

# ***LIBERATION***

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#### ABOUT THE COVER

In the Philippine context, where elections is the fallacy of the ballot box equality, democracy means liberating the most oppressed class—the farmers and agricultural workers—not just in politics but more so in the economic sphere. This means democracy satisfying the demand for land reform of the landless majority.

**Layout, graphics, and cover design:**  
Marcela del Rosario  
Miguel Liwanag  
Markus del Pilar



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 April 24, 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, and attain national and social liberation.

P.O. Box 19195  
3501 DD Utrecht  
The Netherlands

+31 30 231 04 31  
www.ndfp.org

**LIBERATION**  
OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE NDFP

liberationph@gmail.com  
liberation.ndfp  
fb.com/liberationphilippines  
@liberationph  
@liberation\_ph

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## EDITORIAL

# FAILING OPLANS: FROM MARCOS TO DUTERTE

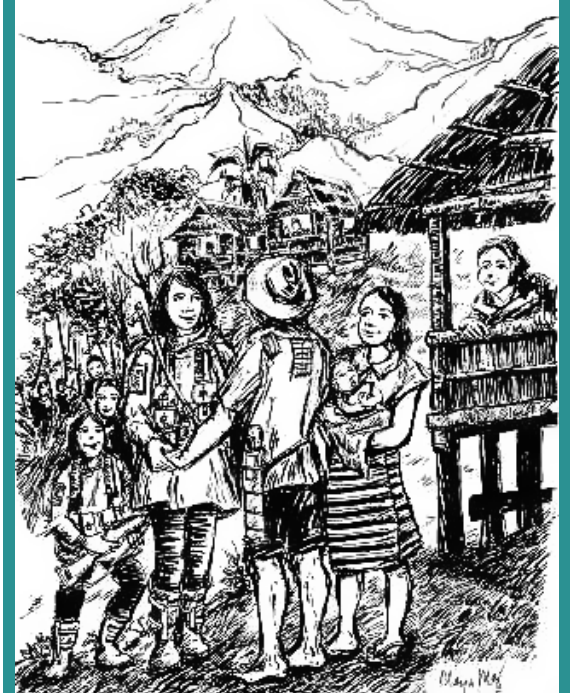
Since 1981, when the Marcos dictatorship initiated Operational Plan (Oplan) *Katatagan* purportedly “to defend the state” (the besieged fascist regime) from the fast-growing New People's Army (NPA), each succeeding administration has followed suit. This is understandable, since the planner-implementor of every Oplan has been the same military establishment habituated to martial-rule repressive action.

The Oplans have had varying names. Yet all have been aimed at deterring the growth of or strategically defeating the NPA, to preserve the existing rotten ruling system.

These were: Corazon C. Aquino's Oplan *Mamamayan* and Oplan *Lambat-Bitag* I and II; Fidel Ramos' *Lambat-Bitag* III and IV, and Oplans *Makabayan* and *Balangay* (which transitted into Joseph Estrada's truncated presidency); Gloria Arroyo's Oplan *Bantay Laya* I and II; Benigno Aquino III's Oplan *Bayanihan*; and Rodrigo Duterte's Oplan *Kapayapaan* and Oplan *Kapanatagan*.

While each succeeding administration adopted its predecessor's operational concepts, it added new ones. But all such operational concepts were, invariably, copied from the counterinsurgency guide of the US Army. Although these may have worked for some time in America's wars of aggression and intervention in different parts of the world, over the long run they have failed to achieve their prime objective: decisive military victory.

Instead, these American wars—practically wars against the peoples of the countries they invaded, starting with the Philippines at the turn of the 20th century—have left behind countless deaths mostly of civilians, including children; pervasive human rights violations; displacements en masse of the population; and massive destruction of socio-economic resources requiring decades to recover.



THE MASSES GIFTED HER A NAME / POSTED BY MAYA DANIEL ON FB

Similarly, albeit in smaller scale, these have been the dire impacts of the successive counterinsurgency Oplans on our people—since Marcos' time to the present—in the undefined arenas of war across the archipelago, mostly in the countrysides and hinterlands.

The current Oplan *Kapanatagan* started as Oplan *Kapayapaan* in January 2017. The latter was also dubbed as the AFP Development Support and Security Plan 2017-2022, which the Armed Forces off the Philippines (AFP) described as an advance from Aquino III's Oplan *Bayanihan*. It adopted the latter's “whole-of-nation” or “people-centered” approach. Oplan *Bayanihan*, the AFP bragged, resulted in getting 71 of the 76 (out of 86) provinces deemed to be “insurgency affected” declared as “insurgency free” and “peaceful and ready for further development.”

The change to *Kapanatagan* stemmed from the AFP's assessment that Oplan *Kapayapaan* was failing to achieve its targeted goal to defeat the NPA midway of Duterte's six-year term of office.

When first announced by AFP chief Gen. Benjamin Madrigal before the May 2019 midterm elections, it was billed as the AFP-PNP Joint Campaign Plan “*Kapanatagan*” 2018-2022. Madrigal described it as a “medium-term broad plan that shall guide the AFP and Philippine National Police (PNP) in providing guidelines and delineation of authority while performing their mandated tasks to promote peace, ensure security, and support the overall development initiatives of the government towards inclusive



growth.” It is anchored, he added, on the national strategic guidance defined in the National Vision, National Security Policy, Philippine Development Plan, National Peace and Development Agenda, and the 2018 Department of National Defence (DND) Guidance and Policy Thrusts.

“The respective strategic thrusts of the AFP and PNP were thus harmonized in this Joint Campaign Plan “*Kapanatagan*” 2018-2022,” Madrigal said. He called it “a dynamic process to establish greater inter-operability in our continuing operations to address security concerns within our respective areas of concern, including all other productive endeavors wherein we join hands in support of national government initiatives as envisioned by President Rodrigo R. Duterte.”

Specifically, Madrigal cited two “salient features” of Campaign Plan *Kapanatagan*: 1) The PNP shall support the AFP in combat operations involving the suppression of insurgency and other serious threats to national security; and 2) The PNP shall take the lead role in law-enforcement operations against criminal syndicates and private armed groups, with the active support of the AFP.”

It was in the Cordillera region where the AFP and PNP first “rolled out” Oplan *Kapanatagan*, after the May midterm elections. Northern Luzon Command (Nolcom) chief Lt. Gen. Emmanuel Salamat then said: “Because of the effort of the AFP and PNP in preventing violence and any actions of the local terrorist groups in the Cordillera region, we assure that the AFP and PNP will continue to work together through Joint *Kapanatagan* Cordillera.”

He emphasized that the AFP-PNP would carry out “joint actions and plans to ensure a more collaborative effort to address the peace and security concerns, especially in those geographic isolated areas” (the guerrilla zones) in Cordillera. He expressed hope that the local government units and other “partner agencies” would collaborate to ensure implementation of Executive Order 70 and the National Task Force to End the Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC) it created, headed by Duterte.

Gen. Salamat disclosed that at a “national convergence” meeting in Malacañang, all those working under NTF-ELCAC had put all efforts “to come up with a cluster of responses” on the different issues, including “issues that have been exploited by the local terrorist groups” so that the government can respond to them.

And how has the government responded through NTF-ELCAC and Oplan *Kapanatagan*?

Recently, the Cordillera People’s Democratic Front (CPDF-National Democratic Front of the Philippines) issued a primer on this two-in-one counterinsurgency plan, titled “Disturbance and Plunder by the State Against the People.” Among others, it points out the following:

R(egional)TF-ELCAC Cordillera was formed in July 2019, followed by P(rovincial)TF-ELCAC Mt. Province in September. In the last three months of the year municipal- and barangay-level TFs are targeted to be formed.

In September, Nolcom launched military operations in various parts of the Cordillera and Ilocos regions, side-by-side with these joint campaigns by the AFP and PNP: disinformation, surveillance, psychological war (disseminating false information that the NPA had planted land mines in the mountain areas of Bauko, Tadian, and Sagada towns in Mt. Province); forcible entry into civilian homes purportedly to “collect” firearms kept for the NPA in the communities of Besao town; threat and pressure used on residents summoned to *pulong masa* to sign up on a memorandum of agreement with the AFP-PNP and a declaration of the CPP-NPA as “persona non grata”; holding seminars and symposia on Duterte’s “war on drugs”; and delivery of “services”, “relief and rehabilitation”, among others.

The AFP-PNP also set up detachments within three communities of Besao and one in Sagada, in violation of the Comprehensive Agreement on the Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL). (In the National Capital Region, through Implan/Oplan Kalasag, the NCR version of Oplan *Katatagan*, the AFP-PNP tandem has also set up detachments in some communities in Caloocan City. Uniformed armed teams engage in red-tagging, harassment, intimidation, while others offer “livelihood programs” to identified leaders and members of progressive organizations).

CPDF also says the implementation of Oplan *Katatagan* and NTF-ELCAC in the region aims to facilitate the entry of energy and mining projects by foreign-local joint ventures that threaten the ecology, and violate the Cordillera people’s right to their ancestral lands. It named the following: Bimaka Renewable Energy Devt. Corp., Hydroelectric Dev’t Corp., Chico River Pump Irrigation Project by China’s CAMC Engineering, Aragorn Power Energy Corp., and Cordillera Exploration Co. Inc.-Nickel Asia of Japan.

In sum, CPDF denounces the two-in-one campaign as designed to “pacify and press the people to obey the dictates of the reactionary state.” It calls on the Cordillera people to assert their rights, oppose the campaign through various means, and expose the true intent of the campaign: to crush the just struggle of the oppressed masses.

It’s useful to note that, in 1981 the Marcos dictatorship already employed thru Oplan *Katatagan* the full force of the AFP, the police and paramilitary forces, its “development agencies”, and some civilian organizations. Duterte’s Oplan *Kapanatagan* and NTF-ELCAC—backed up by extended martial law in Mindanao and state of national emergency in other areas of the country—can be correctly described as an “Enhanced Oplan *Katatagan*.” Note further: the Oplan failed—in 1986 the people ousted Marcos. **LIB**



## HAVE WE GOT THE GOVERNMENT WE DESERVED?

by Vida Gracias

The midterm elections of 2019 have come and passed, as in previous ones, tainted with doubts over the results and assumptions of machinations by those in power.

As cynically expected, the Duterte regime emerged “victorious.” Almost all of its candidates were declared winners, with its most loyal vassals—the omnipresent presidential assistant Bong Go and the comedian former Philippine National Police (PNP) Director Ronald ‘Bato’ de la Rosa—making it to the top-6 circle in the senatorial race.

Now the President has got the supermajority in the Senate, aided by the comebacking election of scions of political dynasties, the daughter of a deposed dictator, a known plunderer, and a celebrity wannabe.

The opposition Liberal Party has been crippled, as the Otso Diretso senatorial slate did not win a single seat. And progressive candidate Neri Colmenares—who notably consistently engaged the administration on timely and popularly-supported issues



throughout the campaign period—saw his votes in the 2016 elections shaved by 1.7 million votes. “Duterte magic?” asked a skeptical election analyst.

Having retained a clear majority in the House of Representatives, Duterte has openly dictated a term-sharing scheme for the Speakership in the 17th Congress: the first 15 months on the rostrum for Representative Alan Peter Cayetano of Taguig, and the remaining 21 months for Representative Lord Velasco of Marinduque. Before this arrangement, Duterte’s son Paulo (elected Davao City congressman) and daughter Sara (reelected Davao City mayor) unabashedly displayed their own power-tripping by forming a “Duterte Coalition” in the House to back up comebacking Davao City Representative Isidro Ungab for Speaker.

The sole positive aspect of this election was the tenacity and resiliency with which the progressive partylists belonging to the Makabayan Coalition defiantly withstood and prevailed against the sustained, vicious, and nationwide attacks and deceptions used against them by the military-bureaucratic machine of the Duterte regime.

To a considerable extent, the voters rejected the regime’s open campaign of “zero votes for the Makabayan partylists,” aimed at dislodging the progressives from their congressional seats held since 2001. Bayan Muna won the maximum three seats allowed by the law, while Gabriela Women’s Party, Act Teachers, and Kabataan Party won a seat each. Only Anakpawis fell short in attaining the number of votes for one seat. The Makabayan bloc, the real consistent opposition in the House, remains intact.

The state machinery was slyly at work before, during, and after the elections. Its most brutal attacks, aimed at progressive candidates and partylists—ranged from killings, arrests and trumped-up charges, harassments and threats, to interminable red-tagging. Brazenly disregarding the clear prohibition by the Constitution, the PNP and the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) openly engaged in electioneering, campaigning against the progressives even on election day. Vote buying was more massive and rampant than ever. And the much-assailed automated election system (AES), used for the fourth time, recorded the worst incidences of malfunctions that appeared to have been intentional, not accidental as one IT expert remarked.

Nevertheless, the elections are over and as the winners claim, “The people have spoken.” *Really?*

## WHAT FALLACY

The elections are meant to be a democratic exercise. The exercise is said to be a great equalizer—rich or poor, everyone is entitled to only one vote. But that is the fallacy of the ballot-box equality. In a class society like the Philippines, the machinery of the state is lodged in the hands of a few, of the rich and the powerful. The great majority is, in reality, represented only in name in these processes and has no real say in the turnout of the elections.

In truth, elections only make it possible for the ruling class to use democratic institutions in furthering their own interests. They have the economic, political, and armed means to use power practically at their whim. This is no democracy at all.

The much-touted “free, fair and honest elections” aphorism is an illusion. Practically anyone who is of age and has the mental capacity can run for public office, but only the moneyed elite can successfully run a campaign, or simply resort to vote buying. The people can choose their representatives, but again only from among the moneyed and the elite. Even if asked to vote wisely, many people are bribed, fooled, hoodwinked, cheated, or forced to vote even for the most undesirable of their oppressors. People want a peaceful election, but threats, intimidation, and violence abound.

When Otso Diretso lost to Duterte, some sectors started calling the voters “*bobotante*”. But the system, not the people, is the culprit. Elections in a semifeudal and semicolonial society are a hoax and fraud is a common occurrence.

Democratic laws and institutions are ample in this Republic claiming to be a democratic state—but only in form, not for

real. Human rights are enshrined in the Constitution but state officials are the first to violate, dismiss or disregard the laws. Duterte is a prime example. There are three branches of government for check and balance. But the ruling regime regards all the key posts within the president’s appointing authority as juicy positions to reward its loyalists and supporters.

The minority rules and the majority suffer. That is the meaning of democracy in a semifeudal and semicolonial country.

Despite this rude reality, it is important for the people to participate in the elections as a way to experience and develop their consciousness about how rotten the system is, and what fundamental changes need to be done. The elections become a training ground for the development of revolutionary consciousness. It makes people realize that democracy is lip-service and that the voice of the people can be suppressed or manipulated at any time.

Even elected officials whom the people may initially have felt were true to their promises can turn out to be corrupt, or worse, to be tyrants as in the case of Duterte. The ancient Greeks invented the term tyrant to mean agents of the people who became dictators.

In some cases, progressives and reformers are able to gain power or concessions but only in a limited or temporary sense, and as generally defined, may be tolerated or allowed by the ruling system. Again, this is more an exception than the rule; and exceptions do not make the rule. Once the ruling regime unleashes its full terror, there is no more room for democratic pretensions and all arenas for open people’s participation are deemed closed.

**THIS MEANS LIBERATING THE MOST NUMEROUS, YET ALSO THE MOST OPPRESSED CLASS—SPECIFICALLY THE FARMERS AND AGRICULTURAL WORKERS WHO COMPRISE 70% OF THE POPULATION – FROM OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION BY A PRIVILEGED MINORITY.**

**ONCE THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE GAINS THE POWER OVER THEIR OWN LIVES – THAT WILL BE DEMOCRACY.**



## PURSuing DEMOCRACY

Be that as it may, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), has even more reason to pursue democracy not just in form but in substance. Its significance—the rule of the majority—is aimed not just in politics but more so in the economic sphere.

In the Philippine context, this means liberating the most numerous, yet also the most oppressed, class—specifically the farmers and agricultural workers who comprise 70% of the population—from oppression and exploitation by a privileged minority.

To stand its ground, democracy must be rooted in the economy, which means satisfying the demand for land reform of the landless majority. This means addressing their economic and social problems to effect changes in their class position in Philippine society. This means liberating the country’s productive forces to define their own existence towards justice and prosperity. For too long, widespread landlessness has engendered gross poverty and inequality not just for the peasantry but also for other oppressed classes.

Hence in waging the people’s democratic revolution, the struggle for land takes precedence over all other demands of the people. This is basically an agrarian war. The peasants, in alliance with the working class, have to wrest control of the land from the ruling elite as a means to end poverty and inequality. This is a struggle that may be bloody, because the most reactionary class, the landlords, will not take this sitting down when their land monopoly is challenged, or private property is subdivided and distributed among the tillers of the land.

In due time, as the revolution advances the will of the majority shall find

expression not just in the economy but in politics as well. One who holds economic power wields political power. Thus the dominant position of the great majority must be secured for the flowering of true democracy.

Revolutionaries are aware that the quest for democracy does not stop with the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution but shall be carried on to the next stage, the socialist revolution. Ultimately the working class becomes the majority of the population, and the dominant class as well. The leadership of this class will find expression in a proletarian state until such time that the people can govern their own lives with no more need for classes or states.

As Lenin put it, it is not the bourgeoisie but the proletariat who can make democracy happen. True enough, in the Philippines and through the leadership of the proletarian party, the CPP, changes are becoming more visible in many guerrilla fronts in the country.

Emboldened by the revolution, the peasants in the countryside are not just taking up arms to fight for their rights; they are building their own organizations and setting up organs of political power. Elections are called in a truly free, fair and honest manner; the ballot is treated as sacred; representatives are selected from their own ranks and are subject to recall when they err.

Group meetings, mass assemblies, education sessions, deliberations, consultations have become as common as farming. The people are involved in governance as well as in policy-making. Even matters related to production is no longer just an individual or family decision but is addressed by the entire community.

Once the majority of the people gains the power over their own lives—that will be democracy. And that is what the ruling class fears most: an awakened citizenry schooled in the ways of democracy. **LJB**



# WEAPONIZING THE CIVILIAN BUREAUCRACY

by Pat Gambao and Vida Gracias

Poverty, with its attendant injustices, is the root cause of the protracted armed conflict. On this basis the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and the Government of the Philippines (GPH), now under the reins of Rodrigo Duterte, have engaged in peace negotiations.

But when the Duterte regime arbitrarily terminated the peace negotiations it did a complete turnaround. It now points to the armed conflict—read the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)-New People's Army (NPA)-NDFP armed struggle—as the cause of poverty and non-development in the country.

Indeed, it is a convenient excuse for the regime to train its guns and utilize various war resources against the revolutionary movement and the masses supporting it. Everywhere, and anywhere now, the Duterte regime sees “Red” and employs “red-tagging” to justify its clamping down against a wide range of legitimate oppositionists, critics, and ordinary civilians.

Taking off from the failed counterinsurgency program of his predecessor, Duterte took a tight grip of Benigno S. Aquino III's “whole of nation approach” (WNA) embodied in the latter's Oplan Bayanihan. The “whole of nation approach” readily suggests a semblance of the whole nation—the entire civilian bureaucracy, government-owned and controlled corporations, local government units, plus nongovernmental formations denoted as “other stakeholders”—mobilized against the people's democratic revolution.

Specifically, the WNA embarked on weaponizing the civilian bureaucracy and boosted the power of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP). This means blatantly placing the civilian agencies and services of the reactionary government under the military.

Under Duterte as strongman, a civilian-military junta, all but in name, is more apparent than ever.

From the beginning of his presidency in 2016, he has continually appointed to key positions in his cabinet and agencies retired high-ranking military and police officers. After a year, in 2017, there were already 60 former AFP and Philippine National Police (PNP) officials in the civilian bureaucracy.

To this day he continues to fill up other offices, particularly strategic ones, with ex-military officials, such as the Office of the Presidential Assistant on the Peace Process (OPAPP), the Department of Social Work and Development (DSWD), the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System (MWSS). Recently, he appointed Gringo Honasan to head the Information and Communication Technology department, replacing another military officer, Eliseo Rio, Jr., who stays as undersecretary. Duterte also named Royina Garma, Cebu's chief of police, as new head of the Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office (PCSO). There are now at least 80 former military officials in various executive offices and government-owned and controlled corporations.

In the guise of Cabinet reorganization, Duterte issued Executive Order No. 67 placing more agencies under military supervision in two departments. The EO purportedly aims to “strengthen the democratic and institutional framework of the executive department,” and eliminate “roadblocks and impediments” in pursuing the government's agenda. Among these agencies are:

- **NATIONAL COMMISSION ON MUSLIM FILIPINOS** TRANSFERRED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT (DILG)
- **PHILIPPINE COMMISSION ON WOMEN** TRANSFERRED TO DILG
- **NATIONAL YOUTH COMMISSION** TRANSFERRED TO DILG
- **NATIONAL ANTI-POVERTY COMMISSION** TRANSFERRED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE AND DEVELOPMENT (DSWD)
- **NATIONAL COMMISSION ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLES** TRANSFERRED TO DSWD
- **PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION ON THE URBAN POOR** TRANSFERRED TO DSWD

The move was followed by Executive Order No. 70 which created a National Task Force (NTF) to provide mechanism and structure to the WNA approach. President Duterte nominally chairs the task force with his national security adviser as vice chair. Certain cabinet members, agency heads, the AFP chief of staff, and two representatives from the private sector sit as members.

More telling, Duterte appointed the notorious retired Colonel Allen Capuyan as executive director or head of the NTF national secretariat. Capuyan's notoriety dates back to the time of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's administration, when he headed Task Force Gantangan, which carried out a vicious “internal security plan” against the Lumad (indigenous people) of Mindanao. With his recent appointment as NCIP chairperson, Capuyan now holds two significant offices, one for “counterinsurgency”, the other to facilitate the entry of big business in indigenous peoples' (IP) areas such as mining and plantations. Like a number of Duterte

appointees, Capuyan has been implicated in a multi-million-peso shabu trade.

More insidiously now, government services are organized into several “operational clusters” (obviously a military parlance), namely: (1) Government Empowerment Cluster; (2) International Engagements Cluster; (3) Legal Cooperation Cluster; (4) Strategic Communications Cluster; (5) Basic Services Cluster; (6) Livelihood and Poverty Alleviation Cluster; (7) Infrastructure and Resource Management Cluster; (8) AFP-PNP Peace and Development Cluster; (9) Situational Awareness and Knowledge Management Cluster; (10) Localized Peace Engagement Cluster; (11) E-Clip and Amnesty Program Cluster; and (12) Sectoral Unification, Capacity Building and Empowerment Cluster.

These clusters serve to support military operations against the revolutionary movement as well as groups and personalities perceived to be opposing Duterte.

## LEGAL CLUSTER

Apart from the justice department, which has control over the National Bureau of Investigation (NBI) and prosecutors, the cluster consists of government security sectors such as the National Security Council (NSC), AFP/PNP, National Intelligence Coordinating Agency (NICA), Intelligence Service of the AFP (ISAFP), Intelligence Group of the PNP, the NBI, and the NCIP. The latter was thrown into the cluster apparently to watch over Lumad communities and other national minorities who are deemed prime recruits of the NPA.

Upon termination of the peace talks on November 23, 2017 and issuance of Duterte's Proclamation No. 360 declaring the CPP-NPA as terrorist organizations, the legal cluster immediately took action. The DOJ listed of 656 names alleged to be “terrorist” leaders and members of the CPP-NPA including Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples and former chair of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. The list was later trimmed down to eight, but only after arrests had been made and several NDFP consultants incarcerated.

To replace Arroyo's notoriously-vicious but

inept Inter-Agency Legal Action Group (IALAG) which filed trumped-up cases against her critics based on planted evidence and false witnesses, the Duterte regime formed the Inter-Agency Committee on Legal Action (IACLA). Victims of this new body are NDFP consultants Vicente Ladlad, Rafael Baylosis, and Rey Casambre. Ladlad and Casambre are still under detention awaiting trial of their cases. Baylosis has been freed after his arrest was deemed illegal, rendering the consequent case filed against him null and void.

Under IACLA, a remnant trumped-up murder case initiated by IALAG in 2006 was revived against

four progressive former legislators, dubbed by media as “Makabayan 4”: former Bayan Muna Rep. Satur Ocampo, former Bayan Muna Rep. Teddy Casiño, former National Anti-Poverty Commission Secretary Liza Maza, and former Department of Agrarian Reform Secretary Rafael Mariano. Warrants of arrest were issued against the four. However, the trial court judge found no merit in the case and summarily dismissed it.

This cluster is likewise working for the legislation of repressive laws, specifically amendments that would water down provision for human rights in the Human Security Act (HSA).



## INTERNATIONAL CLUSTER

The International Engagement Cluster was also set to work. Government security officials were sent “on a caravan” abroad to: 1) counter the effective information campaign by human rights organizations critical of the Duterte government’s human rights violations—tagged by the regime as “CPP fronts”— and 2) “cut their ties” with foreign governments, the United Nations, and international solidarity groups. The trip was an intelligence mission as well as psyops aimed at maligning the CPP-NPA-NDFP and leaders of the progressive legal organizations. However, its main aim was to sever financial assistance coming from foreign agencies and governments to human rights defenders and legitimate NGOs branded as “communist fronts.”

Earlier, Duterte tapped the state’s own civilian agencies to do surveillance. For one, the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) issued in November 2018 Memorandum Circular No. 15 giving itself the authority to look into the finances of NGOs. It sought to know their sources of funds purportedly to track “money laundering to terrorist funding.” The said Memorandum likewise provides that SEC could ask the police and military to investigate the NGOs without prior notice.

Also, a news report, dated June 3, 2019, quoted Foreign Affairs Secretary Teodoro Locsin, Jr. as saying in his tweet: “Over a month ago I fired off a memo to all our European embassies to tell their host governments to clear any and all donations to their NGOs

in the Philippines with the DFA. Or we will deregister them in the SEC [Securities and Exchange Commission]. If that hasn’t been done do it now.” He did not provide details. His statement came after Duterte claimed that foreign governments have been supporting so-called communist fronts.

The Philippine government, through the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC), has submitted to the European Union (EU) and the Belgian embassy in the Philippines documents supporting claims that NGOs are used to funnel funds to the communist movement.

Immediately, international NGOs who have long supported organizations such as human rights watchdog Karapatan and Lumad school ALCADDEV (two of those red-tagged organizations) disputed the government’s accusation and firmly stood by their support to these organizations.

After the “international caravan” in January, the Duterte regime sent another group last June 2019 as a follow up to its lobby effort to discredit people’s organizations, specifically, human rights defenders and Lumad in Mindanao. The Duterte government, spending millions of people’s money, sent its apologists/defenders to Belgium and New York (where they were met with protest actions) and at the 41<sup>st</sup> session of the UN Human Rights Council UNHRC) in Geneva, Switzerland. To the regime’s chagrin, the UNHRC adopted the Iceland-initiated resolution calling on the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Michelle Bachelet, to make a comprehensive written report on the human rights situation in the Philippines to be discussed in the next UNHRC session.

## COMMUNICATIONS CLUSTER

Under the Communications Cluster, promotional work for the Duterte regime includes demonizing the revolutionary movement as “terrorist”. Duterte’s fear of the revolution has extended to media being critical of his regime, with personalities being red-tagged, placed under surveillance, harassed, arrested or killed. In three years, 13 journalists have already been killed. The Freedom for Media, Freedom for All Network reported that from June 30, 2016 to April 30, 2019, a total of 128 cases of threats and attacks against the media have been documented. The attacks were unrelenting. From the “Red October” plot to the egregious “Oust Duterte matrix,” clearly the administration is not on a “wait and see” mode but on an overactive frenzy. The goal: mass intimidation. The regime is deploying all weapons in its arsenal to police even the opinions of the public: from the employment of a massive “troll army” and other forms of astroturfing or the attempt to bloat supposed public support for policies, resulting in an era where genuine reports and fake news are difficult to tell apart; the ramped-up surveillance of perceived critics of the administration; to imposing martial law in Mindanao, and similar thinly-veiled military efforts in provinces in the Visayas and Luzon.

Alternative media such as Bulatlat, Kodigo, Pinoy Weekly, AlterMidya Network and others have been victims of cyberattacks known as DDoS (Distributed Denial of Service) where their sites have been repeatedly attacked, apparently because they criticized the regime and covered developments in the revolutionary movement.

Also, libel and criminal cases are filed against mainstream media with threats of revoking their registrations and franchises, such as in the case of Rappler and ABS-CBN.

## BASIC SERVICES CLUSTER

Government agencies providing basic services and programs are clustered together—the DSWD, Housing, TESDA, Education, OPAPP, NAPC— almost all under military domination.

The target of these services and programs are said to be the strongholds of the NPA. Schemes are aimed at cutting off the support of the communities to the armed revolution, as well as to draw surrenderers from the people’s army. It is intertwined with the reactionary government’s programs for surrenderers, the Enhanced Comprehensive

Local Integration Program (E-CLIP), and “localized peace engagement.” All of these schemes are ridden with deception and corruption.

The E-CLIP has turned out to be one of the regime’s milking cows, because millions of pesos end up in the pockets of military officials. For one, there have been, only a few, genuine surrenderers. Most of the so-called rebel returnees were ordinary civilians threatened, coerced and/or herded in plazas and presented to media as “surrenderers”. The Task Force Balik-Loob is said to have spent Php 520 million to Php 715 million in 2018 supposedly for the 8,000-11,000 “NPA surrenderers”—figures that are way beyond the regime’s own estimated current number of NPA members.

## SECTORAL CLUSTER

The youth, workers and urban poor groups have been identified as among the breeding grounds of the revolutionary movement. But, among the many sectors, the Lumad of Mindanao and other indigenous people’s groups have been the actual target of the sectoral unification cluster because they reside within the guerrilla fronts in Mindanao and Cordillera.

As planned, the militarized government institutions aim to lure the indigenous peoples with socio-economic programs and pretend to enhance their culture, whereas in fact they rob them of their ancestral lands for the benefit of foreign transnational corporations engaged in mining and oil palm plantation. It is small wonder that martial law was declared and extended in Mindanao where the Lumad and the Bangsamoro carry out revolutionary struggles in defense of their ancestral lands.

The age-old divide and rule tactic has always been employed by the State and is manifested through the “creation” of fake datus, initiated by the NCIP, who become conduits in the plunder of ancestral lands. The existence of AFP-backed paramilitary groups not only divides the indigenous people’s communities but has also caused countless human rights violations among those who stand their ground in defense of their ancestral lands and right to self-determination.

The NTF-ELCAC’s latest bid to subvert the Lumad’s right to self-determination was the order to close 55 Lumad schools in Southern Mindanao based on fabricated information that these schools have been teaching communist ideology to Lumad children. The Philippine government has not spent a single centavo on these schools, yet it has the gall to rob hundreds of Lumad children of their future.

THE REVOLUTIONARY  
MOVEMENT WILL PERSIST  
AS LONG AS THERE IS  
**OPPRESSION.**





In the end, weaponizing the civilian bureaucracy will only worsen the crisis within the regime and doom it to failure. On one hand corruption, patronage and inefficiency will mar the implementation of the regime's "counterinsurgency" program as proven many times in the past. On the other hand, the regime will create more enemies than friends as it fails to silence the revolutionary movement and the broad opposition.

By now, more victims of the regime, threatened or otherwise, are joining the ranks of the revolutionary underground and the NPA. On the legal front, even organizations of different political persuasions are closing ranks and have become more emboldened in raising real-time and long-term issues against the regime.

Duterte has got it all wrong. The problem is not the CPP-NPA-NDF. It is still poverty, stupid. Duterte, like his hero Marcos, poorly understands the problems of Philippine society. Their lens are clouded by their own self-interests to perpetuate themselves and their families in power.

Duterte's ambitious and vicious reverie to crush the revolution, sustain "peace" and rule like the grand dictator will never succeed no matter how he masked his counterinsurgency program—earlier named Oplan Kapayapaan and now, a more off-key Oplan Kapanatagan—with a weaponized civil bureaucracy and deodorized by rhetorics of "development" and "humanitarian." The convoluted reasoning, that the armed conflict is the cause of poverty, and the non-development peddled by Duterte and his armed minions to deceive and win over the people will blow on their very faces.

For as long as the root cause of the armed conflict is not addressed, for as long as the semicolonial and semifeudal state of the Philippine society stays causing abject poverty to and unfettered bondage on the masses, for as long as repression and oppression persist, all of the US-Duterte regime's schemes are bound to fail. The revolution, which the masses look up to as their sole salvation, will continue to rage and advance to greater heights. **LIB**



THE INTENDED VICTIMS OF THE CAMPAIGN ARE UNARMED, VISIBLE, AND EASY TARGETS.

IT ONLY HIGHLIGHTS THE CORRECTNESS OF WAGING AND ADVANCING THE NOW 50-YEAR NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION.

# A PROPAGANDA WAR WITH DIRE CONSEQUENCES

by Erika Hernandez

Neophyte Senator Ronaldo "Bato" dela Rosa, the former Philippine National Police (PNP) chief of the Duterte government, led a public inquiry in the Senate and instantly spurred controversy and criticisms. He attempted to link progressive youth organizations with the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the New People's Army (NPA).

He presented two witnesses who claimed they were "students by day and NPA by night"—a giveaway phrase as to where it came from: the military. That he sought to turn a public inquiry, purportedly in aid of legislation, into a witch-hunt immediately became obvious.

The controversial frontman in President Rodrigo Duterte's "war on drugs" also presented parents of youth activists, who apparently had been goaded to vilify leaders of Anakbayan and Kabataan Partylist as "kidnappers who brainwash their members." Bato's witch-hunt came with memes on social media showing NPA martyrs from the youth sector and victims of state-perpetrated enforced disappearances with a theme, "Sayang ang buhay ng kabataan (Youth lives just wasted)."

Military officers who had been invited as resource persons called for a review of a 1980-agreement between a youth leader and then defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile, prohibiting the presence of state security forces in universities and colleges. They gave lame excuses, such as to prevent "front organizations" from recruiting students to join the NPA; avert the proliferation of drugs in schools; and give the military an equal opportunity to explain government programs.

Following the Senate inquiry, members of the PNP attempted to conduct "mandatory" drug testing on students at the Polytechnic University of the Philippines (PUP). Courageous PUP scholars who knew their rights valiantly resisted, driving away the cops from the university premises.

Bato couldn't wait to use the Senate as platform for pushing the propaganda line of the Duterte regims against the CPP-NPA in its bid to defeat the revolutionary movement before the end of its term.

By striving to directly link the progressive youth organizations with the CPP-NPA and the armed struggle against the reactionary state, the fascist regime aims to justify its red-tagging, harassment, abductions, and killings of youth leaders and activists. The regime blurs—if not totally removes—the distinction between the armed revolutionary movement and the legal, above-ground democratic mass movement fighting for the people's legitimate demands. It regards the open democratic mass movement as the propaganda component of the armed revolutionary movement.

Thus in the following weeks, the Duterte regime's red-tagging spree, branding almost all legal organizations as "fronts" of the CPP-NPA, was raised a notch higher. Duterte's rabid pro-US defense chief urged the illegalization of these organizations by reviving the Anti-Subversion Act of 1957, the cold war-era legislation that made CPP illegal; it was repealed under the Ramos government in 1992 as it entered into peace negotiations with the NDFP.



## MYTH-MAKING THROUGH RED TAGS AND INCESSANT LIES

Red-tagging of people's organizations is a key facet of the "strategic communication" thrust under the "whole of nation approach (WNA)" of the Duterte regime's counterinsurgency program. Under this overarching WNA concept—applied unsuccessfully by the US in its unending wars of intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq since 2001 and 2002—the regime seeks to "create a movement of and crusade against communist ideology starting with the youth." It also aims to "assess and conduct counter measures on the current tri-media and social media being infiltrated and targeted by the "CNN [CPP-NPA-NDFP]" through inter-agency collaboration to counter and contain the spread of extremism and revolution."

What the regime is trying to portray is a supposed state inter-agency collaboration with civil society against the Left and revolutionary movement. While Bato exploits the Senate as platform, Congress is poised to enact repressive measures such as the revival of the Anti-Subversion Law, amendments to the Human Security Act of 2007 (the anti-terrorism law), mandatory military training in schools, among others. The Anti-Subversion Law and Human Security Act amendments portray critics and activists as "terrorists," to justify unrelenting unarmed and armed attacks against them.

Red-tagging has preceded many cases of extrajudicial killing, torture, arrest

and detention, and other human rights abuses against farmers, workers, environmentalists, Church people, lawyers, human rights defenders and other sectors.

The Duterte regime's propaganda machinery involves both the military and civilian bureaucracy, with the former taking the lead role. The composition of the National Task Force to End the Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC), formed through Executive Order No. 70 and headed by President Duterte, shows how civilian agencies are being mobilized for counterinsurgency operations.

The NTF has been busy in its efforts to red tag legal and progressive mass organizations critical of the Duterte regime and its continuing subservience to US imperialism and obeisance to China as rising imperialist power.

One of the most glaring incidents of red-tagging happened during the May 2019 elections. PNP men and women in uniform were caught on camera in the act of distributing a PNP newsletter linking Makabayan Coalition-affiliated partylist groups to the underground revolutionary movement.

In other areas such as Panay, Negros, Davao, Cagayan de Oro, leaflets containing a list of persons alleged to be communists were distributed by state agents. In the list are human rights activists, lawyers, members of the religious, journalists, and academics.

Brig. Gen. Antonio Parlade, AFP deputy chief of staff for civil-military operations, is one of the most vociferous in publicly labeling human rights organizations and sectoral groups as "CPP-NPA fronts" and in peddling the lie that these organizations are involved in "terroristic" activities.

The regime also takes advantage of social media to vilify its most vocal critics. The Philippine News Agency (PNA) and the Presidential Communications Operations Office (PCOO) make use of fake photos, fake statements, and incredible claims against leaders of the people's organizations.

The regime has spent huge amounts of taxpayers' money in disseminating its propaganda against the progressive movement to the international community. The NTF-ELCAC went as far as dispatching a team that visited officials of European Union (EU) member states to red-tag Karapatan, Ibon International, Rural Missionaries of the Philippines, Gabriela, among others. The task force urged these EU countries to cut funding for organizations serving the most neglected rural communities in the Philippines.

The NTF-ELCAC sent a delegation to the United Nations Working Group on Involuntary Disappearances in Bosnia-Herzegovina and egregiously urged that body to delist 625 cases of enforced disappearances in the Philippines, mostly attributed to state security forces. NTF members also furiously lobbied against the passage of a resolution filed by Iceland in the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC), urging the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to look into the spate of extrajudicial killings and make a written comprehensive report on the human rights situation in the Philippines. Their lobbying failed; the UNHRC adopted the resolution.

Even the academe, hospitals, and other civilian agencies are not spared from the witch-hunt. Policemen did rounds in schools, government hospitals

and other offices, profiling the members and officers of employees' unions.

The AFP and PNP have been spreading outright lies. They claim to have succeeded in ending the "insurgency" in some provinces—claims that have repeatedly been belied since the Ramos government first declared, in 1994, that it had strategically defeated the NPA (which it admitted to be untrue several months later). They present to the media fake surrenderers, mostly farmers they either coerced, deceived, or bribed—through the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (E-CLIP)—into admitting they were NPA members. They churn out these falsehoods to conjure the illusion that they are winning against the revolutionaries.

But when their most heinous crimes are exposed, they readily put the blame on the CPP- NPA. This has been shown in the case of the extrajudicial killings in Negros Oriental. Braving threats and the pain of repeatedly recalling the tragic massacres, families of the victims have testified how their loved ones were killed in cold blood during the joint AFP-PNP's Oplan Sauron operations.

When members and other paid elements of the AFP and the PNP get killed in legitimate armed encounters, they try to hide their defeats, or worse, misrepresent these incidents as violations by the NPA of international humanitarian law.

# What right have we to shed tears

## when others are



## shedding blood?

#FightBack  
#FightTyranny



## CRIMINALIZING DISSENT: THE BIGGEST LIE

Through the Inter-Agency Committee on Legal Action (IACLA), the AFP and the PNP jointly try to use the judiciary as a weapon against critics of Duterte and his corrupt and bungling regime. The following are just some examples showing how this administration is criminalizing dissent: the perjury charges filed by Gen. Hermogenes Esperon, the president's national security adviser, against Karapatan, the RMP, and Gabriela; the sedition and cyberlibel cases filed against Vice President Leni Robredo, political opposition candidates in the May senatorial elections, and some Catholic bishops; and, the kidnapping charges against youth leaders and former Bayan Muna Rep. Neri Colmenares.

A similar ridiculous and malicious kidnapping and child abuse charges were earlier filed against Bayan Muna President Satur Ocampo and Representative France Castro of Act-Teachers partylist in late 2018, when they helped rescue Lumad students who had been forced out of their school that was shut down by the military.

A number of activists, service providers of progressive NGOs and organizers or campaigners of legal progressive organizations, have also been arrested based on patently made-up accusations including illegal possession of firearms and explosives. In most cases the arresting teams have planted the "evidence" in the activists' bags they seized, in vehicles or residences as in the case of labor organizer Maoj Maga, long-time peace advocate and NDFP peace consultant Rey Claro Casambre, and NDFP peace consultants Vicente Ladlad, Adel Silva, and recently Esterlita Suaybaguio.

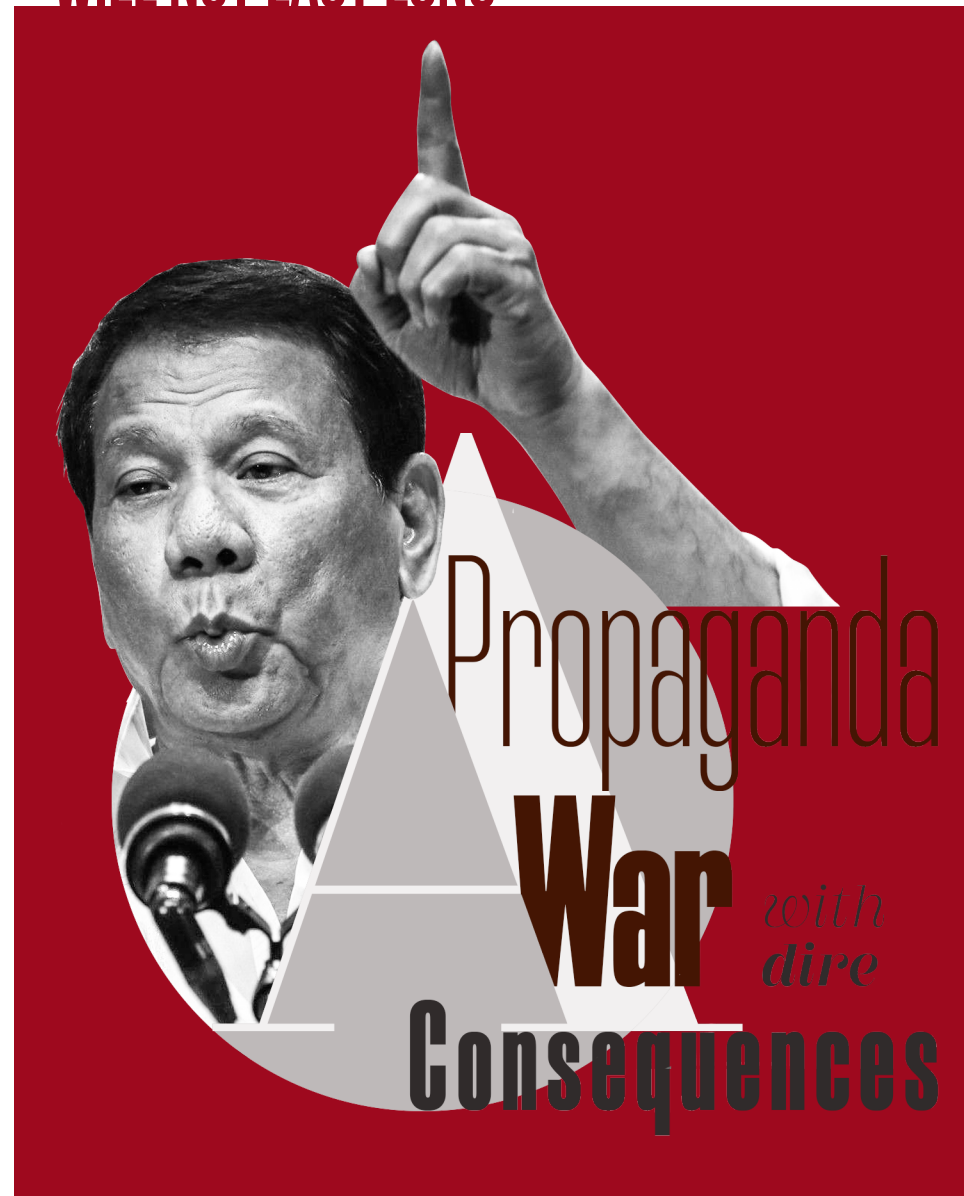
Professional "witnesses" or "surrenderers" dragooned as witnesses are used from one case to another to churn out false testimonies, almost always bordering on the ridiculous. The use of arrest warrants against "John Doe" and "Jane Doe" has become the norm to justify the illegal arrests of any targeted person.

The "multiple murder" case involving, as supposedly prime evidence, "travelling skeletons"—first allegedly dug up from a mass grave in Baybay, Leyte then years later supposedly dug up again in Inopacan, Leyte—has been discredited and should have been laid to rest long ago.

But, no. The biggest legal fiction of Gloria Arroyo's Inter-Agency Legal Action Group (IALAG)—the filing of trumped-up murder charges in 2007 against Satur Ocampo (then Bayan Muna congressman) and several others was questioned before the Supreme Court, which later granted Ocampo bail. However, the case awaited action by the highest tribunal for seven years. Only in 2014 did the SC, mostly with new justices sitting, referred the case for trial to a regional trial court. Then after hearings held over nearly five years, the prosecutors asked the court to issue warrants of arrest against 38 of the co-accused, including NDFP chief political consultant Jose Maria Sison. The court issued the warrants.

In another case, the Court of Appeals recently junked both the petition for writ of amparo and writ of habeas data filed by the National Union of Peoples' Lawyers (NUPL) and a similar petition filed by Karapatan, RMP and Gabriela (the NUPL is the groups' legal counsel). The parallel rulings indicate the sway of military influence on the judiciary. The rulings, issued by different CA divisions, practically denied human rights defenders the legal remedies sought for their protection against political persecution and threats to their personal security and their lives.

### THE DUTERTE REGIME AND ITS DIRTY WAR WILL NOT LAST LONG



WITH EVERY ATTACK IT REVEALS THE TRUE FACE  
— THE FACE OF A ROTTING  
GOVERNMENT THAT IS PUPPET TO  
FOREIGN INTERESTS AND SEEKING TO  
MAINTAIN A CRUMBLING STATUS QUO.

## SILENCING THE MEDIA

As part of its "strategic communication" strategy, the Duterte regime has been discrediting the journalism profession in an apparent bid to drown out the truth in media reporting and spread more lies. By calling journalists as *bayaran* (paid hacks), "press-titute", and other derogatory labels, Duterte wants the Filipino people to doubt and reject the media's role as watchdogs in society.

The Duterte regime is trying to intimidate the more critical journalists using some of these methods:

- Producing fabricated matrices that link to a conjured ouster plot against Duterte the media organizations—the National Union of Journalists of the Philippines (NUJP), the Vera Files, and the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ)—and individual journalists such as Inday Espina-Varona and Danilo Arao.
- Threatening non-renewal of the ABS-CBN franchise, a virtual sword of Damocles threatening the broadcasting giant.
- Filing a string of charges against online news site Rappler and twice trying to detain its CEO, Maria Ressa.
- Conducting "background checks" on journalists. Members of the PNP Press Corps have reported police visits and interrogations.
- Visiting media outfits in the pretext of "getting fair stories" regarding the bloody war on drugs, such as in the case of two media outfits in the Visayas. Some journalists have been included in the drug watch list even though there is no evidence on their alleged use or trade in illegal drugs.
- Red-tagging of the NUJP, the largest organization of journalists in the country, for being vocal in its defense of press freedom. Individual members of the NUJP have also been red-tagged.
- Utilizing trolls to harass critical journalists. Some of these include, among others, death threats and threats of raping women journalists.
- Launching systematic cyber attacks against alternative media websites Bulatlat, Koda, Altermidya, Pinoy Weekly and NUJP. The cyber attacks have also targeted the websites of Bayan, Karapatan, Bayan Muna, Gabriela Women's Party, Ibon and scores of other organizations, including the CPP's Philippine Revolution Web Central (PRWC). Sweden-based Qurium Media Foundation's forensic report on the cyber attacks revealed that the attacks were launched on websites which are Philippine-based.

The escalation of cyber attacks and vilification of media outfits, critical think tanks, progressive service-oriented NGOs and people's organizations are also part of the Duterte regime's "strategic communication" plan. The AFP first announced its creation of a cyber workforce in 2017. Since then until 2019, the AFP, the PNP and the Philippine Coast Guard have yearly held a Cybersecurity Summit.

Early this year, the Duterte regime launched a national cybersecurity plan. It created a cybersecurity management system "to monitor cyber threats," headed by the Integrated Computer Systems (ICS) and the Israeli surveillance company Verint, with an initial licensing period of three years. Verint is a billion-dollar company with a global interception and surveillance empires.

The Duterte regime's dirty propaganda tactics are coupled with heightening repression. Labeling activists interchangeably as "terrorists," "suspected drug addicts," "kidnappers," and the like aims to demonize and criminalize dissent and justify their killing and other human rights violations against them.

All these latest misuse of new technology to spread lies, combined with the age-old armed repression, are like carpetbombs seeking to harm not only the armed revolutionaries. Mostly targeted are citizens critical of the regime, the activists, the Church, the media and any other supporter of human rights and the struggle for genuine democracy.

The intended victims of this campaign are unarmed, visible, and easy targets. The Duterte regime is fighting a dirty war. But the more it lies and kills even non-combatants, the more it reveals the bankruptcy of any promised good results that it trots out to justify this dirty and costly war.

As such, the Duterte regime and its dirty war will not succeed. With every attack it reveals its true face, the face of a rotting government that is puppet to foreign interests and seeking to maintain a crumbling status quo. It only highlights the correctness of waging and advancing the now 50-year national democratic revolution.

To break the cycle of lies and killings being perpetrated by this fascist regime, the people here and abroad should harness the courage and will power to expose and denounce Duterte's lies, and call for ever-broadening people's resistance. **LIB**



# STEELED BY DECADES OF STRUGGLE, THE NEGRENCES KEEP THE REVOLUTIONARY FIRE ABLAZE

by Iliya Makalipay

Tears were shed copiously. There was mourning all around as the number of dead bodies in Negros Island continued to rise. And there was justified rage—because these were not mere numbers or bodies.

They were peasants, local government executives, educators, human rights defenders, lawyers. There was even a one-year-old baby. All of them were victims of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), the Philippine National Police (PNP), and the Duterte Death Squads (DDS).

Stupid as it has shown itself to be, the tyrannical regime wasted no time in accusing the New People's Army (NPA) of killing those whom it had tagged as NPA members and sympathizers.

Peasant advocate groups have reported 87 killed from 2017 to mid-August 2019. Forty of the victims were mercilessly slain after Duterte's Memorandum Order (MO)32 took effect on November 22, 2018. It ordered more troop deployment in Negros, in the Samar provinces, and in the Bicol region purportedly to "suppress lawless violence." A month after, in consonance with MO32, state security forces launched Oplan Sauron in Negros Island.

Currently, at least 11 regular and special battalions of the AFP and PNP operate in the island, supported by paramilitary groups such as the CAFGU (Civilian Armed Force Geographical Unit) and the RPA-ABB (Revolutionary Proletarian Army-Alex Boncayao Brigade). At the height of the killings in July-August 2019, the PNP deployed 300 more members of its Special Forces, further escalating the tension and the abuses.

To justify the massive deployment and brutal military campaign, Col. Benedict Arevalo admitted to media that what was initially passed off as *tokhang* ("drug war") operations were actually counterinsurgency actions. The AFP assumes that the central part of Negros, where most of the killings happened, is used by the NPA as "highway" to easily reach both sides of Negros Island—Occidental and Oriental.

"The rebels are trying to create a base somewhere in the boundaries because it's very important for them to connect and control both islands. It's like grabbing Negros by the neck," a news report quoted Arevalo, commanding officer of the 303rd Infantry Brigade-Philippine Army.

In July 30, the Provincial Task Force to end local communist armed conflict was formed in Negros Oriental following Malacanang's issuance of Executive Order (EO) No. 70, which created the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC), headed by President Duterte himself. The move is part of the "whole-of-nation approach" the regime is using to create public perception that its counterinsurgency operations involve the participation of the entire government, civil society, and the civilian population.

Still and all, the victims of these police and military operations in Negros were unarmed civilians.

## PERENNIAL MILITARY TARGET

This is not the first time state forces deployed hundreds of troops in the island—intended to decimate the NPA and "wipe out" its revolutionary base there. In fact, every president—from Marcos to Duterte—has invariably aimed, by the end of his/her term, to defeat the New People's Army and destroy its revolutionary mass base.

During the Marcos dictatorship, Negros was depicted as a "social volcano" waiting to explode. Almost 40 years later, it has remained so because there was never any palpable change in the economic system and the deplorable lives of the poor people. As feudal and semifeudal relations in the haciendas remain and exploitation is stepped up, so is the validity of sustained armed struggle upheld.

In the last few months of the dictatorship, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) pointed out Marcos's inability to address the sugar crisis and its consequent labor unrest and the military's failure to contain the rebellion that has swept the island because of extreme poverty. The CIA report, dated May 1985, had been declassified and sanitized and was approved for release in 2011.

The report said: "We judge that later this year (1985), Negros may become, after Mindanao, the second politically important island in the archipelago where Communist control rivals that of the government."

It added: "Despite the trouble looming on Negros, President Marcos shows no inclination to improve the counterinsurgency effort by bolstering the military or dismantling the sugar-marketing empire of his political ally, Roberto Benedicto. ... Government efforts that are taken to ease the plight of the sugar workers are largely cosmetic."

The "fall of Negros", the report concluded, "would provide an important psychological defeat for the government and further depress morale in the armed forces. It would also confirm to the Communist Party that its long-term strategy is on the mark."

Now under the sixth post-Marcos president, feudal relations, the centuries-old hacienda system, landlessness, and agrarian unrest still prevail. Adding to these social and economic ills are large-scale mining companies that prey on the island's mineral resources and degrade its environment.

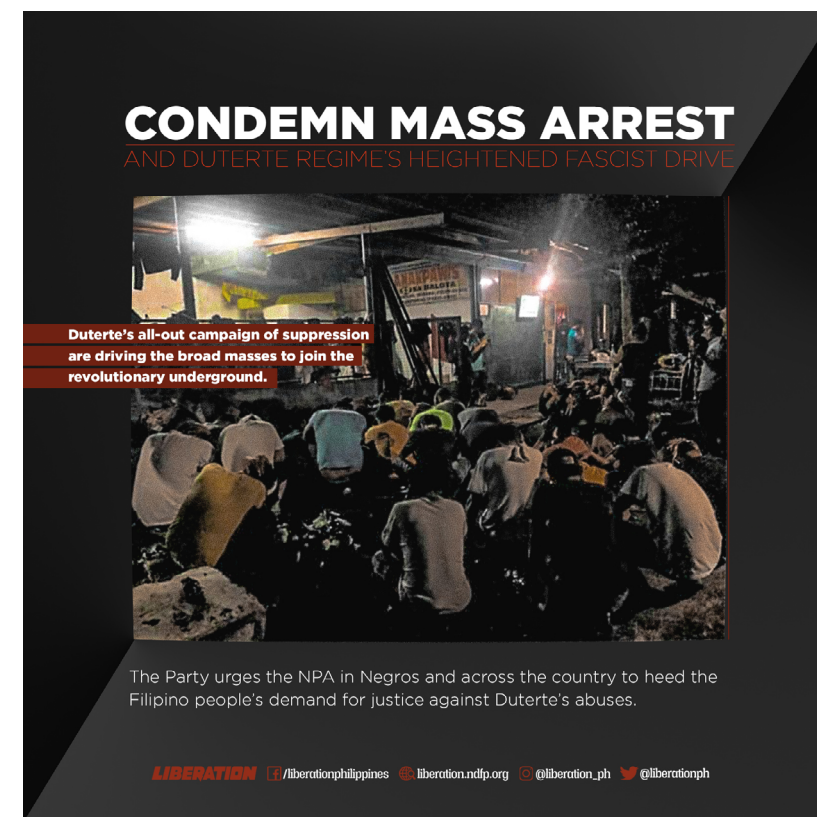
More than half of the country's sugar mill and plantation workers are in Negros, earning an average daily income of Php 50-67, a far cry from the mandated minimum wage of Php 300. The glaring reality is farmers go hungry every day, both before and after the much-dreaded *tiempo muerto*, the idle period between sugarcane harvests.

There is widespread landlessness despite the so-called agrarian reform programs implemented by past administrations. Negros has still at least 600,000 hectares of lands that have evaded distribution under the largely-failed Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) started by the Cory Aquino government in 1988.

Continued

exploitation and oppression and non-implementation of genuine agrarian reform and rural development have been surefire stimuli for resistance—both armed and unarmed. As such, all attempts by the successive governments to defeat the revolutionary forces have ended in failure.

The Philippine government may have somehow identified the causes of the protracted armed conflict, but it has persistently pursued the wrong solution. The militarist solution is trying to eradicate the symptom instead of seeking to resolve its root causes.





## SERIES OF FAILED 'COUNTERINSURGENCY' OPLANS

Interviews with several villagers in Negros Oriental revealed two military operational plans (Oplans) etched deeply in their collective memory: Oplan Thunderbolt under the Cory Aquino regime and Oplan Bantay Laya of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. Decades from now, they would remember too the brutality of the military operations under the Duterte regime's Oplan Kapayapaan/Kapanatagan.

Despite or because of martial law, Marcos failed. And what the Marcos dictatorship failed to attain, the succeeding "restoration-of-democracy" government of Cory Aquino tried to finish—by using the very same corrupt and abusive state security forces that Marcos had fully harnessed and coddled.

### Bloody Thunderbolt

As Cory Aquino wielded her "sword of war" through Oplan Lambat-Bitag I and II, Negros became a "pilot area". A fact-finding report in 1988, titled "Mountain Tempest", quoted the government that, "the deployment of more troops and the use of more sophisticated weapons...can wipe out insurgency by 1992." Essentially, Cory Aquino's counterinsurgency program was derived from America's "low-intensity-conflict" strategy which, at the time, was also being implemented in Latin America, with incalculable consequences in terms of countless killings and massive-scale human rights violations.

Rev. Romeo Empestan, in his book "From the Struggles of the People and the Church of the Poor in Negros in the 70s to 90s," recalled there were four simultaneous localized Oplans implemented during this period: Thunderbolt, Kahilwayan (freedom), Habagat (south winds), and Amihan (north winds). Oplan Thunderbolt would become the most notorious of the four.

Oplan Thunderbolt resulted in more than 30,000 (some reports cited as high as 100,000) evacuees in seven relocation sites. Most of the evacuees were from the now-familiar town of Sta. Catalina and Guihulngan City, in Negros Oriental, where the spate of killings under Duterte is happening. The late outspoken and courageous Bishop of Bacolod City, Antonio Fortich, said the mass dislocation of civilians at the time was "the biggest evacuation in one place in the country since World War II."

Aside from the regular companies of the Philippine Constabulary (PC), units of the Scout Rangers, Airborne, were used in the counterinsurgency

campaigns, along with vigilante groups such as Pulahan (red), Ituman (black), Putian (white), Way Sapatos (literally, no shoes) and the notorious Alsa Masa (Rise up, masses) that arose in Davao City. Private armies of landlords, hiding under the cloak of Philippine Constabulary Forward Command (PCFC) were also employed in military operations.

Upland farmers in Sta. Catalina town recalled seeing tora-tora planes used in bombing their communities, forest areas, and rivers suspected as NPA encampments. Fr. Empestan also mentioned bombings using helicopter gunships, F5 jet fighters, and howitzers. The communities were eventually declared "no man's land", a common practice in those days when anyone on sight was shot at by soldiers. At least seven incidents of massacre were recorded. There were burning of houses and parish churches, arrests, 'salvaging' (a term used to refer to what is now known as extrajudicial killings), and disappearances.

In a September 1, 2018 statement, Juanito Magbanua, spokesperson of the Apolinario Gatmaitan Command of the NPA Regional Command, described the current military operations in Negros since early 2018 as reminiscent of Oplan Thunderbolt in the late 80's—the evacuations, bombings, and the destruction of Negros' virgin forests.

Cory Aquino's term ended in 1992 with the revolutionary movement surviving the military assaults. Thus, her successor Fidel Ramos—also the engineer behind her two Oplans—only had to continue the same counterinsurgency program Oplan Lambat Bitag III and IV. Oplan Flush Out was its localized version in Negros. It was

during Ramos' term, however, when the government first recognized the need to combine a "non-militarist" solution to the armed conflict—the pursuance of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, which produced positive results.

### Arroyo's OBL

A decade later, in 2008, a Negros version of Gloria Arroyo's nationwide Oplan Bantay Laya (OBL) I and II, the Oplan Cut Wedge, attempted yet again to "cut/stop the ability of the NPA to hop from one island to another." The objective was the same; the mode of military operation was similar.

At least four infantry battalions of the Philippine Army (PA) were deployed in Negros, plus a battalion of the Special Elite forces of the Scout Ranger, two division-level reconnaissance companies, plus two companies supervising more than 2,000 CAFGU paramilitary recruits. The fanatic groups such as Pulahan, Ituman, etc. were replaced by two platoons of RPA-ABB (Revolutionary Proletarian Army-Alex Boncayao Brigade). A breakaway group from the NPA in the 1990s, the RPA-ABB (Tabara-Paduan group) has morphed into a paramilitary group, recently "demobilized" but has vowed to fully cooperate with the Duterte regime. At the start, it posed as a revolutionary group.

Simultaneous deployment of military units in a community, akin to Oplan Sauron, was already employed during OBL's implementation.

In Barangay Guihulngan for example, almost two army battalions were deployed. In another village, some 130 troops were stationed for six months, with a division-level reconnaissance unit on standby in a nearby town.

People were interrogated, threatened and charged with trumped-up cases, the latter as part of the "legal offensive" of the Arroyo regime against its perceived enemies. There was massive recruitment of people to join the Barangay Defense System (BDS). Parallel formations were created in an attempt to draw in those who were members of progressive organizations.

Arroyo's OBL was patterned after the U.S. 2009 Counterinsurgency Guide that has formally included the "whole-of-nation, whole-of-people" strategy purportedly to complement combat operations. The "whole-of-nation" approach would be a running thread in the subsequent Oplans up to the Duterte regime's Oplan Kapayapaan (Peace)/Kapanatagan (peace/tranquility).

A similar counterinsurgency operation was in place when B.S. Aquino III assumed the presidency in 2010. As it was still patterned after the US Guide, massive troop deployment was again employed in the island. The revolutionary forces counted up to 30 combat companies in Negros.

But while Aquino continued OBL, the regime highlighted the "shift" to "whole-of-nation" approach to conjure an image of a nation united to battle "insurgency", even calling it Oplan Bayanihan (a collective endeavor Filipinos are known for). They complemented it with a task force composed of so-called civil society stakeholders.

Despite all these, what was fervently targeted has never been achieved by any of these Oplans. Obviously, every Oplan has only brought more killings and grave human rights violations. Still, the current government insists on the same strategy that has failed over five decades under a dictatorship and five successive presidents.



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## TWO WAYS THE REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT KILLS THE FARMERS

LANDLESSNESS IS THE PRIMARY AND GREATEST PROBLEM OF THE PEASANTRY. FROM IT SPRINGS CENTURIES-OLD FEUDAL AND SEMI-FEUDAL EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION. LANDLORDS AND LANDLORD-COMPRADORS TAKE UTMOST ADVANTAGE OF THEIR ENTITLEMENT TO THE LAND. TRADERS LIKEWISE DANGLE THEIR CAPITAL, THEIR FARM IMPLEMENTS, THEIR MILLS. LIKE LEECHES, THEY SAP DRY THE LIFE-BLOOD OF THE FARMERS FROM UNFAIR SHARE IN THE HARVEST, EXPENSIVE IMPORTED FARMS INPUTS OF SEEDS, FERTILIZERS, INSECTICIDES AND PESTICIDES, RENT TO FARM IMPLEMENTS, USURIOUS LOANS. SUCH IS THE PLIGHT THE PEASANTRY LIVE BY, DIE IN AND YES, DIE FOR TO BREAK THE CHAINS OF BONDAGE.

*Farmers are dying not only of hunger and penury but also from State-sanctioned killings—brazenly, brutally and with impunity.*

With Bullets



*Previous regimes have passed agrarian reform laws to pacify and deceive the peasantry since these only led to reconcentration of land to landlords.*

## THE MASSES PROPEL THE REVOLUTION

The Philippine government chose to remain blind and deaf through time, ignoring that the strength of the revolutionary forces in Negros, and elsewhere in the country, comes from the exploited and oppressed poor, especially the peasants and workers. It is their best interest that the national democratic revolution—the key democratic content of which is agrarian revolution—uppermost fights for.

It is thus not surprising that the “poor but struggling masses of Negros” propels the revolution.

The masses played a vital role in the recovery and rebuilding of the CPP and the NPA in Negros in the 1990s. “(They) did not allow us to give up and encouraged us to rebuild,” recalled Frank Fernandez, detained peace consultant of the National Democratic Front (NDFP). In an article published by Kodao productions on July 8, 2019, Fernandez recalled, “There was almost no NPA left in Negros in 1994.”

The reason was not because the government’s counterinsurgency program but because of the internal weaknesses of the CPP-NPA leadership in the area at the time. Fernandez explained that the movement diverted from the correct line and strategy in the conduct of the people’s war.

That period of disorientation resulted in the breakaway of former members and led to the formation of the RPA-ABB. In 2000, said group engaged in pseudo-peace talks and signed a peace agreement with the Estrada government in exchange for a hefty amount of money. It continued to deteriorate into a paramilitary group, having been involved in numerous cases of extrajudicial killings victimizing farmers. It has recently signed another ‘peace agreement’ with the Duterte regime and got another Php500 million purportedly for social services programs.

Reaffirming the correct ideological, political and organizational line, the CPP-NPA in Negros has since then fully recovered, with the unstinting support of the masses. As Frank Fernandez said, “It’s time to repay the masses”.

## PEASANT WAR, PEASANT ARMY

Repaying the masses comes in three main forms—implementing agrarian revolution, establishing local organs of political power, and pushing forward the armed struggle.

Juanito Magbanua, spokesperson of the Apolinario Gatmaitan Command cited the successful 17 armed actions of the NPA in Negros in the first eight months of 2018 as proofs of the “NPA’s increasing capability in launching armed struggle that is integrated with agrarian revolution and base building.”

As early as 2016, the Pambansang Kalipunan ng mga Magsasaka (PKM or the National Federation of Peasants) revealed that the revolutionary movement in Negros and Central Visayas have confiscated some 2,000 hectares of land, which benefitted at least a thousand farmers. The confiscation and distribution of lands, mostly idle and abandoned, are part of the agrarian revolution being implemented by the NPA with the PKM.

Comprehensive military-politico training of red commanders and fighters were launched to improve their “fighting skill, political capability, combat discipline, and revolutionary militance,” according to Magbanua. Most of the trainees were peasants while 15 percent were petty-bourgeois.

Recognizing the importance of Negros island in the overall development of people’s war, Magbanua said the armed revolutionary movement in Negros must “overcome its weaknesses and rectify its errors in order to help frustrate the US-Duterte regime’s Oplan Kapayapaan and contribute in the national development of the strategic defensive of the people’s war towards a new and higher stage.”

The last time the island command conducted a training was in 2008 when the AFP implemented Oplan Bantay Laya 2 and shortly after, Oplan Bayanihan. “The people’s army in the island had to make do with politico-military crash

courses in the face of sustained search-and-destroy operations of the enemy until 2013, while prioritizing rebuilding work of the revolutionary mass base thereafter,” Magbanua explained.

At the same time, he added, punitive actions against abusive state forces and criminal elements have been meted out.

In the last six months of 2018, the NPA punished 14 landgrabbers, criminal elements, and intelligence assets of the 303rd Brigade responsible for human rights abuses against peasants, including the killing of activists in legal organizations. These punitive actions have reduced the AFP/PNP’s capability to “inflict further harm upon the people’s lives, rights, and livelihood within and outside the guerrilla areas in the island,” Magbanua said.

Meantime, Dionesio Magbuelas, spokesperson of the NPA Central Negros-Mt. Cansermon Command, reported that red fighters burned down some 120 million-peso worth of heavy equipment owned by a mining company. The action, he said, was a punishment meted out on the firm for the destruction it had caused on the environment and sources of the people’s livelihood in Ayungon, Negros Oriental.

At the height of the attacks against the masses in Negros, the CPP-NPA central leadership issued a call for the NPA to defend the people of Negros. Magbanua claimed the punitive actions were “long overdue” because killings of unarmed civilians continued to escalate.

The CPP has denounced the spate of killings and numerous human rights abuses against civilians as acts of cowardice. State security forces, it noted, turned their guns against unarmed civilians in retaliation and cover up of their failure to eliminate the revolutionary forces in the region.

Tempered in fighting one armed counter-revolutionary campaign after another—from the Marcos-era martial rule, through Operation Thunderbolt, and the more recent Oplan Bayanihan—the NPA in Negros has vowed to defend the masses against the intensifying militarization and fascist attacks of the Duterte regime. **LJB**



# VIBRANT DEMOCRACY THRIVES IN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

Soon after breakfast they started moving into a makeshift schoolhouse on a hillside surrounded by lush vegetation. The sun was shining brightly and the weather was cool. Most of them were young, in their late teens, early 20s and 30s, largely local men and women making up a company of Red fighters somewhere in a guerrilla front in Eastern Visayas.

by Vida Gracias and Pat Gambao

Casually, with their rifles at hand, they sat on long, tiered bamboo benches, bantering, smiling, some were quiet, others in deep conversation. Soon all eyes were glued to the blackboard as the Red commander finished sketching vicinity maps, with arrows pointing at target structures, entrance and exit points. Silence hovered when the commander, in his forties and apparently a veteran of many battles, turned to face his audience.

The meeting was called to discuss three simultaneous raids to be executed in a day or two. The objectives were to disarm the local police station, warn the despotic town mayor of his abuses and confiscate his firearms right inside his home, and punish a certified informer with blood debts to several victims.

Before laying out the plans, the commander cited the political objectives. He didn't seem like a commander at all, never flaunting authority or arrogance. Much like a teacher and moderator, he invited his audience to comment on the plan, examine the tactics and details, look for loopholes, alter, adjust, modify. What followed was a lively discussion, with voices resonating, never drowning out those who raised questions or clarifications, seriously listening to the pros and cons. In the middle of the interchanges, jokes would be thrown in and laughter would erupt, until unity was attained.

Then the meeting focused on the most

crucial task. The commander did not select who should go in each assault team — he asked for volunteers. And without any prodding, several arms were raised. Everyone knew death could await him/her more than any other, but that seemed like the least of their concerns. How so easily one can offer his life in the service of the people is the mark of a true guerrilla of the New People's Army (NPA).

The NPA commander was wise about not getting stuck in his own ideas. Instead, he produced results acceptable to all by rousing his troops to suggest how to attack and capture enemy positions and how to fulfill their tasks. Mutual instructions came off fluidly between officers and soldiers and also among the soldiers themselves.

On the day of the raid the entire camp was busy. It seemed like everybody was descending into town to attend a fiesta—except that each Red fighter had *baon*—a slice of chicken and boiled rice wrapped in banana leaves, prepared by the kitchen staff well before dawn. Days before, clothes and even shoes were washed and dried; firearms were cleaned, polished and examined; and backpacks were sorted out. The women tied their hairs and the men combed theirs. Although the water supply was a bit low as the streams had been drying up, the red fighters took their baths or simply washed their faces and brushed their teeth. Everyone looked neat and fresh before they began to trek down to the village.

Later in the day the three teams carried out their tactical offensives, swiftly and efficiently. Not a single shot was fired, not one casualty on the side of the red fighters.

Covered by the dark night, and with high spirits, they went back to the camp, anticipating another round of meeting and lively discussions to assess their strengths and weaknesses in carrying the tactical offensives (TO). Everyone was eager to tell his or her story. No single person would claim credit for the victory as each one had a part in achieving it.

This practice of military democracy, under the centralized leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), is replicated in various regions of the country where units of the NPA operate. Meetings have become “second skin” to red fighters in arriving at collective decisions and collective actions. Victory is invariably achieved via a democratic movement. Hence, anyone who has seen the NPA in action up close can verily debunk the “terrorist” images painted by the reactionary state about the people's army. Likewise, all the Operational Plans (OPlans) hatched up by successive regime and the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) over the decades, in collaboration with American imperialists, have failed miserably as the people's army frustrated them all and thus advanced the people's war.

## DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Democracy thrives in the NPA, guided by the principle of democratic centralism where policies and decisions by central leadership correspond to the needs and aspirations of the broad masses. Under the system, the interest of the whole takes primacy over the interest of the parts, the minority is subordinate to the majority and the lower level to the higher level. Through training, commanders and fighters grasp the relationship between democracy and centralism and how democratic centralism is put into practice.

Democracy is attained through the firm grasp and understanding of the cadres and fighters of the principles, policies and line of the national democratic revolution through free and deep discussions among them.

Democracy is manifested in the abolition of feudal practices in the army such as highhandedness and arrogance of officers towards their men, docility of the troops and acquiescence to orders without questioning. Instead, camaraderie prevails in the Red army as officers and men share the problems and difficulties, the passion in their tasks and the joy of fulfilment of their service to the people. It is democracy that enables them to endure and triumph over travails.

The management of the limited resources of the NPA—equipment, supplies and funds—is a collective responsibility. The unit members assist the leadership.



## DISCIPLINE IN THE NPA

Democracy strengthens discipline and effectiveness in combat. For an army to be hailed by the people as capable of defeating the superior enemy must have a high sense of discipline. This galvanizes the unity among commanders and red fighters and between the red army and the people. Thus, the NPA has in its heart and mind the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points of Attention, a legacy from Chairman Mao Zedong and the victorious Chinese Communist Revolution.

The Three Main Rules of Discipline are: (1) Obey orders in all your actions; (2) Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses; (3) Turn in everything captured.

The Eight Points of Attention are: (1) Speak politely; (2) Pay fairly for what you buy; (3) Return everything you borrow; (4) Pay for anything you damage; (5) Do not hit or swear at people; (6) Do not damage crops; (7) Do not take liberties with women; (8) Do not ill-treat captives.

The Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention also serve as the NPA's guide in the treatment of Prisoners of War (POW). Unlike in the reactionary armed forces, the revolutionary forces fully respect human rights and adhere to the principles of humanitarian law.

Contrary to the image created by the reactionary state's propaganda machine, the people's court in the guerrilla fronts is no “kangaroo court.” The people's court abides by a judicial system that observes a “judicious procedure: investigation, indictment, hearings, sentencing, pardon and release.”

## WELL-ROUNDED FIGHTING FORCE

The revolutionary cause that the New People's Army (NPA) is fighting for—the interests of the broad toiling masses, their social emancipation and national

liberation from US imperialism and the local exploiting classes—strengthens its resolve to be the epitome of unflinching self-sacrifice, courage, discipline and democracy. With this resolve and as it deeply immerses in the masses, the NPA under the absolute leadership of the CPP has become an invincible force.

Communists advocate peace, just peace, and the “abolition of war.” But the US-supported local big bourgeois comprador and landlord class keep a ferocious reactionary army to perpetuate their hold on power and continue to exploit and suppress the struggling masses. Acknowledging the lessons of history, the truth that “political power grows out of the barrel of the gun” the NPA, composed largely of the peasantry, takes up the gun and wages a revolutionary war to seize power, smash the reactionary state, and create a sovereign democratic republic of the people. However, ever conscious that politics commands the gun and not the other way around, the Party leads the army and ensures that it is not just a fighting force but an edifice of revolutionary strength and power of the people.

Under the Party leadership, the NPA has a fundamental task to push forward the armed struggle, carry out agrarian revolution, and build the revolution's mass base. Closely linked with the masses, it organizes and rouses them as well as helps them in economic production, and in building the organs of political power.

The practice of democracy in the New People's Army is essential to its consolidation and development. Democracy in the New People's Army has steeled unity, fortified discipline and fired up a potent force that will sustain the protracted people's war until victory. **LIB**



# FOR COUNTRY AND PEOPLE RISE UP

by Pat Gambao

## REVOLUTION STRIKES CHORDS IN THE MILITARY

Many young men and women, imbued with a keen sense of nationalism and patriotism, had chosen a military career where they believed they could best serve the country and the people.

But as they uncovered the true nature of the military establishment in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal character of the Philippine society, as they witnessed how US imperialism and its local cohorts of big comprador and landlord class used the military as an instrument to preserve their rule and protect their interests, disillusionment sets in.

However, this was not enough to dampen their aspirations and weaken their conviction. Many junior officers and soldiers have continued to hold on to their ideals and principles, and to the noble mission to defend the country and serve the people in varied ways.

A prime example is Dante C. Simbulan, former professor at the Philippine Military Academy (PMA), political prisoner of the Marcos dictatorship, author of books, and a political activist till now in his late 80s.

A member of PMA Class 1952, Simbulan was an intelligence officer and Philippine Army combatant going after communist rebels. However, the military institution he had looked up to became a great disappointment for him.

He observed, in not a few instances, military officers unfairly treating ordinary soldiers. He detected the alienation of the military from the people it was supposed to serve and protect, the racial discrimination by Americans towards Filipino soldiers, the PMA being a copy of the West Point in New York rendering its graduates virtual puppets of imperialism. He also realized how a handful of the ruling class controls and dominates Philippine politics and the economy to the

detriment of the mass majority.

Eventually, he opted to discontinue his field service and turned to teaching at the military academy. He taught history and nationalism. His main concern was to develop cadets who, after graduation, would not become instruments of the ruling system in exploiting and oppressing the people. His progressive teachings and political activism caused his incarceration, without charges filed against him, for three years during the Marcos martial-law regime.

In 1980, Simbulan went on self-exile in the United States and continued to campaign for ending US support to the Marcos dictatorship and for the closure of the American military bases in the Philippines. He remained in the US even after the ouster of Marcos, but remained in touch with the open mass movement in the country and issue relevant statements when so requested.

Simbulan has written two books related to his brief military career and his political awakening. One is titled, "Whose Side Are We On? (Memoirs of a PMAer)" and the other is titled "When the Rains Come, Will Not the Grass Grow Again? (The Socialist Movement in the Philippines: 1920-1960)".

In the introduction of the first book, Simbulan wrote: "I found myself engaged in a serious study of who we really are. What is our real role in this scheme of things, why were we being trained and indoctrinated by foreigners, by American officers in JUSMAG [Joint US Military Action Group], our former colonial masters, to fight our own people? Why do we have to fight under them in their foreign wars against fellow Asian peoples—in Korea, in Vietnam and elsewhere—with whom we had no quarrels? It is in this context that I started asking myself the question: Whose side are we on?"

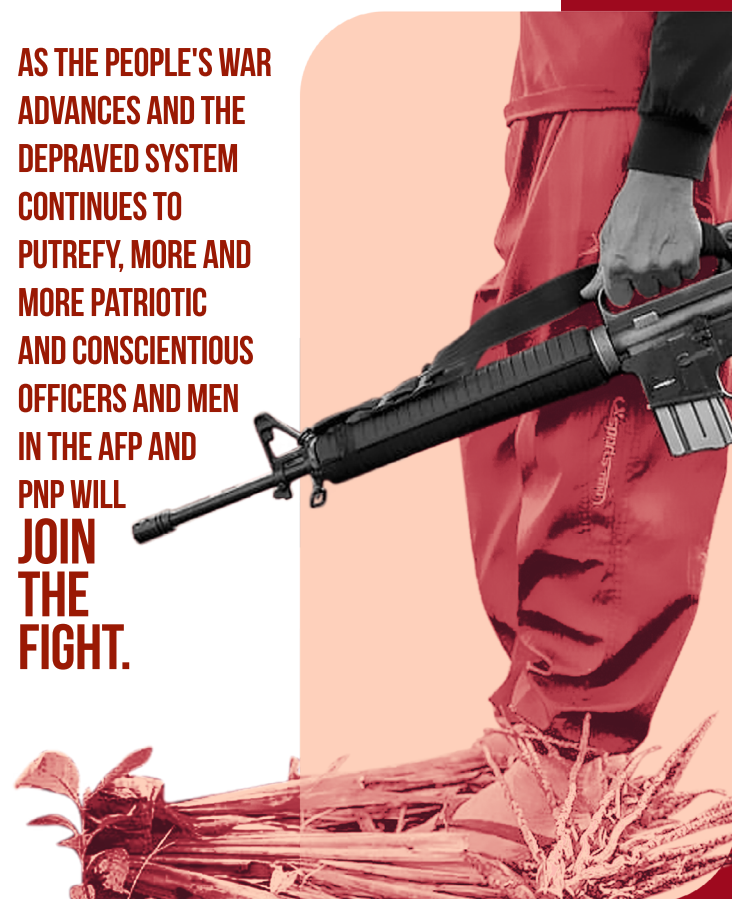
In the preface to the second book, he pointed out: "The reader will perhaps note the duality of my position as a PMA graduate, trained and conditioned to regard critics of the status quo as 'enemies

of the state,' and my short experience in the field fighting the peasant Huks. The military blinders I had were removed when I saw with my own eyes the exploitation and oppression suffered by the peasant farmers, which were inflicted on them by the wealthy hacendados."

Having had a parallel experience as Simbulan was the late Philippine Navy Captain Danilo P. Vizmanos. He had a much longer career in the AFP than Simbulan but became a very vocal dissenter in the AFP and a stern critic of the US military, although he was a graduate of the US Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, New York.

On Filipino soldiers graduating from US military academies, he decried the fact that their education there caused them to think that "the only way to the salvation and security of the Philippines is closer ties with the US, more arms and equipment from the US, and more loyalty to Washington overlords." As for his impressions on fellow AFP officers, he wrote in 1973: "Their most significant shortcomings [was] the inability to come up with critical and in-depth observations and analyses of

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## MILITARY AND REGIME CHANGE

The EDSA People Power uprising has shown how the collective action of a long-suffering people buttressed by the military has toppled decades of Marcos's fascist dictatorship.

Authority became paper tiger as the strongman's order to crush the uprising was defied.

Soldiers from various regions left their camps and marched to EDSA to join the raging throng. Even some members of the Presidential Security Group (PSG) left their posts to support the masses.

Although the people's victory was short of overthrowing the depraved social system, it was a testament to the strength of the people's will bolstered by a military component. It signalled the weakening of a moribund system, it presaged that the upcoming rulers would not be able to rule in the same old way.

The ouster of President Joseph Estrada by the mass movement was also punctuated by the withdrawal of support by the military to the regime.

The Oakwood mutiny followed by the Peninsula siege staged by the Magdalo group of junior officers and enlisted men though foiled by their failure to rely on the support of the masses rather than that of interest group of politicians, bears hope that the disillusioned

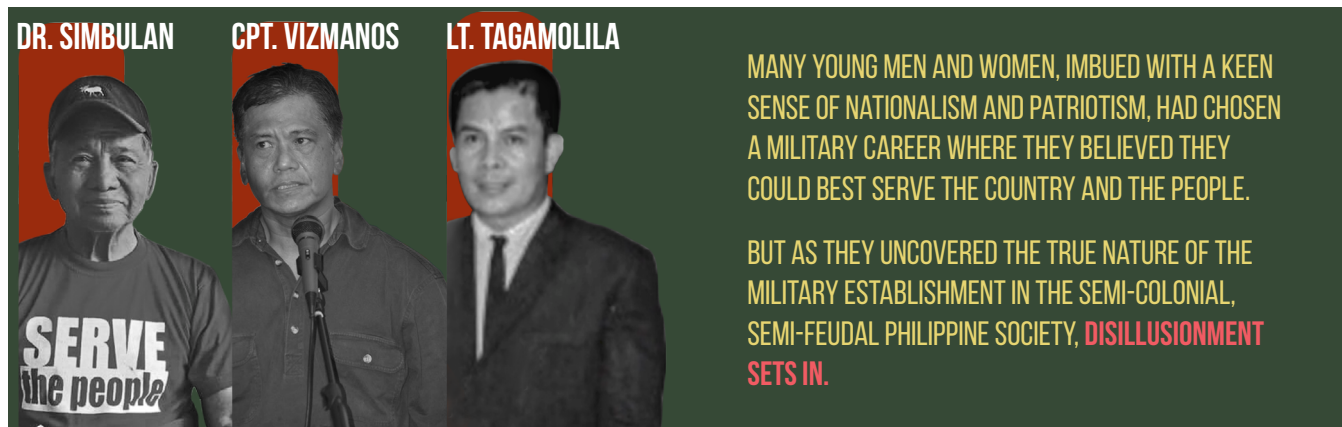
members of the AFP/PNP can be enlightened and mobilized against a debased spent force of the ruling elite.

The show of the critical support of the military in regime change inspires an intensifying efforts for arousing, abetting the patriotic, organizing and mobilizing them, and winning them over to the people's army, to the people's cause.

Over the years, the number of commissioned officers, soldiers and paramilitary forces who have supported and made significant contributions to the revolutionary movement is growing.

As the people's war advances and the depraved system continues to putrefy, more and more patriotic and conscientious officers and men in the AFP and PNP will join the people's struggle. **LIB**





situations, issues and subject matters—especially those that are controversial or that could run counter to conventional wisdom.”

His cynical views were reinforced by what he had witnessed in South Vietnam in 1967, when he was the AFP Inspector General checking up on the work of the Philippine Civic Action Group (Philcag), the civic-action contingent sent by the Marcos government to support the US imperialist war there. Visiting a hospital where Filipino doctors and nurses were attending to civilians wounded by US round-the-clock bombing operations, Vizmanos was aghast at what he saw.

“Something I will never forget,” he wrote in 1974, “small Vietnamese children completely burned by napalm chemicals dropped by US aircraft on their villages... I saw the real face of US imperialist aggression against the children of a country that had done no harm to the US and the American people. [That] was the catalyst that hastened my transformation from an ‘Amboy’ to an activist in the people’s struggle against US imperialism and its continuing support of the Marcos dictatorship.”

He argued for a self-reliant armed forces, divorced from the influence and control of US imperialism. He called for the abrogation of the various onerous RP-US military agreements and advocated for the recognition of the People’s Republic of China.

After Marcos declared martial law

in September 1972, Vizmanos filed for early retirement from the service. He did not want to be a part of the oppressive and fascist armed forces of the dictatorship. For his intransigence, he was arrested and detained.

He gathered together his diary and other writings into a book, *Martial Law Diary* and other papers. In the preface, he depicted the dire conditions under martial law, thus: “These were the days when henchmen and agents of the regime had license to kill and commit the most heinous crimes against anybody tagged as an ‘enemy of the state.’ ... the term ‘human rights’ was considered subversive and inimical to the regime. It was a period of betrayal of the people by an armed forces that allowed itself to be used as an oppressive instrument of the dictatorship to intimidate, threaten and instill fear among the people with impunity.”

Another valiant young man in the AFP who turned against it was Lt. Crispin S. Tagamolila. He enrolled in the Philippine Military Academy after finishing a bachelor’s degree in Business Administration from the University of the Philippines. After graduation, he was commissioned as a regular officer with the rank of 2nd Lieutenant. At the same time he studied law and taught nationalism and history at the Philippine Constabulary Law Center.

At the PMA Tagamolila became a student of Simbulan in nationalism and history. Outside the classroom, he lost no time in educating and arousing his

fellow students, teachers and officers on raging political issues. In view of this, he was subjected to surveillance by the Intelligence Service of the AFP (ISAFP).

Tagamolila’s stint in the military turned out to be a great letdown for him as he witnessed how US imperialism controlled the AFP; used the latter to pursue various anti-people schemes in cahoots with its big comprador-and landlord-class accomplices; how the ruling elite oppressed and suppressed the suffering masses; how unabashed corruption and grave abuses persisted in the government and military services.

This was not the place he had wanted to be. This was not the army he had dreamed to belong to. This was not the army that would truly defend the country and serve the Filipino people.

On March 29, 1971, two years after the founding of the New People’s Army (NPA), 26-year-old Lieutenant Tagamolila defected to the NPA. Enthusiastically, he shared his military and political know-how with the people’s army. He found his niche in the struggle with the masses for emancipation and social liberation.

His selfless service to the people through the NPA was abruptly cut short: in April 1972 he was killed in an encounter in Isabela while covering the retreat of his guerrilla comrades. His martyrdom was duly recognized by the revolutionary movement; his selfless revolutionary spirit remains alive in the ranks of the people’s army.

## DISSENT IN THE MILITARY

The debased culture and unscrupulous practices in the military institution of the reactionary government have caused demoralization and dissent among its constituents. These have awakened their consciousness and revitalized their ideals.

Political patronage, an abomination passed on to the Filipinos by our Spanish and American colonizers, is an enduring feature of the AFP and PNP. Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile and Constabulary Chief Fidel Ramos broke away from the DND-AFP command resenting the favor and privileges accorded to General Fabian Ver by Pres. Marcos. The fray ignited the 1986 EDSA People Power Uprising.

The defection of bemedalled Brig. General Raymundo Jarque, the highest-ranking AFP officer who joined the New People’s Army (NPA), was in extreme disgust of the corruption in the military and then President Ramos’s accommodation of his allies. Jarque displeased the well-connected Pena family in Negros over a land dispute. This put him in a bad light as the court favoured Pena and turned the table on Jarque who was falsely charged with stealing prawns from Pena’s farm and ambushing the judge.

Among the struggling masses, Jarque realized that his greatest mistake was to have rendered service to the greedy and powerful who exploits and oppresses the poor. Having led the implementation of the bloody Oplan Thunderbolt in Negros in 1989-1990, he manifested his sincere repentance by going to the people, crying as he asked for forgiveness. Weeks after Jarque’s defection, a number of CAFGU (Civilian Armed Force Geographical Unit) members from Northern Negros fled with their weapons and joined the NPA.

Corruption is deeply entrenched in the reactionary ruling system. It is endemic and at its worst in the military establishment because of the authoritarian nature and armed supremacy. Corruption in the military appears in the procurement process, in bribes extracted from foreign and local business and industrial corporations, in involvement in smuggling, illegal drugs, and in the sale of arms and military materials to rebel groups.

Juggling and malversation of funds is just as common. Corruption plagues the top hierarchy of the institution and any dissent or exposé from below is met with drastic if not fatal repercussion.

Young Philippine Navy Ensign Philip Pestaño was found dead with a single bullet wound in the head inside his cabin after he discovered the loading of logs and drugs in the navy ship. Navy officials dismissed the case as suicide although autopsy results showed otherwise.

Lt. Jessica Chavez, platoon leader of the 191st Military Police Battalion stationed in Fort Bonifacio, was being used by her superiors in gunrunning and other criminal activities. She had planned to expose the corruption before leaving the service but she was summarily killed before she could do so. Again, the AFP declared her death as suicide.

The Oakwood mutiny in 2003 by 300 soldiers from the Philippine Army, Navy and Air Force, including 70 junior officers, was an expression of their grievance and dissent over the gross corruption in the military and the fascist regime of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, which she wanted to perpetuate. The mutineers declared withdrawal of support from the chain of command and demanded Arroyo’s resignation.

However, because it lacked strong support from a people’s movement as the mutineers relied on spent politicians, the Oakwood mutiny, as well as the succeeding Peninsula Siege, quickly dissipated.

The brazen corruption is incessant and sickening. Imagine allocating PhP50 million from AFP funds as send-off gifts to retiring generals, over and above their legal retirement pay. Imagine the PNP police director for comptrollership being questioned by Russian customs office for carrying excessive amount of cash (105,000 Euros or PhP6.9 million). The general was with an eight-member PNP delegation that attended the International Police (Interpol) Assembly in St. Petersburg in Moscow in 2008.

The most contemptuous scam committed by the military top brass was the diversion of the funds of the AFP Retirement and Separation Benefits System (AFP-RSBS) for their vested interest. The funds came from the compulsory collection of five percent of every soldier’s monthly salary. The government continued to pay the pension and separation benefits of soldiers.





Meantime, the RSBS funds and proceeds from its investments were pocketed by the AFP officials. Although most investments incurred losses, the officers still benefited from brokering the deals and from substantial allowances they received, charged to the funds.

The Mamasapano incident in Maguindanao, on January 25, 2015, claimed the lives of 44 members of the PNP's elite Special Action Force (SAF). Without notifying or coordinating with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), the SAF conducted Operation Exodus against a US-tagged "terrorist" adversary, the Malaysian bomb-maker Marwan or Zulkifli Abhir, (also known as Abdul Basit Ulman). Marwan was killed, but the MILF and Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighter (BIFF) bivouacked in the area were alerted by the firefight. They ambushed the SAF members as they were withdrawing, resulting in the latter's massacre.

Operation Exodus was a joint operation with the US Army. However, the SAF was left alone in the implementation, while US authorities and Filipino political leaders and generals monitored the incident from afar through telecast.

It was utterly bad that for the protection of foreign (US) interest and the local ruling class the lives of members of an expensively-trained elite police force were unnecessarily sacrificed. The Mamasapano incident was no different from how soldiers are sent to senseless violent battles and pitted against their own class.

This is a wakeup call for the military minions of the ruling class. **LIB**

**CORRUPTION IS DEEPLY ENTRENCHED IN THE REACTIONARY RULING SYSTEM. IT IS ENDEMIC AND AT ITS WORST IN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT BECAUSE OF THE LATTER'S AUTHORITARIAN NATURE AND ARMED SUPREMACY.**

# THE AFP IS NOT THE PLACE TO SERVE THE PEOPLE

On the 50th anniversary of the founding of the New People's Army (NPA) on March 29, 2019, the revered memory of a martyr of the revolution comes to mind. On the same day in 1971, the second anniversary of the NPA, the 26-year old Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) Lt. Crispin S. Tagamolila defected to the revolutionary people's army. In his statement, he cited, "I have realized that the (AFP) is the primary instrument of oppression of the righteous dissent of the suffering masses," as reason for his defection.

Born on January 7, 1945 in Tubungan, Iloilo, Crispin spent his early years of education in the La Paz Elementary School and the Iloilo High School. He was the third of five children of Manuel Tagamolila and Casiana Sandoval. His younger brother Antonio, former *Philippine Collegian* editor and national president of the College Editor's Guild of the Philippines, was also killed in an encounter in the mountains of Panay, two years after Crispin's death.

After finishing his bachelor's degree in Business Administration at the University of the Philippines in 1966, he enrolled at the Philippine Military Academy. Upon graduation in 1967, he was commissioned as a regular officer in the AFP. While serving in the army he took up law at the Philippine Constabulary Law School while at the same time taught nationalism, Philippine History and Philippine heroes. As a law student, he excelled in his studies, always landing among the five top students of his class. However, due to his radical views on politico-social issues, the Intelligence Service of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (ISAFP) put him under surveillance. In an attempt to restrain his activities, the ISAFP offered to bribe him with a promotion that he readily declined.

While in the service, he witnessed the control of US imperialism on the AFP through the Joint US Military Assistance Group (JUSMAG)—the aid and training it gave the Philippine army and police personnel on counter-insurgency techniques, crowd control and gangsterism. He was also immensely disgusted with how Marcos used the military to suppress his critics and perpetuate his rule while he tolerated the rampant corruption of his anointed generals.

His realization sealed his decision to leave the puppet armed forces and join the people's revolutionary army.

"It is indeed only through armed struggle by the people and the army against the exploiters that the masses can hope for a just and progressive society," he expounded in his statement.

In the people's army, Crispin was known by his nom de guerre "Ka Cely". His political and military knowledge has contributed much to the masses and his comrades. From 1969 to 1972, the expansion of the organized mass base in Isabela reached 150,000.

"Ka Cely" was killed in an encounter on April 16, 1972 in Echague, Isabela while covering the retreat of his comrades. Upon his death, his family came up with a statement: "We are crying, we are saddened because he is no longer with us, but most of all we are grieving because he can no longer serve the people and the country he loved so much."

Much as Crispin Tagamolila's death is a loss to the revolution, it is not all in vain. It has inspired and steeled the resolve of the revolutionary movement to advance the people's struggle. The seed he had sown has bloomed to fruition as the flame of the revolution engulfed the archipelago; as the revolution advances, much stronger, more adept and more determined to attain national and social liberation, thwarting all Oplans hatched by US imperialism and its puppet regimes in the past 50 years. **LIB**



**"I HAVE REALIZED THAT THE (AFP) IS THE PRIMARY INSTRUMENT OF OPPRESSION OF THE RIGHTEOUS DISSENT OF THE SUFFERING MASSES."**

*Ka Cely*  
**Lt. Crispin Sandoval Tagamolila**  
March 29, 1971



# STATEMENT OF LT. CRISPIN TAGAMOLILA WHEN HE DEFLECTED TO THE NPA

(Reprinted from the Philippine Collegian, April 1, 1971, Vol. XXIII, New Series No. 31)

**“I have realized that the AFP is the primary instrument of oppression.”**

There comes a time in the life of every individual when he has to take stock of himself and his role in a swiftly crumbling society.

The events of recent months have shown very clearly that the crisis in the Philippine society is rooted in the intensifying exploitation of the Filipino masses by US imperialism and its local allies headed by the corrupt bureaucrat capitalist Marcos.

The increase in the price of oil imposed by the greedy American monopoly capitalists and executed by the fascist puppet Marcos, the subsequent brutal suppression of the transport strike, the cold-blooded murder of students,

striking workers and unarmed peasants are only a few examples in the long list of crimes committed by the exploiters against the broad masses of the people.

As a soldier for the reactionary state and as a student of law and history, I have realized that the AFP is the primary instrument of oppression of the righteous dissent of the suffering masses, that laws are but the formalization and the sacrifice of the exploited by the ruling classes and that the history of civilization for thousands of years has been a history of class struggle.

As an officer in the puppet armed forces, I can testify to the thoroughgoing control of the military by US imperialism through the JUSMAG, the AID and other agencies. I have witnessed how American advisers conduct periodic inspections of the army's personnel and materiel much in the manner of feudal overlords, how American agents have trained elements of the army and police in “riot control”, how the officers and men are trained in US imperialist counter-insurgency techniques and gangsterism. I can also testify to the way the fascist chieftain Marcos has used the armed forces to perpetuate himself in power as in the notorious 1969 elections and the promotions and favors granted to the corrupt officers loyal to him. I also know that the military through its notorious intelligence units and liquidation squads is out to silence patriotic and democratic elements.

As a student in the PC law school, I have realized that we are being trained as future prosecutors of nationalist activists. The case of Col. Tagumpay Nandiego, the first dean of the PC law school and chief prosecutor Nilo Tayag, serves as a stark example of anti-patriotic activity. Through the training of other officers in civic functions, we can discern the master plan of militarization and fascisation of our society.

As a graduate of history, I have learned the notorious and traitorous role of the armed forces in securing the interests of the Spanish colonialists of the US imperialists and of the present puppet republic. The PC troopers who massacred our Muslim brothers, hunted down patriots like Sakay and others, brutally suppressed peasant uprisings like the Colorum, Sakdalistas and the HUKBALAHAP are no different from the guardia civiles of the peasant and the BSDU's, Monkees and UIDG gangsters of today.

The defection of my friend and comrade Victor Corpus to the true people's army has awakened me and many of my fellow officers to the correct and historically proven solution to our country's ill. It is indeed only through armed struggle by the people and its army against the exploiters that the masses can hope for a just and progressive society.

Many times the Intelligence Service of the Philippines (ISAFP) tried to recruit me in order to spy on the military and activist groups. Only recently they tried to bribe me with a promotion. But it is a promotion which has no meaning for me and of which I am ashamed.

I am therefore defecting from the puppet armed forces in order to join the New People's Army. I know fully well the sacrifices involved but my only regret is that I did not make this decision earlier.

**Long live the masses!**

**Long live the Philippine revolution!**

**Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!**

**Long live the New People's Army!**

*Lieutenant Crispin Tagamolila,*  
March 29, 1971



**WHY THE DUTERTE REGIME  
CANNOT WIPE OUT THE**

## **Armed Revolution of the Filipino People**

*by Prof. Jose Maria Sison*  
*NDFP Chief Political Consultant*  
*September 1, 2019*

From the revolutionary publications of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, I have been able to gather the ten points enumerated below to demonstrate why the Duterte regime cannot wipe out the armed revolution of the Filipino people.

- 1 The crisis of the world capitalist system is at its sharpest in countries like the Philippines which are semicolonial and semifeudal. The evil forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism exploit and oppress the Filipino people and incite them to wage the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war.
- 2 In committing mass murder and other gross crimes with impunity, the Duterte regime aggravates the chronic crisis of the domestic ruling system, which is dominated by imperialism and run by bureaucrat capitalists who represent the big comprador and landlord classes. The gross crimes that the regime commits characterize it as treasonous, tyrannical, murderous, and corrupt. They give no choice to the people but to engage in armed revolution.



3 The so-called whole-of-nation approach, which is being carried out by the National Task Force to militarize and spread anti-communism in all branches and agencies of the government and all sectors of society involves huge wastage of public funds in an already bankrupt government and outrages the people who perceive it as a brazen scheme to impose fascist dictatorship through red-tagging, persecution, murders and widespread violation of democratic rights.

4 The Philippine economy is characterized by underdevelopment, misallocation of resources, mass unemployment and widespread poverty and the absence of any plan to industrialize and develop the economy, generate employment and improve the living conditions of the people. Public funds are being used to serve the interests of foreign corporations, the exploiting classes, the corrupt bureaucrats, the military and police.

5 The armed revolution is led by the Communist Party of the Philippines, which has a correct ideological, political and organizational line and which has the experience of overcoming the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the subsequent pseudo-democratic regimes. It always carries out theoretical and political education among the Party cadres and members, and political education on the Philippine society and the people's democratic revolution among the masses of workers and peasants, the indigenous peoples, women and the youth who fight for national and social liberation.

6 The CPP leads and provides the New People's Army with the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war for fighting the enemies of the people. The NPA now operates in more than 120 guerrilla fronts nationwide and can at will strike at the weakest points of the counterrevolutionary military and police in order to seize and increase its arms. It is carrying out land reform as the main content of the democratic revolution and is enabling the establishment of the democratic organs of political power which are growing in waves against the counterrevolutionary state.

7 The relatively stronger forces of the NPA have assisted the relatively weaker forces with the redeployment of cadres and arms. The problem of conservatism is now being solved. The overdispersal of NPA squads and small teams for mass work is now being corrected by the necessary balance of combat and mass work units in periodic rotation under the appropriate command. The "local guerrilla units" or people's militia units are tasked to concentrate on internal security, instead of being expected to serve as combat units.

8 The NPA is determined to secure the people from the enemy military, police and paramilitary forces and from local tyrants and bad elements. Armed city partisans and rural-based commando teams are also being deployed to punish the big criminals in power and the criminal syndicates that are in urban areas and to disable or destroy the installations that allow the exploiters to control and exploit the people. Thus more and more armed forces of the enemy will be forced to do guard duty and become defensive.

9 The peasant masses in the countryside are being driven by the brutal enemy campaigns to support the revolutionary armed struggle, carry out land reform and other social reforms, strengthen their mass organizations and the organs of political power and to adopt necessary security measures. They are effectively applying the anti-feudal united front, neutralizing by persuasive means the unreliable sections of every locality and rallying to the democratic organs of political power.

10 The anti-communist witch hunts, the constant threats and violent attacks of the enemy against patriotic and progressive organizations in town centers and cities are generating widespread resistance, inducing said organizations and other democratic entities to fight back in defense of their democratic rights. Many social activists who are in danger of arrest or murder go underground and join the armed revolution. They are welcomed by the revolutionary forces and people in the countryside who need more personnel for military and civil tasks.

While the Duterte tyranny persists, the armed revolution will grow in strength and advance. The drive of the Duterte regime to impose fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people will be defeated, like the Marcos fascist dictatorship. The revolutionary forces and people will emerge ever larger and stronger as a result of the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation. **LIB**

# MANLALAKBAY SA MAGDAMAG

ni Kas Ringo  
Para sa mga kasama sa Rodante Urtal Command  
30 Disyembre 2018

Parating na ang ulan.  
Babala ng mga bituin sa kalangitan.  
Bago paisa-isa, pares-pares,  
Kumpol-kumpol silang nagsipagkubli  
Sa likod ng mga ulap ng gabi.

Nakikipisan tayong mga manlalakbay  
Sa matipunong bisig nitong bundok.  
Nakapasan sa makisig niyang balikat  
Ang matatayog na punong  
Pagsasabitan natin pansamantala  
Ng ating mga duyan at pahinga.

Ipaghehele ng nagsasalimbayang koro  
Ng mga kuliglig, kulisap at insekto,  
Sa saliw ng mga dahon,  
Ng madadalas na tikatik ng ulan,  
Ng ragasa ng sapa sa may di kalayuan  
Ang pagal nating mga katawan.

Ikukumot natin ang hiram na anino,  
Salasalabit silang mataas at mababa,  
Malapad at manipis na mga dahon at sanga.  
Komoplahe ang liblib nitong kagurangan\*  
Ang magtatago sa mga bakas nating iniwan.

Ngunit huwag magkamaling pasisirin ang himbing  
Sa papalalim na ritmo ng hating gabi:  
Ito ang paalala ng kinasanayan nang karimlan.  
Bulag sa ublagan ang ating mga mata,  
Panatilihing nakaalerto ang pandama.

Malamig, banayad ang sariwang hangin,  
Tuyo, matalim ang usok sa haring\*.  
Malaki ang pagkakaiba ng nuknok\* at lamok,  
May hatid na mensahe ang mga huni at dagundong.  
Kilalaning maigi ang pagkakaiba-iba  
Ng paglagapak ng mga sanga,  
Ng pagkabuwal ng puno o pagsabog ng mga buho  
Mula sa alingawngaw ng putok ng punglo.

At bago mahawi ang hamog ng magdamag,  
Bago pa man kumalat ang paparating na liwanag,  
Lilikumin natin ang naipong bagong lakas.  
Ililigpit ang mga gamit at maghahanda sa pagbaktas\*.  
Ililihim ng matandang bundok ang sandaling paghimpil,  
At tahimik na maghihintay sa muli nating pagbalik.

Masalimuot ang daan ng tinatahak na digmaan  
Subalit sa bawat pagsagka\* at paglusong,  
Palaging tiyak ang ating pagsulong.  
Nakaliligaw ang direksyon ng ating larangan  
Pero kabisado natin ang wastong estratehiya  
Para maglingkod  
sa masa  
Para magpasalamat  
sa kanila  
Para magbigay pagpupugay  
sa mga namartir na kasama  
At para tuparin ang ating panata  
Na ialay ang tagumpay  
Sa altar ng rebolusyon.

—  
kagurangan - kagubatan  
haring - sigâ  
nuknok - niknik  
pagbaktas - paglakad  
pagsagka - pag-akyat



**S**  
**STEEL**  
**OURSELVES**  
**IN THESE DIFFICULT TIMES**

**Defend** Sovereignty  
**Fight** for justice, rights, and democracy  
**Unite and march** as one invincible force

**O**  
**OUST THE**  
**TRAITOR,**  
**FASCIST, TYRANT DUTERTE**

It is the **call of the times**  
It is **right and just**  
**Correct the course** of the country's history

**SHOUT OUT**  
**TO THE FILIPINO**  
**PEOPLE**

Lifted from: June 21, 2019  
Ang Bayan Editorial  
"Boldly struggle to  
end Duterte's tyranny!"

**N**  
**NEGATE**  
**DUTERTE'S**  
**LIES**  
**DECEPTION, EVIL PLOYS**

**Be students** of history, politics and economics  
**Expose** the bankruptcy of his regime  
**Be the engine** of mass study and mass propaganda

**A**  
**ACT NOW,**  
**AS ONE**

**Firmly unite;** reject self-interest  
**Arouse, organize, mobilize**  
**Build** the organized people's strength

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## **BOLDLY STRUGGLE TO END DUTERTE'S TYRANNY! (EXCERPT)**

It is the right of the Filipino people to resist and overthrow a government that oppresses their common interests and relentlessly suppresses them. Just as the Marcos and Estrada regimes were overthrown, there is nothing more just for the people to do than oust the brutal, corrupt, oppressive and treasonous Duterte regime.

To the Filipino people: Steel yourselves in the difficult struggle against the fascist regime and to correct the course of the country's history. If the people will unite and march as one, they are an invincible political force and impetus of change.

Build the people's organized strength. Open their eyes to the real situation of the country. Tear off the blindfold of Duterte's lies and distortions. Persevere to unmask, understand and expose the social realities, the absence of democracy and freedom, the rule of a few oligarchs, bureaucrat capitalists and fascists, and the oppression and exploitation of the toiling masses.