daya and Vote Report Philippines can be dismissed by the Duterte regime as mere nit-pickers because their personnel and resources are limited and do not allow them to watch most or all of the electoral process. What has been the problem before, during and after the elections with regard to the struggle for clean and honest elections? What is to be done?*

JMS: Those who have devoted themselves to the legal political struggle, especially to the legal struggle, should study how the oppressive and exploitative classes have controlled and manipulated the ruling system and the electoral process against the people and how the current automated electoral system has been made and used most viciously by the gangster chieftain Duterte to effect the election of his fellow crooks and butchers to national office in the 2019 and 2022 elections.

The patriotic and democratic leaders and activists must focus on how rascals can prevail in the electoral process and how they can be fought in this same process and how to win further in all other forms of mass struggle so that the revolutionary proletariat and people can prevail in the making and writing of history and in making basic social, economic, political, electoral and cultural reforms. Pretty soon the counterrevolutionaries might arrogantly say that the revolutionaries are as stupid as the masses.

Pro-Marcos fascist texts have been propagated by the Department of Education even after the overthrow of the fascist dictator in 1986 and the 2019 mid-term elections were allowed to pass as clean and honest. Paaralang JMS should study why and how such particular phenomena occur and find out how the mass movement can combat them. Outside the realm of legal struggle, some friends abroad have also asked why the Marcoses and Dutertes could thrive in their supposed bailiwicks where there are also supposed to be an armed revolutionary movement.

*7. What do you think of certain individuals who say that we must first accept the results of the 2022 elections as reported by the COMELEC on the presumption that there is yet no incontrovertible evidence of cheating and there is yet no court decision?*

JMS: It is foolish for such individuals to deny as worthless the testimonies of many voter witnesses to the

electoral anomalies and the findings and conclusions of Kontra Daya and other organizations that have observed the electoral process. They practically endorse the sham victory of the Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate and wish to dampen and stop the further investigation and exposure of the electoral fraud and terrorism carried out by the Duterte regime.

Worst of all, they wish us to presume that the Duterte regime did not cheat, that the Marcoses and Dutertes have been successful at dumbing down the Filipino people, that the people themselves are the ones guilty of electing the Marcos-Duterte tandem, that the leaders of the conservative opposition, the anti-magnanakaw militants of the Christian churches and the mass leaders and activists of the national democratic movement have failed to arouse, organize and mobilize the millions of people in the gigantic rallies of the Robredo-Pangilinan tandem, dwarfing those rallies of the Marcos-Duterte tandem.

Those who deny or belittle the electoral cheating by the Duterte regime are like those who dismiss the abundant evidence to prove that there are thousands of extra-judicial killings in Oplan Tokhang, especially the abduction and the knifing or shooting of the victims by the police. In this regard, the mass leaders of the national democratic movement and human rights activists make the timely declarations to condemn the mass murders and encourage all efforts to gather as much evidence as possible.

*8. How do you answer those who imply or express the view that the people are to blame for actually voting for Marcos because they have earlier been brainwashed or influenced by pro-Marcos disinformation in social media?*

JMS: I have to be very patient in presenting to them the available evidence of massive cheating and also explain to them that they are wrong in blaming the people for the fraud and in assuming that the Marcos disinformation campaign in the social media succeeded at making the people forget the crimes of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and that those who have opposed the Duterte regime and the Marcos-Duterte tandem have been stupid, incompetent and have therefore failed miserably. Our mass movement, publications and study meetings should inform, educate, organize and mobilize an increasing number of people in the new democratic revolution.

To their credit, the forces of the Robredo-Pangilinan tandem, the entire conservative opposition, the patriotic and democratic forces, the Christian and Muslim organizations and the broad masses of the people denounced the crimes of the Marcoses and Dutertes before and during the electoral campaign and gathered the largest electoral rallies that dwarfed those of the Marcos-Duterte tandem. The sheer size of the fake avalanche vote for this tandem is being used by the enemy to undermine the political strength and confidence of the masses.

The pro-Marcos and pro-Duterte propagandists are boasting that they succeeded at deceiving the people and that the people themselves are responsible for giving the avalanche votes to the Marcos-Duterte tandem. But they are in the main trying to obscure that Duterte's principal method of cheating was feeding the VCMs with stocks of pre-shaded ballots that fabricated the 31 million votes for Marcos and the margin of 15 million votes over the votes for Robredo. We cannot belittle the magical creation of 18 million votes by the Duterte regime and its COMELEC.

*9. Now that Marcos junior and Sara are in power, will they not be in a stronger position to glorify the past regimes and praise their own achievements whether true or not?*

JMS: Of course, they will use the authority, bureaucratic and armed agencies and resources of the reactionary state to glorify the brutal and corrupt regimes of their parents. They will use the so-called Anti-Terror Law in order to commit crimes of brutality and plunder with impunity. They will use state terrorism and fascist methods like red-tagging, abductions, torture and mass murder to suppress the democratic rights of the people and to change the content and direction of the educational system and the mass media in their favor under the cover of anti-communism and anti-terrorism.

*10. What would be the biggest challenge facing a Marcos presidency?*

JMS: The Marcos junior presidency will always be regarded as the usurpation of authority and the product of electoral fraud under conditions of state terrorism of the Duterte regime and sustained disinformation by Marcos and Duterte troll armies in Facebook and other social media for several years. But the biggest challenge that such odious regime will face is the rapidly worsening social, economic and political crisis of the ruling system.

The regime will not only fail to solve the crisis but will also aggravate them. The people will be suffering more unemployment, lower incomes, inflated prices of basic commodities and services, higher taxes and a higher public debt. To stop the people from protesting and making just demands, the regime will unleash campaigns of violence and deception. But it will thus further generate more favorable conditions for the legal opposition forces and the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people to grow in strength and advance towards victory.



If Marcos fails to stabilize the situation within two or three years, factional struggles within his government will arise because it is an alliance of crooks and butchers. There is even the possibility that Marcos and Duterte will try to get rid of each other in order to achieve dominance. As a result of the disorder within the ruling system and the escalating brutal military campaigns against the people, the armed revolution of the people will grow ever stronger. And the US and the pro-US puppet military officers will start plotting to get rid of Marcos by coup or put up a military junta as in Thailand.

*11. What would be the biggest challenge for the Opposition?*

JMS: The biggest challenge to the Opposition in general is countering and defeating the strategic plan and task assigned by US imperialism to Marcos to continue the open rule of terror, state terrorism or fascism carried out by Duterte during his regime and seek the complete destruction of the armed revolutionary movement of the people against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

Marcos will use the same anti-communist strategy and tactics of red-tagging, abductions, torture and mass murder to entrench himself in power and suppress any legal opposition to his regime in the name of anti-communism and anti-terrorism. Thus, it is necessary to have a broad united front among the conservative but anti-fascist forces, the patriotic and democratic forces and the broad masses of the people.

At the same time, the broad masses of the people have to further build and strengthen their revolutionary forces, such as the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, the mass organizations, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the organs of political power that constitute the people's democratic government. They can wage extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on a nationwide scale and prevent the focused military operations of the enemy and aerial assets from gaining targets of opportunity.

*10. What can be seen from the massive Opposition rallies before the elections? How can this be sustained?*

JMS: Even before the election day of May 9, I warned against rigging the elections because the massive Opposition rallies would become a powerful mass movement to fight the Marcos-Duterte ruling clique. Leni Robredo has converted her mass following and volunteers into a mass movement or NGO. But I cannot really be sure what for because she her close-ins have not shown as much courage as Cory Aquino who called for civil disobedience soon after she was cheated by Marcos senior in 1986.

However, the legal patriotic and democratic forces and the Christian and other religious organizations have vowed to continue their struggle for justice and freedom. They have to do their best in legally arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people against the Marcos-Duterte ruling clique. And because the regime is corrupt and reacts brutally, many of the people will join the armed revolution as they did when Marcos senior imposed a fascist dictatorship on the people.

*12. What role should Robredo and Pangilinan play now?*

JMS: From what I observe now, they appear to agree on uniting their volunteers and mass followers into an NGO or mass movement that helps the people and opposes the expected bad policies and actions of the Marcos-Duterte regime. It seems that they know what role to play in order to fight an unjust regime of the most notorious crooks and butchers in Philippine history. But only they themselves can say and prove what they wish to do for the good of the people, especially because they have their own kind of initiative and belong to a class above the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

*13. What are the prospects for peace and armed revolution?*

JMS: The US imperialists and Duterte regime have agreed to make the Marcos-Duterte tandem and slate win by the grossest kind of electoral fraud in order to ensure the continuance of state terrorism and the anti-communist campaign of military suppression against the revolutionary movement of the people.

Thus, Ferdinand junior and Sara Duterte have been very vocal about being against the resumption of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and being for the escalation of the anti-communist campaign of military suppression. But the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation will drive more people to join and support the armed revolution.

*14. How would Marcos relate to the US and China now?*

JMS: Contrary to the views of some superficial analysts that Marcos will have the initiative to play off the US and China against each other in favor of his regime, he does not have such initiative because the US is in a position to dictate on him due to the worsening economic and financial crisis of the Philippine ruling system and the criminal and financial liabilities of the Marcoses in the US. The US can allow the Marcoses to get off the hook in

their liabilities and make them serve the US like the long-term puppet Marcos senior.

The US has the levers for controlling and manipulating Marcos against China. And China itself is under pressure by the US in connection with their inter-imperialist competition and rivalry. Biden and the entire deep state of the US have been in favor of Marcos instead of Robredo even up to the extent of letting Duterte rig the elections in the most scandalous manner. Duterte and his pro-US military running dogs in the racket of state terrorism have been successful at persuading the US to use Marcos instead of Robredo as chief running dog in the Philippines.

*15. What are the possible contradictions between Marcos and Duterte? Will their alliance hold?*

JMS: There is no honor among thieves. The Marcos and Duterte political dynasties have a temporary and unstable alliance because of their selfish lust for power and bureaucratic loot. And they also have a wider and therefore more unwieldy alliance with other dynasties, like the Arroyos, Estradas and others, which are also greedy and hungry for more power and loot.

Among these corrupt political dynasties, there will soon be factional fighting concerning the most lucrative positions in the reactionary government, business contracts of all sorts between the government and private sector, grabbing land from the impoverished people and from the public domain and selling out the natural resources and national patrimony of the people to foreign monopoly interests.

*16. What is the current strength of the revolutionary movement? How can it cope with the expected increased attacks on it?*

JMS: The CPP has announced that it has more than 150,000 cadres and members, that the NPA has thousands of Red commanders and fighters and is augmented by tens of thousands of members of the people's militia and hundreds of thousands of member of self-defense units in mass organizations, millions of activists in the mass organizations and many more millions of people in the National Democratic Front and under the people's democratic government.

According to publications of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Duterte has failed to destroy the revolutionary movement and has therefore persuaded the US to let him rig the elections and place in power his chosen successors, Marcos junior and Sara, in order to continue the state terrorism and the anti-communist campaign of military suppression. The revolutionary movement has more than 53 years of experience in people's war and can be expected to cope with and prevail over the escalation of attacks against it by US imperialism and its local puppets.

*16. How will events abroad pertaining to the crisis of the world capitalist system affect the Philippine situation?*

JMS: All major crises of the world capitalist system are worsening and all major contradictions are intensifying. The major contradictions include those between monopoly capital and labor in imperialist countries, those between the imperialist powers and oppressed peoples and nations, those between the imperialist powers and the countries that assert their national independence and have socialist programs and aspirations, and those among the imperialist powers.

The intensifying contradictions are generating favorable conditions for the rise of the anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles and for the eventual resurgence of the world proletarian revolution. The people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war in the Philippines is self-reliant, strives to contribute to the advance of anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles abroad and at the same time draws inspiration and support from these struggles.

## ***To Friends in Australia re My Terrorist Listing***

June 8, 2022

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Dear friends, I have read the transcript of the Zoom meeting regarding my being listed and relisted in the “terrorist” list of Australia.

1. By way of starting a legal process towards de-listing my name, I agree that I shall write to the Australian minister of state to ask for the reasons for my being listed and relisted over the past years. Please send me as soon as you can the draft letter for my consideration.

You and your lawyer(s) can draft the letter as you deem best. It is up to you to decide whether to point out that it is arbitrary and unjust for an Australian executive official to judge and list me as “terrorist” without proof of any act of terrorism within Australian jurisdiction or anywhere else and also presume that I have an account for freezing in any Australian bank.

Even an Australian judge would have no ground to subject me to anti-communist “terrorist” slander and to sanctions, without due process. In my successful suit against my inclusion in the EU terrorist list, the European Court of Justice upheld my right to be informed of the charge of terrorism, to legal counsel and the right to judicial review before slander and sanctions can be thrown at me.

2. While you can immediately send to me the draft letter of inquiry from me to the Australian minister, I request you to consider having an Australian citizen or organization to invite me to visit Australia for a legitimate reason, like speaking on the prospect of peace negotiations in the Philippines. I suggest that ahead of me you write and request the Australian minister of state to facilitate the issuance of a visum to me for the benefit of the Australians inviting me.

Would it not be better if my letter of inquiry is premised on an Australian interest in my going to Australia. I am concerned that I as an alien, who is not even in Australia, can be ignored completely and indefinitely by the Australian minister of state. I suggest that my Australian lawyers should be representing not only me but also Australians who would like to interface with me in a forum and exercise their freedom of thought and speech with me.

3. I also agree that in relation to the legal process a political campaign be carried out and addressed to the Australian Parliament and the public against the unjust “terrorist” listing” in my particular and other cases of individuals and entities.

The legal process and political campaign should be aimed at fighting against the previous listing and relisting and should try to avert or debunk a possible relisting this coming September as well as promoting the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and the program for a just and lasting peace.

4. I think that Jan has sufficiently explained that as a matter of principle the CPP and NPA do not submit themselves for evaluation and judgment by a foreign or international court and would not present their representatives and expose them to unnecessary risks, liabilities and punitive measures.

Waiting for your soonest reply together with the draft letter agreed to in No. 1 above.

Warmest regards,

Joma

# *The Return of the Marcoses to Malacañang*

NDLine Online

July 8, 2022

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1. *Why was it that a few days before Marcos, Jr.'s inauguration the Supreme Court (SC) ruled against the disqualification of Marcos Jr.'s candidacy? Why is it that in the view of the SC, the accusation of tax evasion against Marcos Jr. is baseless despite sufficient evidence?*

JMS: Most of the justices of the Supreme Court are Duterte's appointees. And they were appointed because of their submissiveness to Duterte. You are right in saying that there is enough evidence for the disqualification of Marcos. He was convicted of tax evasion and should be disqualified. Some retired chief justices and some justices of the Supreme Court also said this.

*How do the Supreme Court and the bureaucrat capitalists interact in a semicolonial and semifeudal society?*

JMS: Many in the courts are corrupt, from the Supreme Court all the way down. They can be bribed. Look at the plunder cases of Marcos, Macapagal-Arroyo, Estrada, Enrile, Revilla and others. The laws are skewed in favor of the powerful and the moneyed. Most of the judges are corrupt and enrich themselves through their public office. This is the bureaucrat capitalism that exists in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of reactionary government. This is at the core of the semicolonial and semifeudal society.

2. *Prof., in his inaugural speech, Marcos mentioned that his landslide victory in the last May 9 elections, with the slogan 'Unity' delivered "the biggest electoral mandate in the history of Philippine democracy." What does he mean here and is there any truth to it?*

JMS: He's a liar. His call for "Unity." is hollow and empty. His fake win is not the "biggest electoral mandate" but the biggest automated cheating done by Duterte, the COMELEC, Dennis Uy and Smartmatic. Marcos and Sara's invented votes of 31 and 32 million respectively are extremely large. And experts are now exposing how the Duterte regime committed the fraud.

*What does democracy look like in the Philippines and what will it look like under the leadership of the Marcos-Duterte duo?*

JMS: The fake democracy of the exploiting classes against the Filipino people will continue to exist if the exploitation and oppression of the social system, corruption of the government, violence of the military and police and the systematic electoral fraud are not stopped.

3. *Marcos Jr. said. don't look to the past, but in his last campaign he used his father's sound and style. He also thanked his mother and told Filipinos that the Philippines was in a golden age under his father's dictatorship. Why is it important for the Marcoses to return their family to power? What effect does this have on the politicians in power?*

JMS: Marcos Jr. is a liar. by saying not to look to the past, but in his campaign and his inauguration speech itself he distorted history and made it appear that the dictatorship was a golden age; but it was violence and plunder that his father and mother committed. It is important for the Marcoses to return to power to legalize their previous loot and crimes and to commit more crimes in order to grab more wealth and power. It is certain that among the politicians who are in power, subservience to the Marcoses will intensify, but the factional strife will also intensify among crocodiles in the state and society.

*What does he mean by unity, how can it be used against his critics, activists, anti-Marcos and the opposition? What will they face in the unity administration or unity platform?*

JMS: What Marcos Jr. wants to unite are those in the reactionary classes against the exploited classes of workers and peasants as well as critics, activists, anti-Marcos and opposition. But the most important opponents of reactionary unity are exploited classes and the revolutionary forces. The false slogan of the "whole nation approach" will continue to be used in the cruel and bloody counterrevolution.

4. *Several times Duterte mentioned—and now BBM also, that the Philippines supposedly is the fastest growing economy in ASEAN, t even showing figures. What is their basis for declaring this?*

JMS: Both Duterte and Marcos are shameless liars. They have no basis for their declaration. Duterte has bankrupted the government and the entire economy. Within just six years, the previous debt of the Philippines in the past 120 years more than doubled, from ₱5.9 billion to ₱13 trillion. The value of the peso is falling every day and

the demand for raw materials and manufactured exports of the Philippines are also falling.

Until now, Marcos has not been able to say anything about how to solve the economic problems. The economic advisers and managers he inherited from the Duterte, Aquino and Arroyo regimes are neoliberal. Regarding inflation and food, he said he could do nothing against oil price increases and he even made himself secretary for agriculture even though he has absolutely no knowledge in agriculture.

5. *In BBM's speech, he insists on including the Filipino people in his plans and victory—as a way of saying that there is freedom to exercise civic duty. Coming from a son of a former dictator, how dangerous is this statement for activists? What should they prepare against?*

JMS: Marcos is a fake president because his 31 million votes were the result of fraud. Now he says he has a mandate from 110 million Filipinos on any plan and he will do it. Along with the deception, Marcos will surely continue the cruel and bloody suppression of the people under the so-called Anti-Terror Law. The Filipino people must prepare for the military repression of the Marcos-Duterte regime and fight in various ways for national freedom and democracy.

6. *He mentioned some of the problems facing the country, but made no specific mention of resolving these. It is also noteworthy that he mentioned nothing about poverty in the country. As this administration doesn't really have a platform, how will it address the country's problems? Even now, he rejected the PSA report regarding the country's 6.1 percent inflation rate.*

JMS: It's true as you noted that he doesn't have solutions to the big problems. He has exposed his lack of knowledge about being president and until now he has no platform. He probably depends on his subordinates to run his administration and to speak for him, as when he was the governor of Ilocos Norte and he was more often in Manila and his chief administrative officer practically was the one acting as governor. He did not know the inflation rate beforehand and when he was told the 6.1 percent from the Philippine Statistical Authority, he pretended to be knowledgeable by commenting that the inflation rate was too high. Stupid!

7. *What do you have to say about BBM's appointment of Sara Duterte as secretary of education, Juan Ponce Enrile as chief legal counsel and himself as agriculture minister?*

JMS: Sara previously said in a press statement that she wanted to be secretary of defense. But Marcos fears that Sara might stage a coup against him early on. Be that as it may, her assignment continuing the historical and educational lie about the Marcos and the Duterte regimes. Regarding Enrile, Marcos sees him as a dog that can bark well for him. As for Marcos himself, it is clear that he does not have the competence to be secretary for agriculture.

8. *Prof., now that we have heard BBM's inaugural speech, how should the mass movement, oppositions and critics prepare to fight the lies and historical revisionism propaganda of BBM-Duterte?*

JMS: The mass movement, oppositions and critics must fight the lies and historical revisionism propaganda of the Marcos-Duterte regime by presenting the truth and facts in speeches, writings, discussions, videos, artistic works and other ways. While the Marcos-Duterte regime is not solving but aggravating the problems, the truth and the data that will be expressed by patriotic and democratic forces will stand out.

9. *Prof., although we are not in favor of violence, but in your view was it correct that the mass movement seemed to have given way to the PNP and the pro-Marcos supporters during the inauguration to the extent that Bayan even held a press conference together with the PNP? What image or message does it convey?*

JMS: Although actions of the legal patriotic and democratic forces are legal, peaceful and defensive, they must not give up their stand of being firm, militant and resistant. If this stand weakens or disappears, they will be further repressed and intimidated by the reactionaries, the mass movement will weaken and the chances of having the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the people's uprisings from 1983 to 1986 against the Marcos dictatorship will disappear.

10. *If we analyze the calls shouted and written on placards, they are more economic-based and human rights-based. How can the ND movement sharpen its calls against the BBM-Duterte combine and how can the broader masses be reached?*

JMS: It's okay that there is exposure and demands against economic exploitation and human rights violations. But there should also be sharp slogans such as Reject the Fake President, Overthrow the Marcos-Duterte Regime, Down with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, People's war is the answer to state terrorism, Uphold people's right to revolution, Revolution against counter-revolution, Long live the Philippine revolution, etc.

*Should there also be a specific program to reach out and encourage Marcos apologists?*

JMS: The main objective of the patriotic and democratic movement is to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses. One secondary goal is to persuade Marcos apologists who have a low level of information or comprehension and are not involved in the violence and plunder of the Marcoses.

*11. In a news report, it was said that the victims of martial law are also preparing to fight. Is there any chance of uniting the oppositions against BBM-Marcos, what shall be the role of NDMovement here? In its current state, will the ND movement be able to lead this fight? What should be the preparation and how should NDMOs be armed?*

JMS: The stand of the martial law victims to fight against the Marcos Jr. regime is correct. In the legal democratic struggle, patriotic and democratic forces are the strongest. They can maintain their capability to lead a broad mass movement against the Marcos-Duterte regime if every organization strengthens its ideology, politics and organization, arouses, organizes and mobilizes the masses and implements the united front policy to isolate and defeat the regime.

*12. It is terrible that BBM chose himself to be the country's minister of agriculture we can expect that the peasants will suffer further and the attack on them and the revolutionary forces in the countryside will intensify in accordance with Duterte's dream to crush them. Prof., how do you think the revolutionary forces will fight this administration?*

JMS: Marcos' main objective in becoming agriculture secretary is to continue to take advantage of the old coconut levy, expand his own landholdings and interests in the countryside, side with the landlords and agro-corporations, mining companies and other plunderers in the countryside; and continue the cruel and bloody military campaigns to suppress revolutionary forces in the countryside. If so, more farmers and farm workers will decide to fight and overthrow the Marcos regime and the entire reactionary state. People's war is the life saver and the hope of the toiling masses.

*Duterte's six years have ended but he did not fulfill his dream of crushing the revolutionary forces, will BBM be able to fulfill it?*

JMS: Duterte has failed in his evil policy of crushing the revolutionary movement. Marcos will fail even because his father and Duterte have already corrupted the semicolonial and semifeudal system. Marcos Jr will further aggravate the system's problems and crisis. If so, the revolutionary movement will flourish and advance. It seems that Marcos is giving a second chance to the toiling masses and the people to finally punish the executioner and robber Marcos dynasty.

*13. It is important for activists especially outside the country to be reminded to contribute to the struggle. So once again, Prof., could you remind us again what will be the role of activists and revolutionary forces outside the country during this time?*

JMS: Activists and revolutionary forces must strengthen their ranks in every type of organization and movement possible so that they can be of more help to the revolutionary forces in the Motherland. In addition to this, the Filipino activists and revolutionary forces should also expand and strengthen solidarity or contact on the anti-imperialist and democratic basis with the organizations and institutions of the host countries and get from them moral, political and material support and assistance for the revolutionary movement in the Philippines.

*14. In your opinion, what are the immediate and/or specific roles of activists and revolutionary forces at this time? How can the fight be levelled and stronger organizations can be founded?*

JMS: Ideological, political and organizational tasks must be upheld and fulfilled. What I mean is raising the consciousness and practice of activists by studying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, realizing the people's democratic revolution and solid organizing by the leading party and the mass organizations under democratic centralism.

*15. Lastly Prof., to lighten the mood. What grade would you give BBM's speech and why?*

JMS: 100 percent in lying and deception. Zero in telling the truth and also zero in proposing a solution to the serious problems of the people.

# ***Message of Solidarity and Congratulations to the People's Movement and Caravan for Truth, Justice and Change***

**August 21, 2022**

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Dear compatriots and friends, I wish to convey warmest congratulations and militant greetings of solidarity to all the patriotic and democratic individuals, personalities, organizations and institutions that have formed the People's Movement for Truth, Justice, and Change (PMTJC) and are now carrying out the People's Caravan for Truth, Justice, and Change (PCTJC), which the PMTJC is launching today.

I am sure that this day overshadows the August 21, 1971 grenade attack on the Liberal Party rally, which was engineered and used by Marcos to proclaim the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus on the same night and prepare the martial law proclamation of September 21, 1972. August 21, 1983 was also the day when the Marcos fascist regime murdered Ninoy Aquino at the Manila international airport and unwittingly caused the gigantic mass actions that eventually overthrew the fascist dictator in 1986.

Your mission is of the highest importance and urgency. We must recall and reinvigorate the fighting will of the of Filipino people during the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the martial law proclamation that totally imposed fascist dictatorship on the Philippines and inflicted unprecedented oppression and exploitation in the people until it was overthrown on February 25, 1986 by mass uprisings of the people. We must be inspired by the struggles and sacrifices of revolutionary heroes and martyrs.

Once more we are driven to wage resistance against the Marcos legacy of treason, tyranny, gross and systematic human rights violations and unbridled corruption because the junior of the fascist dictator Marcos has been fraudulently installed in power by automated electoral cheating and is tasked by US imperialism and the discredited Duterte regime to continue the brutal campaign of military suppression of the Filipino people under the terms of the so-called Anti-Terror Law which is in fact a law of state terrorism under the pretext of anti-communism and anti-terrorism.

We are confronting today a regime of the worst political dynasties, headed by the Marcoses and Dutertes. They are hell-bent on violating the national and democratic rights of the people and are using their ill-gotten power and wealth to further subject the people to gross and systematic human rights violations, engage in the worst forms of corruption and deception and aggravate further the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

While unleashing brutality and corruption against the people, the Marcos-Duterte regime continues to spread the lie that the Marcos fascist dictatorship was a "golden age" and that its colossal crimes must be whitewashed, honored and perpetuated. Unfortunately for the current regime, it cannot solve the rapidly worsening crisis but can only aggravate it and goad the people to fight back and advance on the road of the new democratic revolution against the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation.

By way of advancing the people's struggle for national and social liberation, I fully agree with the PMTJC that the People's Caravan must carry out the series of activities to educate the people on what truly happened during Martial Law and combat those anti-national and anti-democratic forces that engage in historical distortion. I therefore agree to add my voice to those who speak at the current launch of the people's Caravan.

I witnessed how Ferdinand E. Marcos prepared for and carried out his scheme of fascist dictatorship since his first presidential term and how the youth and the broad masses of the people waged resistance. I had a vantage point as a participant in the great effort to carry out the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism which the Marcos fascist dictatorship wanted to preserve.

My timely statements are in the archives of the corporate newspapers, *Progressive Review*, *Ang Bayan* and other publications. They are also in the books that are republished from time to time, like the *Struggle for National Democracy*, *Philippine Society and Revolution*, *Specific Characteristics of Our People's War* and *Foundation for Resuming the Philippine Revolution*.

In February 1968 an attempt was made on my life but I was able to ward off the knife-wielding assailants who inflicted a stab wound on my right arm. From the time that I went underground in December 1968, I faced so many risks of death from military campaigns against me but I enjoyed all the activities that brought about the re-emergence of the revolutionary movement. After my capture on November 10, 1977, I had to undergo outright

physical torture for some months and psychological torture through solitary confinement for more than five years out of my more than eight years of detention.

My book *Detention and Defiance against Dictatorship*, Volume 4 1977-1986, document my suffering and struggle (including the tortures and the legal struggle before two military commissions) while I was in the fascist prison of Marcos. My book of poems, *Prison and Beyond; Selected Poems*, 1958-1983 also reflected my prison and torture experiences. But I would be happy that soon after the overthrow of the fascist dictator in 1986 I would receive the Southeast Asia WRITE Award for poetry. I felt rewarded for engaging in revolutionary resistance and contributing to the eventual overthrow of the fascist dictatorship by the people.

Even after the downfall of Marcos, I continued to fight his legacy of treason, fascist dictatorship and corruption and criticized the post-Marcos pseudo-democratic regimes for failing to punish the fascist dictator and his closest accomplices in crime, that included his cronies and his close family members, and likewise for failing to recover all or most of their loot. I hold US imperialism and the local exploiting classes accountable for saving Marcos and letting him and his cohorts go unpunished.

I am proud to declare that even after Marcos was brought to the US, I participated in the human rights case filed against him by around 10,000 victims of human rights violations. I have consistently held Marcos accountable for all the crimes that he committed and the consequences of these up to now. Thus, some months ago, I accepted immediately to keynote the program of Tanggol Kasaysayan, initiated by highly respected historians and social activists. I have also arranged with the International Network for Philippines the release of my book *On the Marcos Fascist Dictatorship* on time for the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Marcos proclamation of martial law.

I welcome all initiatives and efforts to preserve the history of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, to condemn its grievous crimes and discourage restoration or repetition of the fascist legacy. Thus, I eagerly join the People's Movement to conduct studies and activities that remind us of the heinous crimes against humanity under Martial Law and the resistance of the Filipino people. We must encourage everyone to stand united for full national independence and democracy and call for resistance and change against the evil scheme to restore the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

We must participate in the People's Caravan and carry out the Information and Education Campaign that includes articles, speeches, forums, magazines, books, film showings, plays, art exhibits and other cultural activities in order to enlighten the youth and entire people on the evil Marcos legacy of fascism and plunder under Martial Law and the current crisis situation of the Filipino people. We must debunk and fight against the fake news, historical distortion and denialism, and make our call for truth, transparency, accountability, and good governance resound with utmost clarity.

We welcome the social services to further strengthen the capability of the youth and the entire people to assert their democratic and civil rights. The social services include the following: "Know your rights" forum, Paralegal training, Social Media Training, Cultural Workshop, Leadership Training, First Aid and Psycho-Social Therapy, and others and must be available, especially when collective actions are being carried out to stand for truth, justice and change. We anticipate campaign activities such as the following: Black Shirt Day, Candle lighting, Mass for Truth and Justice, Walk for Peace and Justice, and others. The biggest anticipated program to date is the upcoming 50th anniversary of Martial Law on September 21, 2022.

We must appreciate and ensure that the People's Movement for Truth, Justice and Change will issue and promote the People's Agenda for the attainment of full national independence, democracy, social justice, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization, expansion of social services, a national, scientific and mass-oriented culture, independent foreign policy and international solidarity of all peoples for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction. Thank you.



# ***Message of Solidarity to BAYAN-NCR on Its Congress: Dagitab***

**November 20, 2022**

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Dear compatriots, warm revolutionary greetings to you all!

We constantly admire you for being an effective force of the Filipino people in their struggle for national freedom and democracy against the scourges of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. Your role is decisive because you are in the National Capital Region, the center of the reactionary state of the semicolonial and semifeudal system that we seek to replace with a just, patriotic, democratic and prosperous system.

We are happy that you will launch *Dagitab: Congress of the New Patriotic Alliance - National Capital Region*. We stand in solidarity with you and your congress and its goals. This is a great opportunity to sum up your experiences since the last congress in 2015. Celebrate and continue your successes. Lean on your strengths and overcome any weaknesses. Thus, the strength and progress of your organization will continue.

We have strong and high confidence that you will develop the General Plan of Action for the next years struggle for the people. We are sure that you will be able to define clearly and appropriately the duties that you will carry out in order to achieve further successes in all fields of action.

We are also sure that you will elect new members of your steering committee based on their fruitful actions and high motivational abilities, organize and mobilize the masses. We congratulate them in advance on their election. Improve the expansion and consolidation of your forces in factories, schools, communities, government offices, all types of institutions as well as government and places where the masses gather.

Currently, the crisis of the global capitalist system is rapidly worsening. This is the result of the acceleration of the accumulation of monopoly capitalism, the exploitation and reduction of the income of the working people, the revisionist betrayal of socialism and the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, the dominance of the neoliberal policy in the past four decades, the US imperialist push of fascism or state terrorism and launching wars of aggression.

The US thought it would remain the sole superpower after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. It spent more than US\$10 trillion on expanding NATO and waging wars of aggression. But it failed to increase the number of countries that it could exploit. It lost heavily and did not realize that China was the beneficiary of their neoliberal collaboration. From the global financial meltdown of 2008 until now, the global depression has progressed far worse and longer than the Great Depression that ended in World War II.

Today, it is clear that the US is in a strategic decline from the peak of its power. And China has been its competitor since the second decade of this century. This is in contrast to the time when the revisionists defeated socialism in China, carried out capitalist "reforms" and integration into the global capitalist system. As a result of the severe exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and the people, all the major contradictions in the world are intensifying.

The crisis in the Philippines has worsened due to internal problems exacerbated by the US-Duterte regime within the framework of the decaying world capitalist system. The combination of the worst dynasties, the Marcoses and the Dutertes, is now in power, through Duterte's fraud in the last elections. The traitor, executioner and plunderer Duterte handed over to them a very rotten economy and government. They have no program to solve the crying problems of the people but to continue the policies that will further corrupt the reactionary government and ruling system.

They only intend to use state terrorism or fascism to plunder and serve imperialism and the ruling classes. And indeed, the space to borrow from outside the country to cover the enormous accumulated debt of the Philippines, what with the rapidly growing government deficit and the falling income from the export of raw materials and migrant workers.

The masses of the Filipino people are angry at the economic collapse, state brutality, widespread unemployment, falling income, inflation and poverty. More than 90 percent of Filipinos, including most of the disappearing middle class, are hungry and struggling. But poverty, exploitation and oppression make the ground fertile for the new democratic revolution and people's war and push the Filipino people to fight, overthrow the ruling

class and the entire exploitative and oppressive system under the dictates of US imperialism.

Long live BAYAN-National Capital Region!

Promote the national democratic movement!

Long live BAYAN!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!



<sup>[1]</sup> Foundry for Standpoint: Visitation and Poems of Struggle by Benito Concio Quillooy