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The NDFP is the revolutionary united front organization of the Filipino people fighting for national freedom and for the democratic rights of the people. Established on 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.

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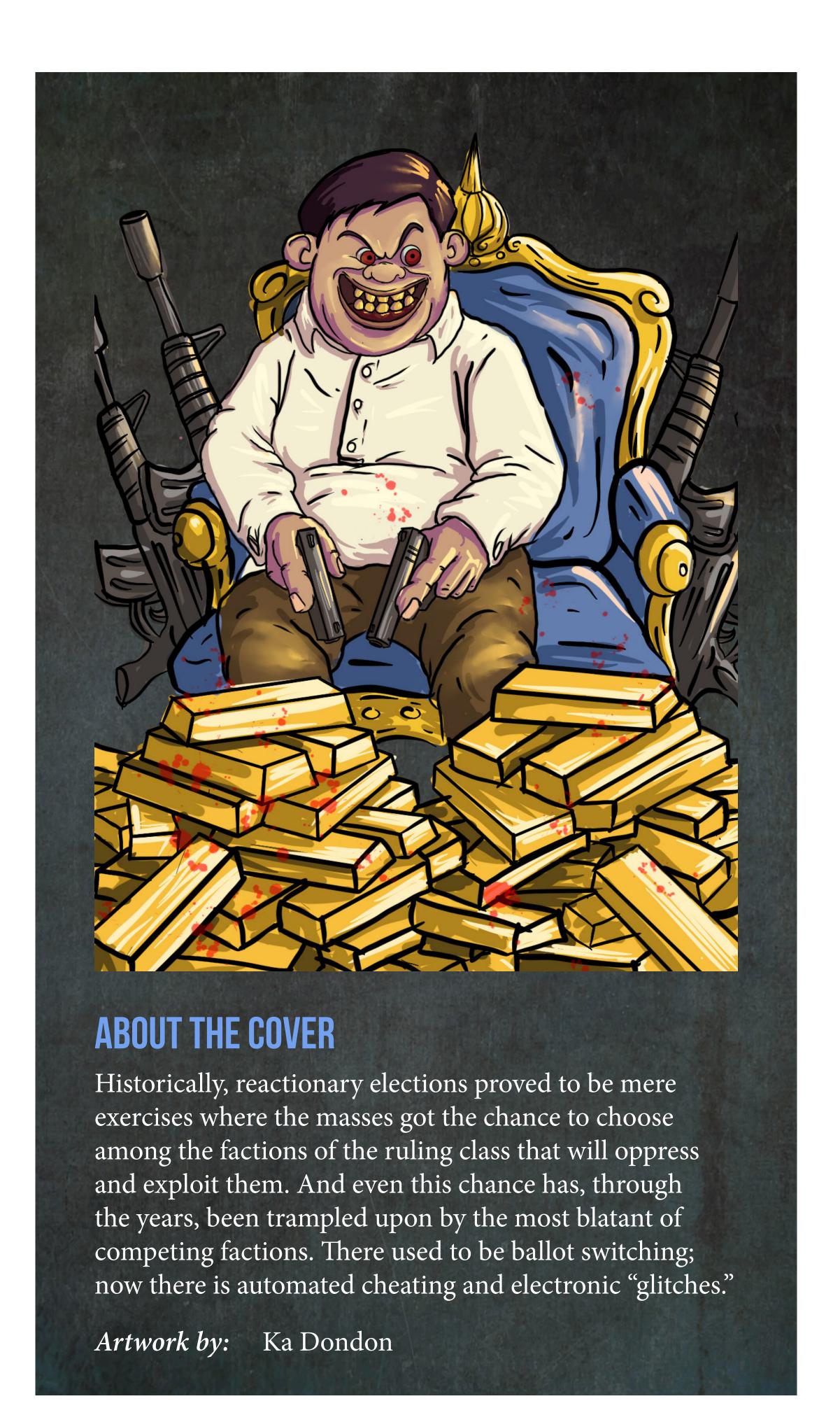
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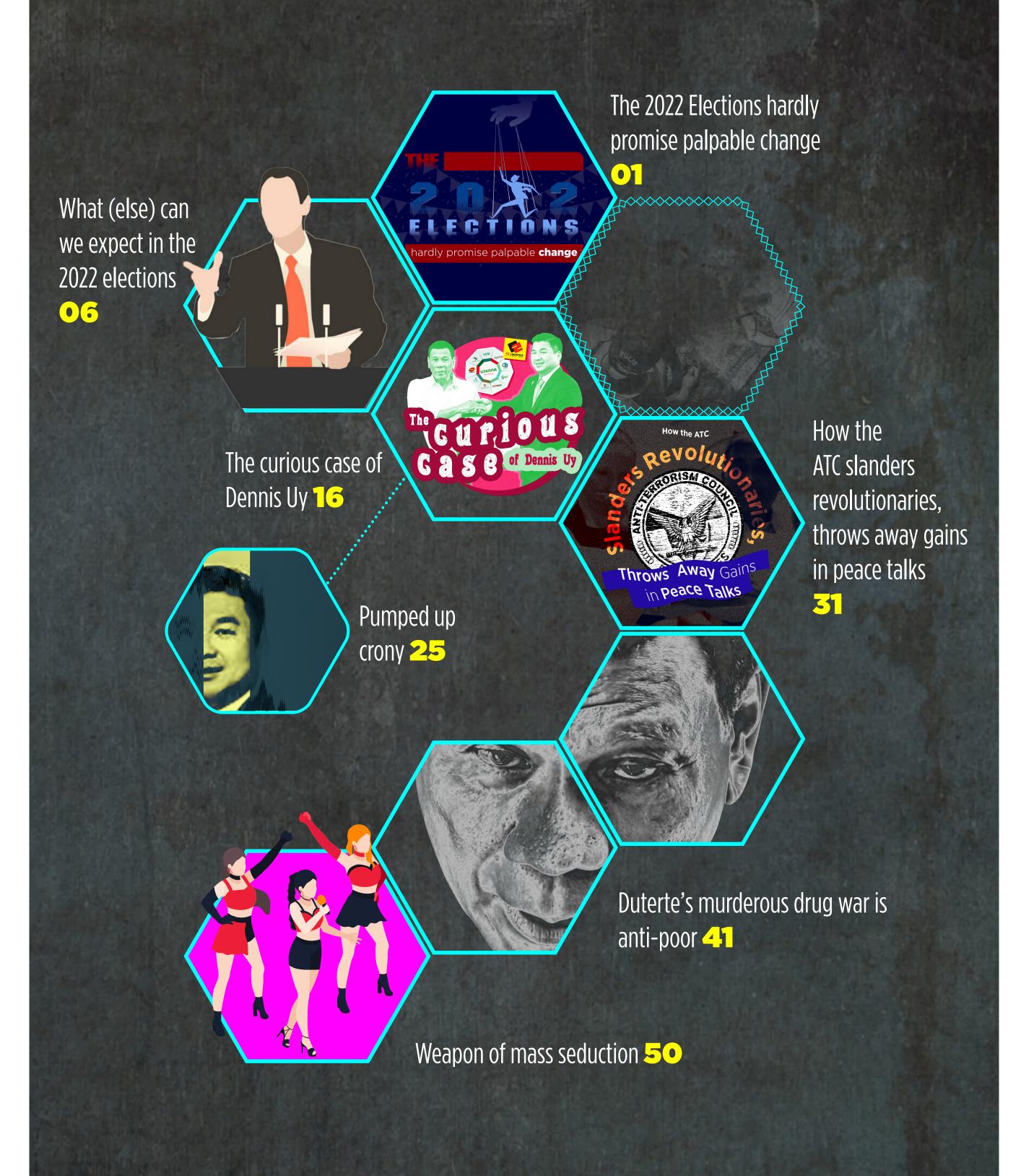
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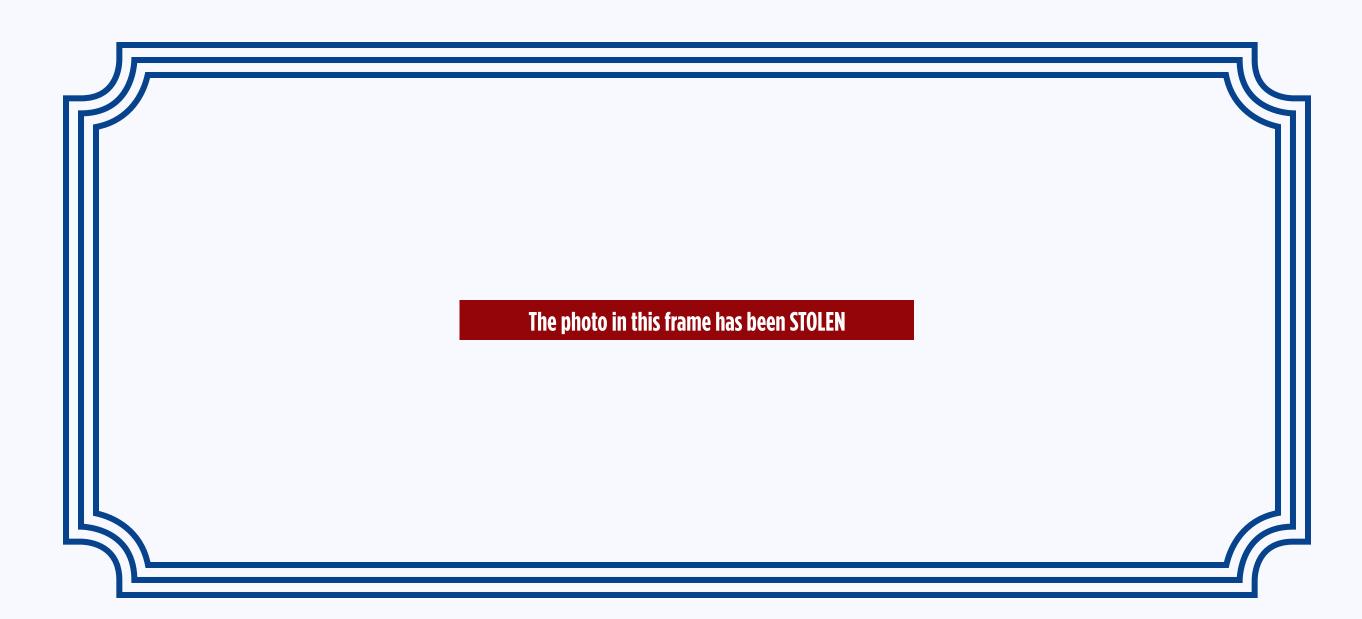


EDITORIAL



hardly promise palpable change

noticing the overzealousness of many candidates running for public office in the 2022 elections. Long before the start of the campaign period in February, we were already inundated by the smiling faces of these candidates: plastered on tarpaulins prominently hung everywhere, or pushed into our social media accounts even without invitation. And when they went into face-to-face, meet-and-greet sorties, they profusely thanked the surprised public for their "understanding" and "warm support".



How many were flabbergasted when a well-heeled tandem aspiring for the top offices of government snarled traffic on main avenues in the metropolis with their ill-coordinated motorcade or caravan? Radio commentators and observant citizens have raised these questions: Why were such obviously staged gatherings which clearly violated social distancing and COVID-19 health protocols, not questioned by the police and the civilian authorities?

Contrast that evident laxness in implementing protocols with the same authorities' response when ordinary people gathered for legitimate protests: all sort of restrictions would be thrown their way and state forces would swarm to bar or disperse them.

Then, there was the unusual rigor in barring certain partylist organizations from participating in the elections. In contrast, note the amazing ease when it came to

approving partylist groups linked to political dynasties, or allowing certain candidacies to be easily filed, withdrawn or replaced.

Now, consider the muchquestioned candidacy of Ferdinand "Bongbong" Marcos Jr, a convicted tax evader, son of the ousted tyrant, and heir to billions of ill-gotten wealth. If the Comelec decides to uphold the law and judicial action, it can easily disqualify him from running by deeming Marcos Jr.'s conviction of tax evasion as a crime of moral turpitude, wrote a retired Supreme court Justice. Moreover, when Marcos Jr. filed his certificate of candidacy, he lied, said a group of civic leaders who urged the Comelec in November to cancel his COC. He falsely declared under oath that he has not "ever been found liable for any offense, which carries the accessory penalty of perpetual disqualification to hold public office."

Limits of Ph elections

Given the avalanche of disinformation and feel-good "news" churned out by the richest candidates' trolls and campaigners, how alluring is it to fall into blind hope that the life of Filipinos would improve once the tandem of Marcos Jr. and Sara Duterte emerges victorious in the May polls.

But what does the Marcos-Duterte tandem that supposedly continues to lead in the pollpreference surveys, in fact, represent? What "unity" do they flaunt to embody? Isn't the main political alliance backing the tandem composed of the political dynasties that already have held power and abused its use, heaping miseries and deprivations among the people, particularly the poor and marginalized?

With his flamboyant aging and ailing mother, Imelda, practically sidelined, Marcos Jr. now leads his siblings in frustrating the people's quest to fully recover their parents' ill-gotten wealth and effacing their globally-exposed conjugal kleptocracy. Barefacedly, he also continues to deny gross human rights violations under his father's 14-year fascist dictatorship—and peddles the illusion that the dictatorship raised the Philippines to a "golden age" in development.

Marcos Jr.'s running for president also aims to fulfill Imelda's long-nurtured dream of returning to Malacanang in her lifetime.

Sara Duterte, on the other hand, is the ambitious daughter of the outgoing president. Rodrigo Duterte has notched global notoriety by his bloody dirty wars—against illegal drug peddlers and users, and against the Left revolutionary movement through his "whole-of-nation" approach to counterinsurgency. Her running for vice president (original target: the presidency) is intended to protect and advance their dynasty's economic interests and political clout, and to shield her father from probable prosecution by the International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity.

The Philippines as a supposedly republican state held regular elections since 1947, until Marcos imposed martial rule in 1972 and disrupted the cycle. Regular elections every three years resumed in 1987, after the people ousted the dictatorship and the long-sidelined traditional politicians rushed in to contest for power again.

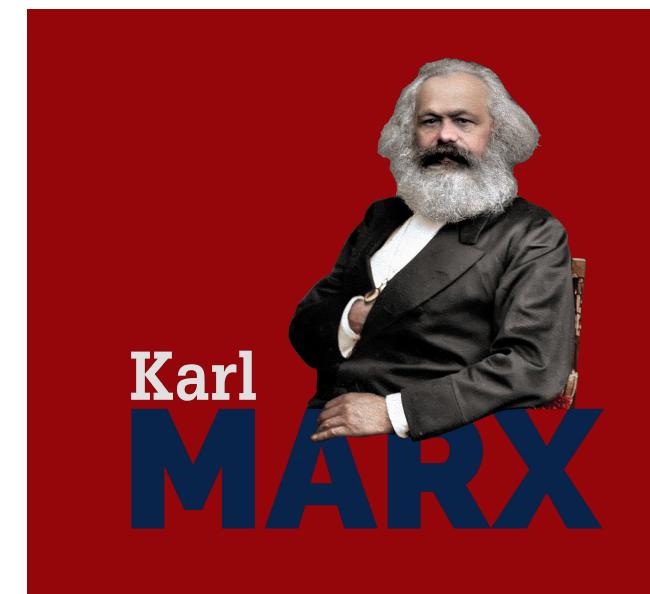
With no deep-going systemic reforms carried out after the Marcoses' ouster, all these elections failed to respond positively to the people's demands for meaningful change.

The electoral exercises have

remained as mechanism for members of the ruling classes to settle among themselves—not without incidences of violence—their fierce rivalries for power and wealth. For the political elite the government is merely a means for getting richer and wielding power for its sake; never for seriously serving the people. It has been exploited as a veneer of serving the people to justify increasing taxes, forcing payments of fraudulent and unfair debts, and sustained policies that have deterred the earnest development of our agriculture, natural resources and industries by and for the Filipinos,

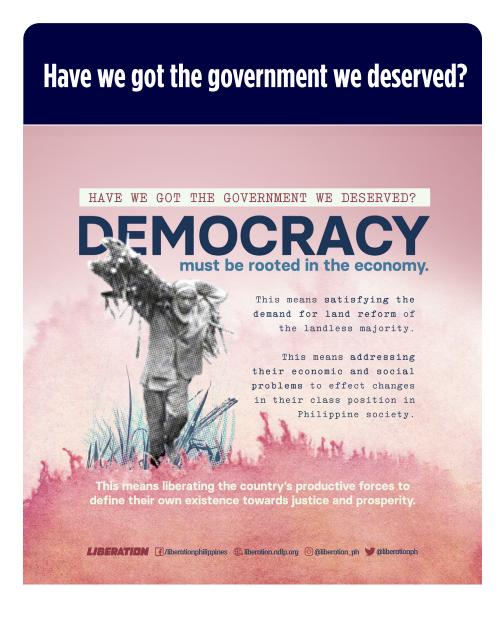
instead opening these up for further foreign imperialist exploitation.

Failure of each regime to resolve the age-old landlessness problem through genuine land reform, and the worsening problem of poverty and joblessness through industrialization, continue to stare us in the face. Little wonder that since 1968 when the Communist Party of the Philippines launched the new democratic revolution, its clear programs to advance these solutions to worsening underdevelopment have continued to gain public support.



The oppressed are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class shall represent and repress them in parliament.

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However, all of the "democratically elected" administrations have tried their hardest to hinder land reform. Instead they have enabled bloody massacres, and under the current regime's "synchronized" joint operations, pushed landgrabbing schemes and various modes of reconcentrating land in the hands of big landlords.

Previous and current "elected" leaders have excelled at maintaining the Philippines indebted and tied down to underdevelopment by imperialist impositions. Towards the end of Duterte's term, not only is the Philippines buried deeper in Php11 trillion debt. New nails have been hammered into the coffin of land reform and food self-sufficiency in the form of liberalization of imports of rice, fish, meat and other agricultural products, and continued liberalization in the mining and other industries previously kept a bit safe from previous waves of imperialist globalization.

Thus, all the previous and current elected leaders are accountable to the people for the recurring and worsening crises in the economy. Far from stemming the crisis, they ride on it to impose new programs that only have worsened the burden on the people.

The conduct of the presidential race in the May elections hardly offers Filipinos assurance that they can vote into office a leader who will truly work for genuine improvements in their lives and firmly uphold democracy and national sovereignty. In the long-term perspective, they can only attain their long-held democratic aspirations by embracing and continually strengthening and advancing the national democratic revolution.



ust like how Christmas carols would start playing in the Philippines as soon as the "ber"-months begin, signs also abound everywhere when the national elections is coming.

Among others:



Electioneering gets more blatant, for example, multiple ads for "Run, _A_A, Run"; mushrooming "troll farms" in business to hoodwink public opinion;



The national budget gets bigger (Php 5 trillion proposed for 2022) and loaded with more pork and hotly disputed insertions;



Rivalries of politicians get louder and sharper, threatening and/or causing realignments and/or shattered "alliances" among and between factions of the ruling elite; and



The current president cooking up ways to save himself by holding on to power, including a possible run for vice-presidency;

Anyone can see that as the scheduled national elections approaches, the lame duck president Rodrigo Duterte has consistently shown his intention to maintain or grab power. Among others, "His overriding concern is to prevent the election of a new president that would allow his arrest and trial by the International Trial Court (ICC) for the grave human rights violations that he has committed," said Jose Maria Sison, chief political consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) peace panel.

Duterte is aping his idol, the deposed dictator Ferdinand Marcos, who executed a power grab through martial law and charter change. The latter mode is now blatantly being pushed by Duterte's minions in Congress. Toward declaring martial law, Duterte plans to carry out false-flag operations to scapegoat the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and New People's Army (NPA) and order mass arrest and mass murder of critics, oppositionists, and activists, said Sison, based on information shared by sources close to the national security cluster of the Duterte cabinet. He added that under Martial Law conditions or not, "Duterte also keeps in reserve the option of holding and rigging the 2022 elections to install a stooge as president and himself as vice-president."

https://cpp.ph/statements/crucial-months-of-decision-for-duterte/

The carnival of Ph elections

Like a parody of Christmas, the Philippine elections also feature lots of jingles, posters, and messianic promises from candidates. For the festive atmosphere and hopeful promises the elections generate, it is highly anticipated. As such it is historically in campaigns for elections that reactionary candidates outdo each other promising populist oaths, singing and dancing, and engaging in dazzling gimmicks, and taking advantage of the culture of feudal patronage.

But in a neocolonial and semifeudal Philippine society, it has historically functioned more as a contest dishing out illusions of democracy by misrepresenting people's interests. Here the contestants exclusively come from different factions of the ruling elite.

Elections in the Philippines is a venue for the ruling elite to settle peacefully their rivalries for political dominance and their share of spoils from a bankrupt economy.

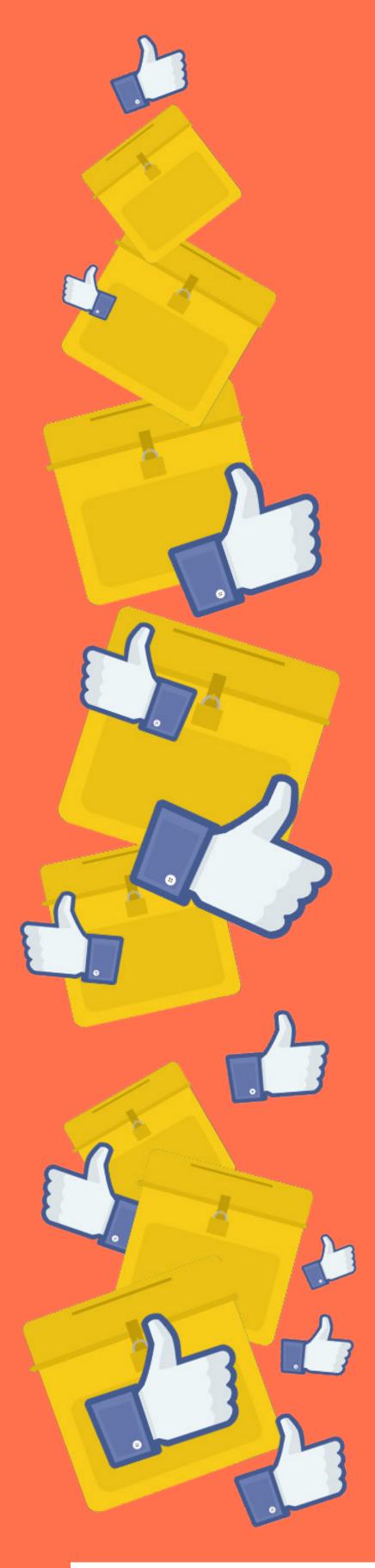
To win, they must come out as the most "popular" enough to get the votes. Or, they must at least make it seem credible that they supposedly got the votes.

The coming 2022 elections is a continuation of that thread. But because the semifeudal, semicolonial crisis has gotten worse over time, even the illusions of democracy the election is supposed to generate are being torn and exposed by the contestants themselves. Engaged in a fierce conflict for the topmost posts, they make mistakes and fail to cover up their epic failures in meeting the demands and needs of the masses. Unable to placate the masses, they resort to deception (e.g., disinformation) and terror to quell people's protests and opposition. Meanwhile, the fierce rivalry between competing factions hastens to expose each others' corruption and wrongdoings.

The few candidates who genuinely had programs for the people certainly cut into the interests of landlords, compradors, and their imperialist masters and had to put up with being maneuvered out of their positions and popularity.

It had been so since the time six representatives of the Left-led Democratic Alliance in 1949 blocked the Bell Trade Act (a law granting parity rights to US capitalists to exploit and plunder Philippine resources). The said reps were charged with "electoral terrorism" and ousted from their posts.

Fast forward to present, the progressive partylist groups, other patriotic candidates, and even local politicians exhibiting sincere attitude toward the masses were targeted by each reactionary regime, especially during the Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and the Duterte regimes. Party list groups have also been used by the reactionaries as another venue to perpetuate their dynasties and misrepresent the poor majority.



Elections and dynasties

Every election, political dynasties come out in full force to fight for government positions. The same families exchange seats in government every election and bring up more members to higher posts. Despite the many times the voters expressed disgust at these dynasties and voted for those who promised to eradicate them, the political dynasties remain untouched.

Political dynasties are the logical offshoots of bureaucrat capitalism. Dynastic bureaucrat capitalists served as agents of local oligarchs and big bourgeois compradors. They aggrandized themselves by using their positions to corner the biggest loot and bribes and cuts from government contracts. They used their political capital to promote their family businesses or those of their relatives, friends, and allies as well as to gain favors from contractors, loan agencies, and foreign capitalists and banks.

The dominance of political dynasties in the electoral landscape showed how rotten the ruling political and economic system in the Philippines is. "It clearly reflects how those in power, big landlords, big bourgeois compradors and bureaucrat capitalists, perpetuate their dynasties through corruption, nepotism, and patronage," said the CPP in a statement after Duterte's SONA in 2020. Duterte continued to evade the calls to pass an Anti-Dynasty Bill. For years, the bill languished at the committee level in Congress.

Indeed, Duterte will not outlaw the political dynasties as he is the leader of his family's dynasty. Although Duterte has allied with the Marcoses and the Arroyos, he has definitely advanced his dynasty. Duterte's major streams of bureaucrat capitalist accumulation included his bogus war on drugs (which he used to eliminate or subdue rival drug syndicates); the emergency powers invoked for the Covid-19 pandemic which allowed him nearly Php3 trillion of public funds spent without transparency and accounting; and, the billions of pesos in "intelligence" and "confidential" funds at his behest. These are on top of the usual bureaucrat capitalist loot from his position as president. He has accumulated wealth from bribes (secretly stashed in accounts of his cronies and reportedly in Chinese banks) using the national budget to consolidate his supermajority control of Congress.

https://cpp.ph/2020/07/29/dutertes-most-favored-political-dynasties/

LIBERATION

From 3Gs to 5Gs?

Guns, goons, and gold or the 3Gs have always been decisive factors in the outcome of reactionary elections in the Philippines. Politicians were known to maintain private armed groups who, aside from keeping their bosses safe from rival private armies, were also used to terrorize rivals and voters.

In his *Philstar* column dated July 2, 2021, Jarius Bondoc wrote that there are almost 4,000 private armies and more than a million loose firearms scattered all over the country. "The number of loose firearms could have risen to 2.1 million in 2020, International Alert-Philippines monitored." These included assault rifles, machine pistols, and high-caliber handguns.

For his part, Duterte used "the military and police to intimidate, silence, and undermine support for his rivals and critics. Before and during the campaign, his clique has successively perpetrated the killing of numerous rival politicians. He openly used the courts, agencies, and local governments to brand progressive candidates and parties as 'terrorists' in line with the 'whole-of-nation' approach against 'insurgency.' He spent billions of pesos of people's money to flood the media with pro-administration lies and drown the voices of the opposition," the CPP said after the results of the 2019 elections came out.



Money talks in the Philippines elections. Thus, the political dynasties with the deepest war chest from present and previous loots win.

Duterte's 2016 presidential bid was backed by his now favoured oligarchs—the Floirendos and the Alcantaras of Davao, and Dennis Uy, among others. Based on his statement of contributions and expenditures (SOCE) submitted to the Commission on Elections (Comelec), Duterte spent more than Php 371 million.

Also, based on the record of expenditures, the 12 senatorial winners in the 2016 elections spent an average of Php 107 million.

The expenses reported through the SOCE do not include money spent for campaigning earlier than the prescribed period by the COMELEC. The Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ) bared then senatorial candidate Bong Go spent more than Php 422 million for TV airtime alone from January 2018 to January 2019. During the same period, Imee Marcos spent a total of P413 million on ads.

Now, with advances in technology, one can say the 3Gs have "upgraded" to add vicious (troll) games and (electronic) glitches, too. The explosion of "new media" and internet usage provided additional platforms for political dynasties to unleash their gimmickry and manufacture an image that voters want to support.

In the past, it was buying out the media and using guns and goons to silence the rivals and the masses. Now, there are troll farms, artificial intelligence, and big data analysis that cater to people's wishes. The current regime can now paralyze and attack websites and vilify and redtag those who belie their claims.



Nowadays, they turn the same problems of the Filipino masses into something like computer games with predictable heroes and anti-heroes. They present the candidates as the "heroes" spouting what the masses want to hear while cussing out or abusing their rivals and enemies. Rodrigo Duterte enjoyed such treatment from his troll farms that in the 2016 campaign, his image was severely dusted and made up. According to news reports, Duterte spent U\$200,000 or around Php 10 million for his troll farms in the 2016 presidential elections.

"Can you imagine a president elected by trolls?" Bayan Muna Rep. Carlos Zarate asked. Bayan Muna filed a resolution in June 2021 to investigate some ranking government officials who use public funds to establish internet troll farms all over the country for the 2022 elections. He warned that the next president could get elected through these troll farms by spreading misinformation, fake news, and outright lies on social media.

https://cpp.ph/statements/dutertes-weakeningregime-intensifies-social-media-psywarkabataang-makabayan/

https://cpp.ph/2021/07/21/soldiers-and-employees-as-trolls/

Starting in 2010, the Philippine elections' vote-reading and vote-counting began to be automated. The country's "automated" poll system was every IT experts'

frustration as nearly every safeguard they tried to propose and incorporate into the system was removed, sabotaged, or hidden and kept out of their observation. The process of vote reading and counting has lost whatever transparency remained.

In the days of manual counting, the candidates and the voters could at least check if the names read out corresponded to what was written on the ballots and if the votes were accurately counted and tallied. Under the automated polls, it has become a big "mystery." The control is in the hands of a private and foreign-controlled firm, the officials of the Comelec, and the candidates with the most 5Gs. Hence, the illusions of democracy the elections are supposed to distribute to the populace are torn asunder by the participating candidates themselves.

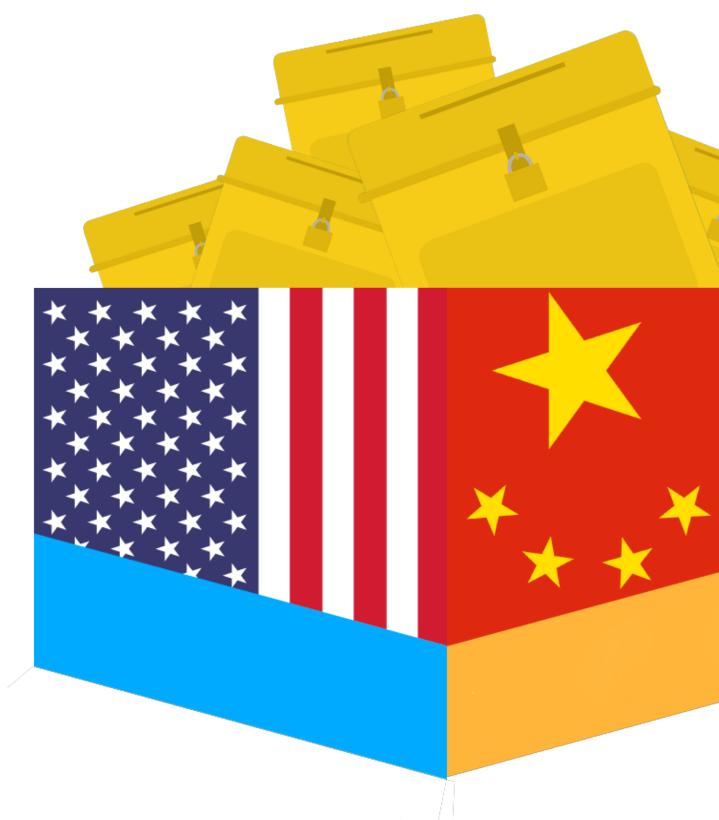
Duterte used the Comelec in the 2019 elections to "carry out massive cheating by hacking the results of the automated vote counting and tallying system. On Election Day, around 1,000 vote-counting machines malfunctioned and counting was delayed for seven hours. Voting for overseas Filipinos was also problematic. According to experts, the recent elections was the most unsuccessful so far, and the most dangerous in history."

https://cpp.ph/2019/05/21/shatter-the-illusion-of-democracy-under-dutertes-tyranny/

Foreign interference

US imperialism instituted reactionary elections in the Philippines to legitimize its continued dominance over the political, economic, and socio-cultural affairs of the country. Through the years, elections ensured the joint class dictatorship of its most avid allies—the landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie. For the US, it is historically not so much as simply interfering. The Philippine electoral process is itself a by-product of American occupation. The US "tutelage in the democratic way of life" entrenched leaders loyal to US imperialism.

It is expected that the US will, as usual, take an active stance "interfering" in the national elections. The Philippines remains the most loyal ally of the US in Asia. And the US will not slack off in lending support to its most favored puppets, in the name of "upholding the rule of law," various paeans to "democracy" and long-time alliance, and countering "terrorism." Recently, the US approved the sale and dispatch of war materiel to the Philippines despite protests from human rights advocates.



But US hegemony is under threat. The Philippines as the US' neocolony is also being encroached upon by China, its biggest rival. Duterte has served both the US imperialist and China, with the US still the most decisive given the military aid and economic treaties the US has with the Philippines. But until now, Duterte could not parry accusations that China helped him win the 2016 presidential elections.

Meaningful and substantial change

Historically, reactionary elections proved to be mere exercises where the masses got the chance to choose among the factions of the ruling class that will oppress and exploit them. And even this chance has, through the years, been trampled upon by the most blatant of competing factions. There used to be ballot switching; now there is automated cheating and electronic "glitches."

The revolutionary forces firmly believe the masses can only achieve genuine change through the national democratic revolution.

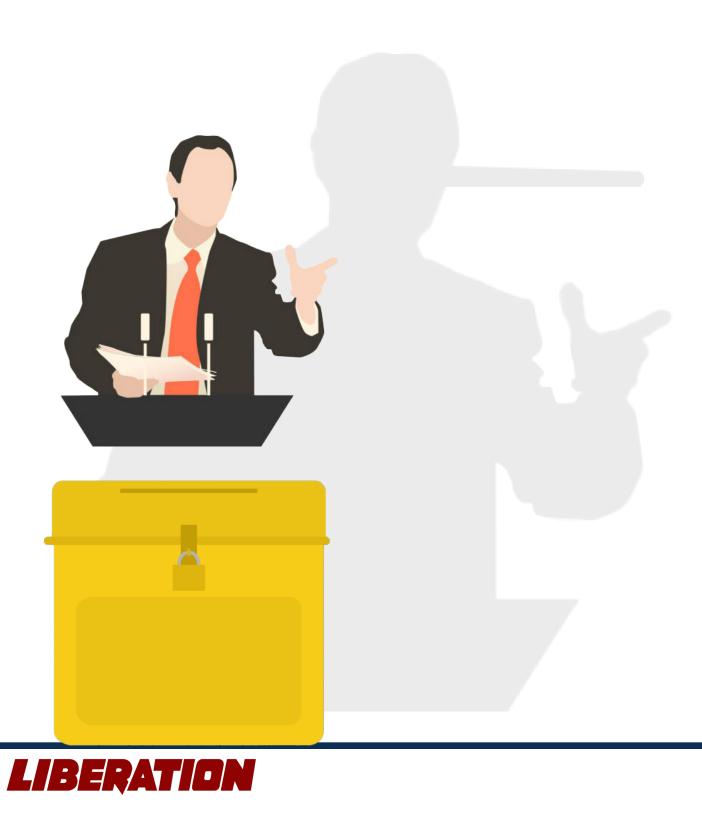
All over the country, revolutionary mass organizations and organs of political power have been established. They are the masses' expression of unity and their real source of power and strength to achieve a just and progressive society, truly representative of their interests.

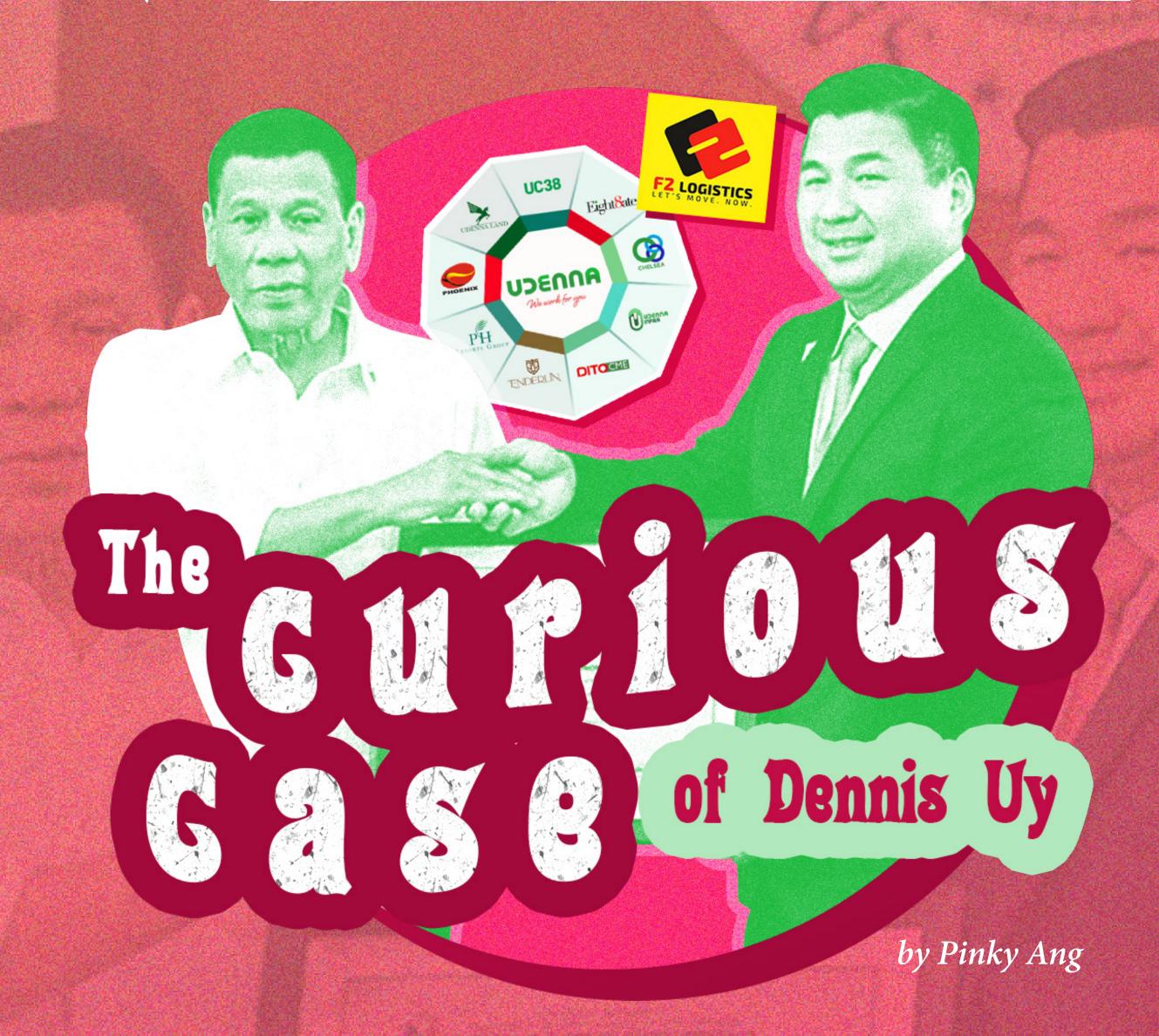
As a matter of principle, the revolutionary movement does not participate in the reactionary elections. It remains active however during this time as it acquires gains for the masses and the revolution. As contradictions between the different factions of the ruling classes exacerbate, the revolutionary movement is able to broaden the reach of the national democratic revolution.

In an interview, Jose Maria Sison explained, "It is a given fact that the revolutionary forces (CPP, NPA and NDFP) are prohibited from participating in the elections staged by the ruling system. But they can clarify and disseminate to the people why it is wrong to vote for the parties and candidates that support the tyrannical, treasonous, mass murdering, plundering and swindling crimes of the Duterte regime."

https://cpp.ph/statements/in-anticipation-of-the-may-13-elections/

For the 2022 elections, Prof. Sison reiterated the need for all patriotic and progressive forces to unite to fight and frustrate "whatever scheme Duterte chooses to implement in order to prolong himself in power" and to end his "traitorous, tyrannical, terrorist, genocidal, plundering and mendacious" regime.

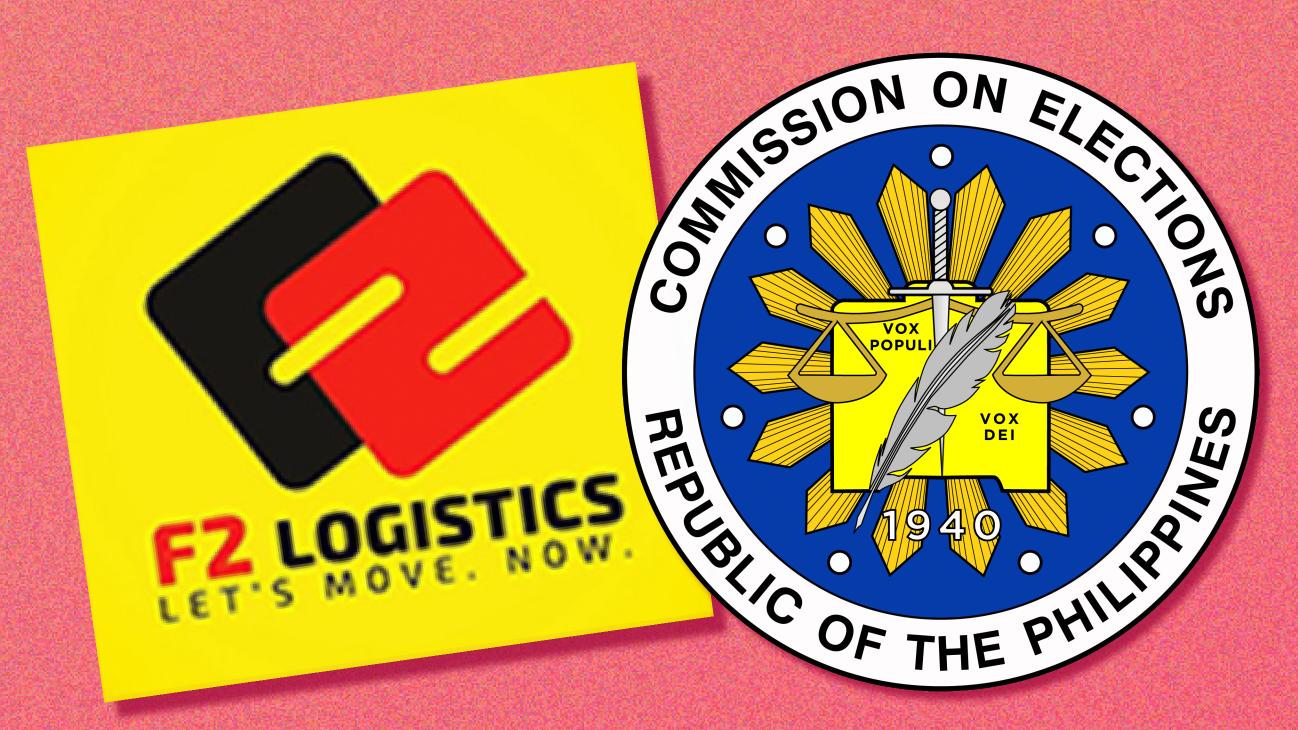




uterte crony's Comelec contract is a vital ingredient for cooking the results of 2022 elections; and Comelec's "naivety" toward an incumbent's crony is amazing.

The interlinked interests of President Rodrigo Duterte and his crony businessman Dennis Uy continues in full, brazen play as they seek to sustain their profitable days beyond Duterte's term in 2022. This August 2021, a Dennis Uy company called F2 Logistics succeeded in winning a Php1.61 billion contract with the Comelec.

Its worth for Duterte and Uy goes beyond the billion-peso price tag. An election watchdog and critics warned that it could make or break the results of the elections. The contract gives F2 Logistics, and whoever it supports, ample chances to manipulate the election results, thus paving the way for Duterte's ambitions to maintain power for himself (even as a Vice-President) and for his family and clique.



The contract covers the delivery, transportation, and warehousing of election equipment, peripherals, forms, supplies, election paraphernalia before, during, and after the conduct of the May 2022 elections. Repeat: F2 Logistics controlled by Uy will be in charge of delivering equipment and supplies such as vote-counting machines (VCMs), external batteries and accessories, consolidation or canvassing system machines, transmission equipment and devices, ballots, and generator sets, among others.

This is the third time an Uy company has bagged a logistics contract with the Comelec. The first was in 2016, when he seized control of logistics firm 2Go. The second time was in 2019 with F2 Logistics. In both elections the Duterte's clique

overwhelmingly won. At the same time, election materials were subject of controversies as problems cropped up directly placing risks on election results. In 2016 and 2019, SD cards used by the vote-counting machines reportedly malfunctioned, causing delays (and questions) in proclamation of eventual winners. The VCMs itself had glitches. What's worse is that the automated poll was already harmed by lack of transparency and security guarantees against tampering.

This time around, the Comelec simply dismissed calls to disqualify in logistics contract bidding companies supporting politicians who also plan to take part in the 2022 elections, saying that it is a given that big businesses support candidates.







But the public and the political opposition could not just swallow the Comelec's amazing "naivety" toward Dennis Uy. It is a fact that F2 Logistics' founder and CEO (Efren Uy), chairman (Dennis Uy) and finance officer (Cherylyn Uy) contributed to Duterte's 2016 campaign a combined total of at least Php

34.5 million. It is a fact that their contribution earned them a highly sensational business expansion under the Duterte presidency. It is also a fact that as Duterte's term nears its end, Duterte has made known his plans to run even as a VP in the 2022 elections, at the very least to avoid being charged for his crimes against humanity. Members of his family and clique are also declaring their intent to run. It is also a fact that Dennis Uy's business diversification especially those foraying into vital industries are at the beginning stages, and obviously he direly needs to continue enjoying preferential treatment, behest loans, to consolidate the said businesses.

The contract gives F2 Logistics, and whoever it supports, ample chances to manipulate the election results, thus paving the way for Duterte's ambitions to maintain power for himself (even as a Vice-President) and for his family and clique.

The business 'empire' that Dennis Uy built

Among the oft-named cronies of Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte, Davao-based businessman Dennis Uy distinguished himself for the biggest leap he made under Duterte's wings. Compared to wealthier cronies at the start of Duterte presidency, he staged a more highprofile buying sprees of businesses and companies and wider expansion into vital industries.

Uy's rise in business followed Duterte's leapfrog in politics. Duterte was just a city mayor for over two decades when he pulled an upset and won the presidency in 2016. Uy was just "an outsider" (his word) until he entered the

ranks ENDERLIN of the country's big bourgeois compradors, paved by what he ironically called "a level playing field" created by Duterte. In fact, business reports described this so-called level playing field as paved with preferential treatment, behest loans, and boosts from presidential bully pulpit that targeted some oligarchs while helping Duterte's favoured oligarchs to raid their rivals' businesses.

Under Duterte, Uy successfully turned into a big comprador

in the country's strategic businesses of telecommunications, shipping and logistics, and oil and gas mining. He also entered into infrastructure and tourism development, building hotels and casinos. Before Duterte became president, Uy was mostly into retailing oil products.

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Prof Jose Maria
Sison, Chief Political
Consultant of the
National Democratic
Front of the
Philippines, called Uy
"a bagman of Duterte."





6:52 PM · Nov 19, 2018



Duterte and his cronies get contract shares and finders' fees from the loan and infrastructure projects. They have already received advances through the loans of Duterte's bagman Dennis Uy from Chinese banks and his spree in buying Philippine assets.

"Duterte and his cronies got contract shares and finders' fees from the loan and infrastructure projects," Sison said in a November 2018 post in his social media.



Before Duterte became president, Uy's family wealth came from trading and from gold mining in Diwalwal, where Duterte as Davao City mayor was the designated "peacemaker" among competing miners. Uy used to run a barbecue business before he turned into selling by retail and wholesale imported oil products through his Phoenix Petroleum in 2002, four years after the country deregulated its oil industry.

As soon as Duterte assumed the presidency, he immediately lent a very public and effusive support to Dennis Uy, who promptly went on a buying spree of companies.

The first two things Uy has Duterte to thank for were Duterte's "advice" which enabled Uy to get rid of the oil smuggling charges that hounded him for five years through 2018. Phoenix oil's profits surged as a result. The other thing is the China loan and backing that enabled Uy to expand since 2016 into shipping and logistics. Uy's expansion into shipping and logistics was logical for ensuring a stable supply of oil for his Phoenix oil retailing company.



The first salvo of
Uy's buying spree
resulted in his bigtime expansion
into shipping and
logistics business. Uy
reportedly used a \$220
million loan from
Bank of China which
was part of a \$3-billion
financing package that
Duterte secured from
his first visit to China
in October 2016.

From previously depending on rented tankers, Uy's Chelsea

Logistics became a leading shipper that also reportedly serves big-name clients such as budget airline Cebu Air and Phoenix rival Petron.

Uy used the backing of Beijing's China-ASEAN Investment Cooperation Fund to gain since September 2016 controlling stakes in Negros Navigation, a long-established shipping company later renamed as 2GO.

Earlier, in April 2016 and with the help of the Sy's SM, Dennis Uy grabbed the chairmanship of 2GO amid a hotly contested boardroom shakeup. 2GO was reputedly the country's largest end-to-end logistics company, providing shipping, logistics and distribution services to corporations, enterprises and government agencies.





2GO partnered with Comelec in 2016 elections, having bagged the deal to deploy all VCMs, official ballots and non-accountable forms to more than 92,000 voting precincts, as well as the back-up VCMs and BGANS (Broadband Global Area Network Satellite communication kits), additional thermal papers, and Comelec shirts.

In March 2021, Uy eventually sold his shares in 2GO to partner Sy-led SM Investment Corporation, saying it was to pay loans used to buy shares in shipping and logistics. By this time, Uy's F2 Logistics and Chelsea had grown such that it transported election equipment in the 2018

Sangguniang Kabataan and barangay polls. In the 2019 midterm elections, when not even one Senatorial candidate of the opposition won, F2 had bagged two of the four deployment contracts of election equipment.

In November 2017, Uy acquired companies developing a 177-hectare logistics hub called Global Gateway Logistics City in Clark City, Pampanga.

Uy's 'empire-building' demonstrated how a bureaucrat capitalist especially positioned as president can pump up his crony or "bagman" to grow enough into becoming a big comprador.



Duterte's term is nearing its end. To this day, Filipinos have yet to see the full extent or conditions in which the likes of Duterte crony Dennis Uy received his Chinese loans and backing. What is clear as of this writing is that the problematic, crisis-inducing economic programs—that allow for the profitable operation of foreign investors and local big bourgeoisie, to the detriment of the people and the environment are all still in effect. Duterte promised "change" but it came only in the form of reshuffling stakes of oligarchs.

A few reports "worry" that Uy's buying spree of companies came with huge debts. But leveraged expansion is nothing new to big businesses. What's new (and more worrying) is that a formerly relatively small businessman like Uy successfully engaged in a borrowing binge in amounts several times larger than his net worth. In the case of Malampaya, for example, the Senate questioned how it happened with only \$100 (or about Php5,000) capitalization!

To finance such an aggressive expansion, he needed to be creditworthy. And to be credit-worthy enough to borrow so heavily, he needed a strong backer to score the juicy deals, to enter into partnerships or to receive the backing of loaded foreign investors. From the start of Duterte's term up to this writing, Uy has apparently enjoyed such blessings.

Although in early 2021 the debts falling due prompted him to sell his remaining stakes in 2GO, he remained a bigger businessman with bigger prospects compared to when Duterte started as president. He has more and bigger assets and business stakes that he could "maximize" (by selling, renting out) to raise funds for debt payments.

Not even the COVID 19 pandemic has stopped the Duterte-helmed, Chinese funded stake-building of Dennis Uy. It was during this time of pandemic that he pushed through with Dito Telecommunity, takeover of Malampaya, and, the use of his expanded shipping and logistics for the national elections.

It is bad enough that the Filipinos continue to lose their non-renewable resources and suffer from the resulting environmental degradation. It is bad enough that they are forced to make do with skyrocketing fees and charges in telecoms and oil prices. What is worse is that certain businesses likely bought with public funds

or debts are also serving the purposes of politicians intending to manipulate the elections.

Unfortunately, like with other Duterte cronies and older members of the big bourgeoisie, Uy's rising status through patronage politics only meant they are getting richer at the expense of the country's genuine development. Uy became wealthy through taking advantage of oil deregulation and mining liberalization. Now he has started to dip into the profitable, privatized telecommunications industry, into the liberalized and privatized energy sector (Malampaya), and, most likely, when Duterte announced whatever "joint" exploration agreement it has cobbled with China.

Uy is expanding to the utmost his privately held profitable stakes in the semicolonial, counterproductive way of doing business: extractive and environmentally destructive, export-oriented, import-dependent, in the firm grip of imperialists such as US and China.

LIBERATION • xcept for a few times when public de backlash prompted Dennis Uy to backpedal on some business decisions (for example, Uy backtracked from charging the government Php 35 million rent for the use of his ships as quarantine facility; Uy also denied rumors that he will buy ABS-CBN, and that he bought shares in Smartmatic-Tim), Uy has sailed relatively smoothly

into his business expansion.

The remarkable support he received from the Duterte regime for his business expansion showed in his following "achievements:"

1. Despite lacking experience in gambling resort business, Uy won the first license offered after Duterte became president. He gained the approval to build with Chinese funding a \$300 million casino complex on Mactan Island in Cebu.









2. Despite lacking experience in telecoms business, his company emerged as the sole bidder in 2018 and was eventually awarded, without public tender, a national telecom license. Duterte formally granted Uy's company a Certificate of Public Convenience and Necessity (CPCN) that paved the way to becoming the country's third major telecommunication player. The House of Representatives also quickly renewed his company's license. Duterte has been most vocal and visible in propelling Uy's entry into telecommunications, with the excuse that breaking the duopoly of Smart and Globe was a campaign promise.





Armed with a \$5.4-billion investment deal with China Telecom signed in April 2019, Uy transformed Mislatel, a small Muslim outfit that never got off the ground for 20 years, into Dito Telecommunity, said to be 60-percent owned by Uy's companies and 40-percent by the state-owned China Telecom.

With Duterte government's

help, Dito Telecommunity started rolling out infrastructure, mainly cell sites and sales offices. It partnered with China Energy Equipment Company Ltd. and Filipino-Malaysian Consortium Zeal Power Construction as Dito's contractors and tower providers. For its telco towers, Dito sourced fiber cables and steel from China.

A Memorandum of Agreement between Dito Telecommunity and the Armed Forces of the Philippines in 2019 finally allowed Dito to put up towers in select military camps. It also signed deals to share or use the existing infrastructure of Chavit Singson's LCH Holdings and the "unused" fiber optic cables of Lopez-led SkyCable.

Note that SkyCable is the ABS-CBN's pay television and broadband arm. After being targeted by Duterte, ABS-CBN's franchise was not renewed in 2020, forcing it to downsize and put up SkyCable on sale. Not surprisingly, Uy is one of the interested buyers.

Following Duterte's order in July 2020 to fast track cell site

construction, the Department of Interior and Local Government streamlined the application process for the construction of shared cellular sites. It removed previous requirements that hampered the two older telcos in building cell sites. In March 2021, Dito Telecommunity launched commercial services in Visayas and Mindanao.

USENNA Energy GROUP MAP Property Development & Management UC38 (UC Malampaya) Food Retail Clark Global City Conti's Bakeshop & Restaurant Calaca Industrial Seaport Wendy's Philippines Udenna Tower **UC38** Eight8ate Petroleum & Retail (PSE: PNX) Shipping & Logistics (PSE: C) Phoenix Petroleum Philippines Chelsea Shipping Phoenix LPG Philippines Trans-Asia Shipping Lines Philippine FamilyMart Starlite Ferries Posible[®] PNX Petroleum Singapore Worklink Services Inc. UDENNA PNX (Metnam) Supercat Fast Ferry Phoenix Asphalt Philippines We work for you Phoenix Pilipinas Gas and Power PH USENNA Infrastructure Development Udenna Infrastructure Gaming & Tourism (PSE: PHR) 面 Udenna Water Integrated Services Laputapu Leisure L3 Concrete Specialists **DITO CME** ENDERLIN Donatela Hotel Panglao Clark Grand Leisure Information and Communications Technology (PSE: DITO) Education DITO Telecommunity Enderun Colleges Unatech ADF Enderun 101 Luna Academy Acuity Global Unalytics

- 3. Amid COVID 19 pandemic in 2020, Uy's conglomerate finished buying almost half (45%) stake in Malampaya natural gas and oil facilities. In 2021, Uy also realized his wish to buy the other 45% privately held by Shell. Uy managed to buy the Malampaya stakes despite questions from legislators and dubious source of funds. Malampaya accounts for 40% of Luzon's annual energy requirements, making it a veritable milking cow.
- 4. Uy was one of the few accepted contenders for oil drilling rights in portions of the West Philippine Sea where the Duterte government is in talks with Beijing for "joint exploration." Uy's Udenna submitted in September 2020 bids for areas 7 and 8 of Reed Bank, an oil-rich sea feature within the country's 200-nautical mile exclusive economic zone that China is also claiming despite the ruling of United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). A month later, Duterte announced the lifting of moratorium on oil and gas exploration in the area, followed by talks that China and the Philippines may have already reached an agreement.



5. Despite Uy's continuing business expansion, his company is not shying away from asking for government loan guarantees and loan payment deferment.

In February 2021, Dennis Uy asked the Duterte government for guarantees to cover a Php700million loan for the expansion of Chelsea Logistics and Infrastructure Holdings Corp. A state guarantee means the government through the Philippine

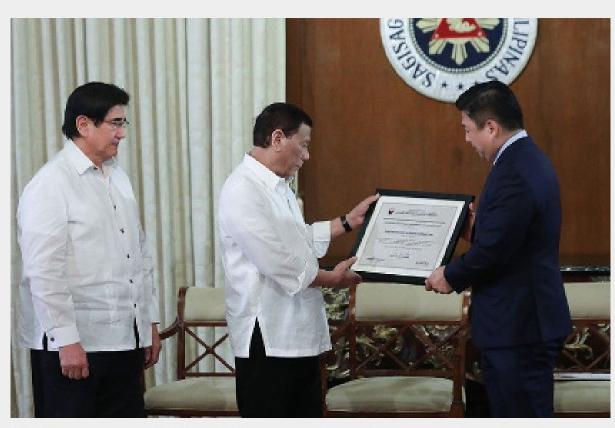
Guarantee Corp. (PGC) would have to shoulder up to 90% of Uy's loans in case of default.

Earlier, in October 2020, the same Chelsea shipping and logistics company of Dennis Uy availed of loan payments extension provided under Bayanihan Acts 1 and 2. It did not indicate how much of their loans

Dennis Uy's Chelsea seeks government guarantee to cover P700-M loan

lan Nicolas Cigaral - Philstar.com February 17, 2020 | 2:25pm

BUSINESS



President Rodrigo Duterte issues the Certificate of Public
Convenience and Necessity (CPCN) to the Mindanao Islamic
Telephone Company Inc. (Mislatel) through its Chairman Dennis
Uy during a ceremony at the Malacañan Palace on July 8, 2019.
Also in the photo is Information and Communications Technology
Secretary Gregorio Honasan II.

will be covered by the payment deferments. Chelsea's latest annual report showed its interestbearing loans and borrowings amounted to Php 16 billion as of end-2019.

The Bayanihan Acts are supposed to ease cash flows and allow recovery of companies affected by the pandemic.

Uy's rise in business showed how bureaucrat capitalists pave the way for their cronies, or dummies, or bagmen, to enter the circle of oligarchs. LIB

ALFRED FRIAS / PRESIDENTIAL PHOTO

How the ATC



Throws Away Gains in Peace Talks

by Iliya Makalipay

Il the years of hard work and achievements in the peace negotiations between the Government of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (GRP-NDFP) were thrown away by Resolution No.21 of the Anti-Terrorism Council (ATC) when it designated the NDFP a "terrorist" organization. The five-page ATC Resolution No. 21 was dated June 23, 2021 but was only publicized in July.

The designation is an antipeace act, said Julieta de Lima, Interim Chairperson of the NDFP Negotiating Panel, in a statement dated July 19, 2021. It was a demonstration of the Duterte regime's "penchant for state terrorism and its abject stupidity and delusion that it can stop the people's desire for a just and lasting peace by ending his reign of terror," she said.

Indeed, it is sheer stupidity to designate the NDFP, a party to the peace talks, as terrorist. The NDFP and the GRP are cobelligerent in the civil war and the NDFP has acquired the status of belligerency in accordance with international law. "The designation itself is at war with basic principles of international humanitarian law on the legitimate status, rights and character of national liberation movements," said the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

The designation is an antipeace act.

Julieta de Lima, NDFP Interim Chairperson

The creation of the ATC was mandated by the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2020. Its functions include the highly questionable act of identifying "terrorists" and ordering their arrests even without warrant. These are functions reserved for the courts. The Anti-Terrorism Act itself is also being questioned before the Supreme Court through almost 40 petitions by human rights advocates, various groups of lawyers, artists and media, and youth and students.

Composed of almost the same generals who are in Duterte's egregious NTF-ELCAC (National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict) and the militarist Task Force against Covid-19, the ATC "further boosts the power and prerogative of the military and police generals in determining the future direction of the Philippines," said the CPP.

In December 2020, the CPP and the New People's Army and 19 individuals, who are mostly NDFP peace consultants, were already designated as "terrorists" ahead of the NDFP.

By doing this, the Duterte regime hoped to "draw away attention from its crimes against humanity and its policy of attacking civilians in the course of waging its dirty counterinsurgency war," said the CPP. Clearly, the "terrorist designation" is a part of Pres. Duterte's moves to prolong his stay in power after 2022.

Unfortunately for Duterte —the country's number one terrorist—resorting to terrorist-tagging cannot wipe out the decades of hard struggle and victories of the revolutionary movement. What he did was to close all possibilities for resuming the peace negotiations with the NDFP, which represents the revolutionary movement, the underground mass organizations, and the organs of political power in the countryside.

Unfortunately for Duterte—the country's number one terrorist—resorting to terrorist-tagging cannot wipe out the decades of hard struggle and victories of the revolutionary movement.

- Jose Maria Canlas Sison a.k.a. Joma/Armando Liwanag/Amado Guerrero/Lodi/Pete/Al;
- Vicente Portades Ladlad a.k.a. Vic/Terry/Edgar/Ed/Gilbert/Fidel/ Isagani/Emilio/Vlady/Dong/Nonong/Dino/Ramon/Billy/Bern;
- 3. Rafael De Guzman Baylosis a.k.a. Raul/Rap/Raffy/Lando;
- Jorge Madlos a.k.a. Ka Oris/Mal Fuerza/JS/Jose/Oloy/Caloy/Ando/ Tatay/Cdr Karyo/Raul Castro/Kasky;
- Julieta De Lima Sison a.k.a. Juliet/Julia/Julie/Socorro/Rojo/Mayette/ Leah/Maria C De Guzman/Cdr Lita/Jules/Manet/Marie/Sendang/ Yelena/Ylna;
- 6. Rey Claro Cera Casambre a.k.a. Bong;
- Abdias Gaudiana a.k.a. Abadias Guadiana/July/Badul/Abdul/ Mario/Omar/Ramon/Dome;
- Alan Valera Jazmines a.k.a. Alfonso Jazmines, Jr./Tomas/Arthur/Tex/ Dex/Ogie/Andy Perez/Juan Tivaldo/Teroy/ Archie
- 9. Benito Enriquez Tiamzon a.k.a. Celo/lyo/Lot/Crising Banaag/Jing;
- Wilma Austria-Tiamzon a.k.a. Ka Wing/Didith/Jana/Pinay/Sering/ Ria/Azon/Isabel/Suarez/Edith/Jana;
- 11. Adelberto Albayalde Silva a.k.a. Oca/Rigor/Perry/Percival Rojo
- Ma. Concepcion Araneta-Bocala a.k.a. Kata/Concha/Clara/Remi Estrella/Etang/Ling/Diwa/Martha;
- Dionesio Micabalo a.k.a. Dionisio Micabalo/Muling/Moling/ Cardo/Kardo/Carpo/ Bawang/Abu/Jeff;
- Myrna Sularte a.k.a. Myrna Solarte/Iyay/Imang/Emang/ Bingbing/Maria Malaya/Josie;
- 15. Tirso Lagora Alcantara a.k.a. Bart Sot/Flavio/Panginoon/Dave/ Shane Sangria;
- 16. Pedro Heyrona Codaste a.k.a. Gonyong/Koyoy/Inggo/Senyong/ Beryong/Resurrecion Osorio;
- 17. Tomas Dominado a.k.a. Pendong/Asyong/Greg/Tom/Noynoy;
- Ma. Loida Tuzo Magpatoc a.k.a. Eva/Ka Norsen/Bebyang/Byang/ Elay/Madam/Gwen/Adelaida Burias Tozo; and
- Menandro Villanueva a.k.a. Nelson/Boss/Dennis/Titing/Bok/Ka Luis/Book/Willy/Jude.

Forged Agreements



The Hague Joint Declaration, 1992

Since the peace negotiations resumed in 1992 under Pres. Fidel Ramos, the GRP and the NDFP have signed various agreements, the first was The Hague Joint Declaration signed in September 1, 1992.

Through The Hague Joint
Declaration, the GRP and the NDFP
agreed on "mutually acceptable
principles, including national
sovereignty, democracy and social
justice" as the framework in the
conduct of the peace negotiations. It
also outlined the sequence by which
the four substantive agenda should
be tackled: First is Human rights
and international humanitarian law;
second is Socio-economic reforms;
third is Political and constitutional
reforms; and, fourth is about the End
of hostilities and disposition of forces.

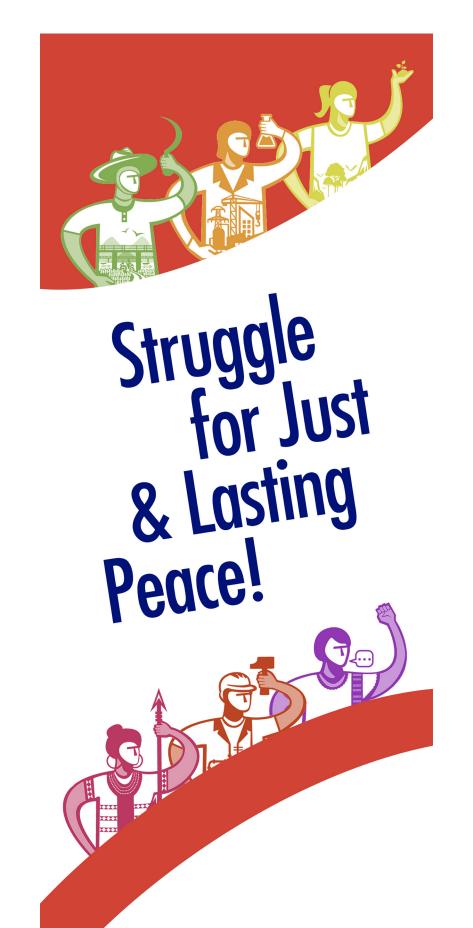
In 1998, the negotiations produced the first substantive agenda—the Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL)—signed by then Pres. Joseph Estrada. The landmark agreement is an acknowledgment of the need to apply principles of human rights and to adhere to international humanitarian law in the conduct of the armed conflict.

Also, CARHRIHL stipulated that until the armed conflict shall have been finally resolved, both parties "continue to assume separate duties and responsibilities for upholding, protecting and promoting human rights and the principles of international humanitarian law in accordance with their respective political principles, organizations and circumstances until they shall have reached final resolution of the armed conflict." A joint monitoring committee was established in 2004 to monitor the implementation of CARHRIHL and to receive complaints of human rights and humanitarian law violations.

Several other agreements were signed in between the signing of The Hague Joint Declaration and the CARHRIHL, mostly concerning the conduct of the peace negotiations and the safety and security of the participants of the talks.

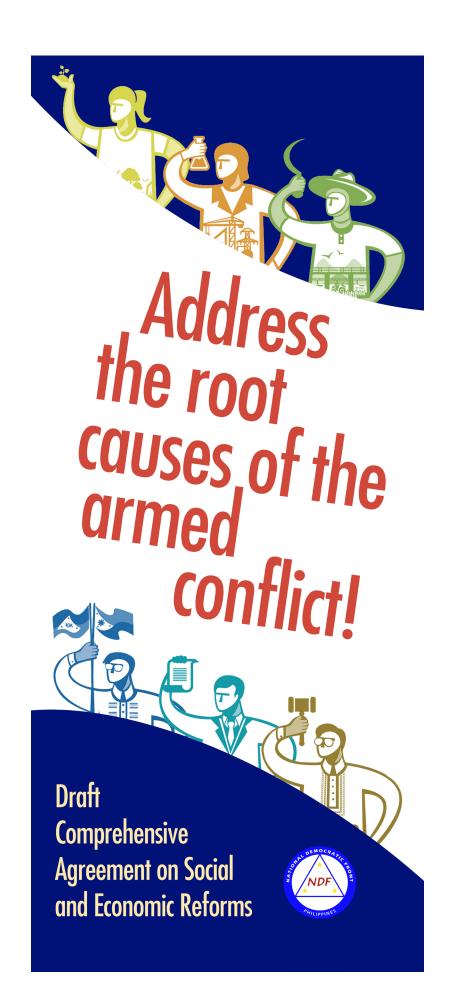
"It is a big waste for Duterte to throw away all that have been achieved in the prolonged and arduous peace negotiations, which has run on and off through the administrations of President Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and Benigno Aquino, Jr.," said Juliet de Lima.

Read: 10 major agreements between the GPH and NDFP



Social and Economic Reforms

Deemed as the meat of the peace negotiations, the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms (CASER) is the second substantive agenda in peace talks. CASER addresses the social and economic roots of the more than 50-year old armed conflict between the GRP and the NDFP.



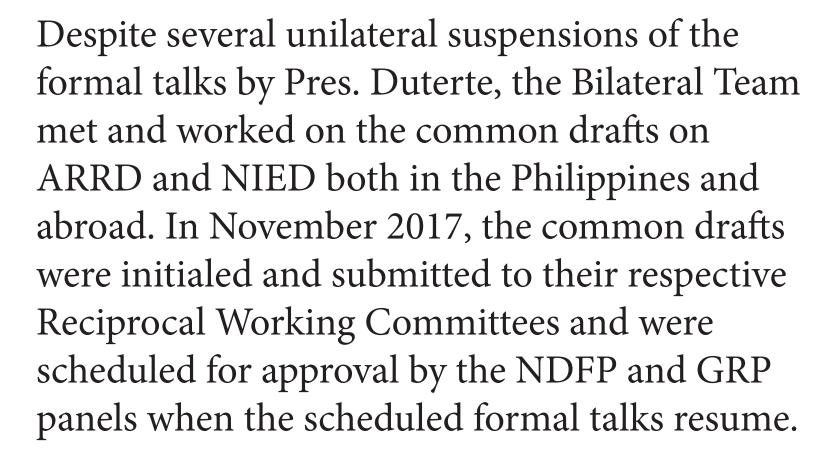
Immediately after the CARHRIHL was signed in 1998, the NDFP presented its first draft of the CASER to the GRP. Since then, it underwent three updates—in 2004, 2011 and in 2016—based on the consultations with the underground revolutionary mass organizations, organs of political power, the legal democratic movement, peace advocates and many other sectors in society desiring peace.

"The NDFP version of CASER is a clear and shining proof against the allegations of the real terrorists, Duterte and his ilk," said de Lima. Indeed. The NDFP's CASER is a product of decades of study of the Philippine society and the revolutionary practice in the countryside where revolutionary mass organizations and organs of political power operate and serve the masses.

For 13 years since CARHRIHL was signed, and through the regimes of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and Benigno Aquino III, the negotiations essentially did not make strides. Under the Arroyo government, the peace talks only went as far as CASER's Preamble and the Declaration of Principles. No substantive talks happened under Aquino III administration.



It was during the first year of the Duterte regime (2016 to early 2017) that the peace talks made headway on CASER, through the GRP-NDFP Reciprocal Committee and its working committees. A Bilateral Team was also convened to specifically work on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ARRD) and National Industrialization and Economic Development (NIED), the two most significant, but also the most contentious items, in the CASER.



But the off-on formal negotiation was eventually terminated, unilaterally, by Pres. Duterte.



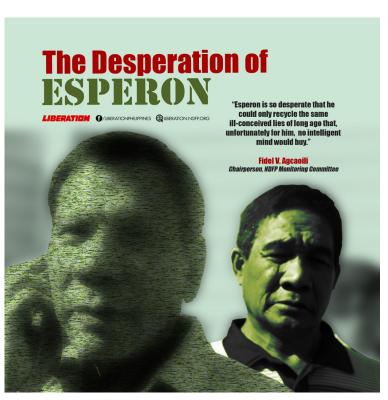
NDFP's Draft:

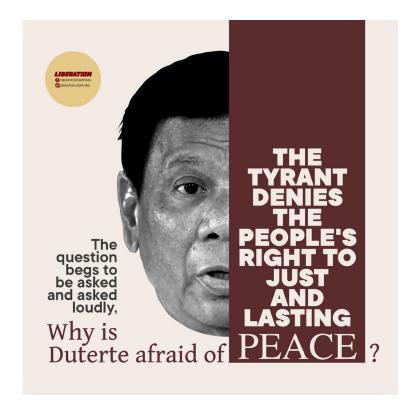
Comprehensive
Agreement
on Social and
Economic
Reforms



Signed Drafts Under CASER, Wasted Opportunities for Achieving Prosperity and Peace







In principle, the GRP-NDFP drafts recognized genuine agrarian reform—the free land distribution to all farmers, agricultural and farm workers, and fisherfolk—as a means to achieve social justice. It also upheld the right of the national minorities to their ancestral lands and territories. Alongside agrarian reform, rural industrialization shall be undertaken to develop agricultural production, traditional food processing, non-food rural industries, and manufacturing of agricultural inputs.

The NIED common draft acknowledged the need for national industrialization to eliminate poverty and to realize the full economic development for the country. It means the development of the country's capacity to produce industrial and consumer goods using local available raw materials primarily to meet the immediate and basic needs of the people. This means breaking free from the country's export-oriented and import-dependent economic orientation that would eliminate poverty and propel genuine development for the benefit of the people, especially the marginalized.

The peace talks starting the second quarter of 2017 became off and on (May, October, and November 2017; March, April, May and June 2018) as Duterte began to accede to the militarists in his cabinet led by former generals Hermogenes Esperon and Eduardo Año, National Security adviser and Local government secretary, respectively. Both generals wanted a ceasefire agreement before tackling the CASER, which the NDFP expectedly rejected as it infringed on previous agreements, specifically the sequence of agenda of the negotiations.



De Lima said it's understandable the two retired generals would prevent the talks of the CASER from being more widely known. "The NDFP's draft CASER clearly and emphatically shows what the revolutionary forces are fighting for—an economy that genuinely serves the people instead of just foreign and domestic elites."

To push the talks forward, the two panels reached a compromise: they signed an Interim Joint Ceasefire agreement, a proposed amnesty proclamation for political prisoners, and an Interim Peace Agreement (IPA) that included the draft accords. However, the Esperon-Año tandem was relentless in attacking CASER, including the GRP-NDFP common drafts, setting aside the last ditch effort to save the peace talks that could have instituted reforms for the benefit of the masses.



How the ATC slanders revolutionaries, throws away gains in peace talks



Duterte's War Path and the "Anti-Terrorism" Council

Despite the strides made in drafting the CASER, it became apparent by the second half of 2017 that Pres. Duterte was more interested in pursuing an all-out war against the CPP and NPA rather than continuing with the peace negotiations. A series of executive orders and proclamation was issued by Pres. Duterte, all laying down the ground for the termination of the peace negotiations and his fascist rule.

"Duterte pretended to be for peace negotiations for a short while in 2016 and early 2017 while he was maliciously on the way of carrying an all-out war and sabotaging the peace negotiations," De Lima said.

In November 2017, Pres.
Duterte issued Proclamation
360 formally and unilaterally
terminating the peace

negotiations with the NDFP followed by Proclamation 374 designating the CPP and NPA as "terrorist" organization in December 2017. In November 2018, Pres. Duterte ordered the deployment of more troops in regions and provinces considered as hotbeds of the revolutionary movement: Negros, Bicol, and Samar. The following month, the nefarious National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC) was created.

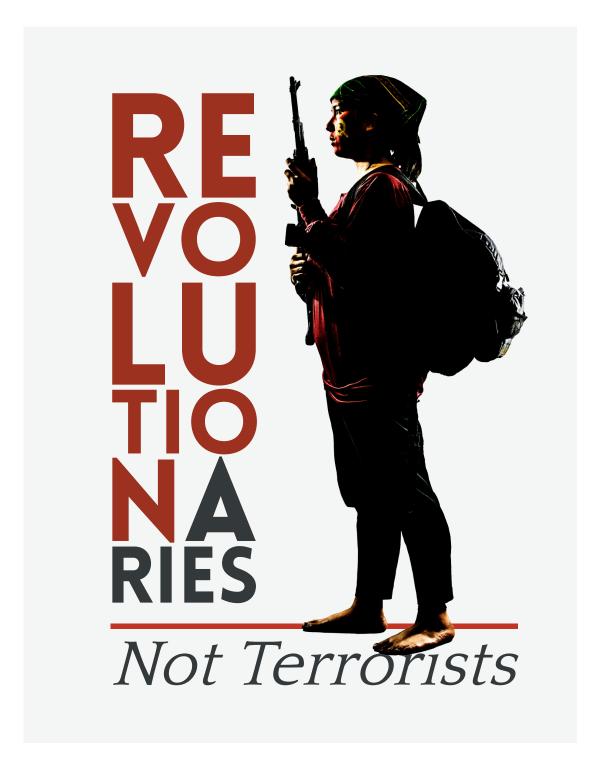
As Pres. Duterte boasted he could destroy the CPP and NPA in 2018 or middle of 2019, there was a marked increase in the already high number of killings and warrantless arrests and illegal detention of those considered members or supporters of the revolutionary movement, social activists, and even the NDFP peace consultants.

Those murdered were: Randy
Malayao, Randall Echanis, couple
Agaton Topacio and Eugenia
Magpantay, couple Antonio
Cabanatan and Florenda Yap,
Reynaldo Bocala, and Rustico
Tan. Trumped up and oftentimes
ridiculous cases were used to
jail NDFP consultants such as
Vicente Ladlad, Adelberto Silva,
Rey Casambre, Renante Gamara,
Ferdinand Castillo, among others.
All these preceded the designation
of the NDFP as "terrorist."

The killings and arbitrary detention illustrated how "terrorism" has been used against political dissenters and revolutionaries. The ATC and its source of mandate, the "Anti-Terrorism Law," is a legalized form of tyranny and a tool of oppression against the masses desiring for meaningful change and just peace.

The ATC "terrorist" designation of the NDFP was baseless and an injustice to what the Filipino masses are demanding and fighting for—national and social liberation.

How the GRP arbitrarily squandered the gains of the peace negotiations only showed its limits and validated the need for armed struggle to address the centuries-old landlessness, underdevelopment, and poverty.



Duterte's Murderous

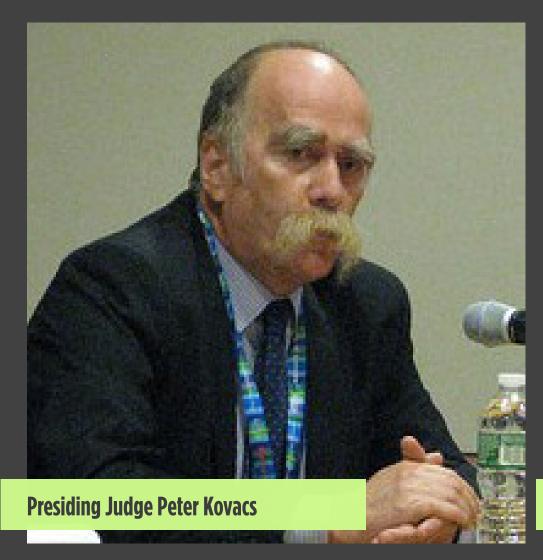
PRUG MAR is anti-poor

by Pat Gambao and Pinky Ang

he announcement of the International Criminal Court (ICC) pre-trial chamber on September 15, 2021 to open the crucial investigation into the Philippines' "war on drugs" is an indictment of the murderous Duterte regime. It is a step towards achieving justice for the victims and their families, the human rights community, and the Filipino people in general.



International Criminal Court







Signed by Presiding Judge Peter Kovacs, Judges Reine Adelaide Sophie Alapini-Gansou, and Judge Maria del Socorro Flores Liera, the decision is a decisive stage where summons and arrest warrants can be issued if Prosecutor Krim Khan asked for them. The cases to be investigated are those carried out between November 1, 2011 and March 16, 2019 under the administration of Rodrigo Duterte as Davao mayor, and vice mayor and as Philippine president.

The pre-trial chamber noted the representations submitted by the victims. The National Union of Peoples' Lawyers (NUPL) and Rise Up for Life and for Rights, an organization of advocates and victims, ensured the submission

of representation forms of victims across the country. According to them, the report "affirms the harrowing toll on those left behind—from economic displacement, psychological and emotional trauma, social stigma." The Duterte drug war is a war against the poor.

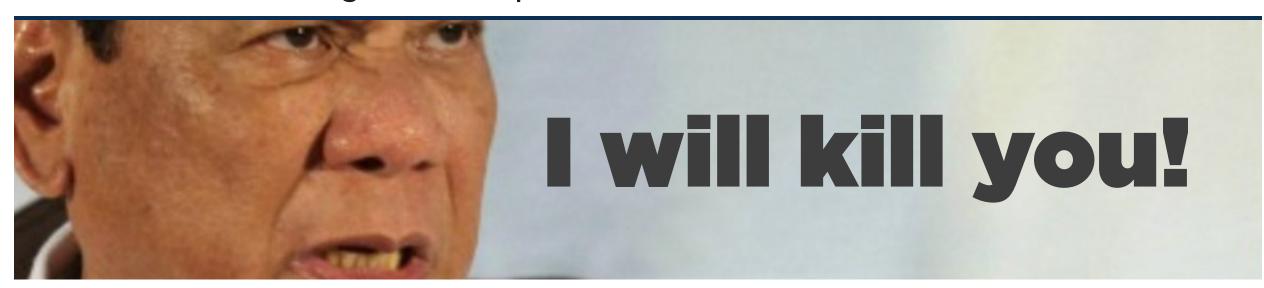
Families of the victims sought legal redress from the ICC because of the local courts' failure to effectively address the cases. The Rome Statute established the ICC in 2002 as a "Court of Last Resort." It is tasked to investigate and try individuals charged with "genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and the crime of aggression." Its mandate includes the order to arrest and detain heads of states who committed heinous crimes.

Desperate to elude accountability to his crimes, Pres. Duterte withdrew the Philippine membership from the ICC in March 2018. But it did not help him escape from its probe. Even the Supreme Court ruled Duterte cannot invoke the withdrawal from the Rome Statute to evade the ICC investigation because such withdrawal "does not discharge a state party from the obligations as member." Thus, all acts committed by Duterte and other public officials in relation to the "war on drugs" up to March 17, 2019 were still within the ICC jurisdiction; and even after the withdrawal, the state party is obliged to cooperate with the probe.

But more than his panic of the ICC investigation, Duterte and his gang is afraid of the people's wrath not only for his murderous "drug war" but also his criminal negligence in the handling of the Covid-19 pandemic, bribery and corruption, its total war and human rights violations, and the sell-out of the country's sovereignty. Pres. Duterte and his cohorts continue to maneuver to prolong their stay in power through the rigging of the 2022 elections and/or the declaration of martial law.

As Prof. Jose Ma. Sison, chief political consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, said in a statement, "His (Duterte's) overriding concern is to prevent the election of a new president that would allow his arrest and trial by the International Criminal Court for the grave human rights violations that he has committed..." (Read: https://philippinerevolution.nu/statements/crucial-months-of-decision-for-duterte/)

In another statement, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines-Eastern Visayas outlined why Duterte and his minions is bound to fail, saying Duterte's ilk also "inadvertently show themselves stupid by playing up the "specter" of communism to defend Duterte against widespread public condemnation." (Read: https://cpp.ph/statements/intl-indictment-of-dutertes-drug-war-one-of-the-reasons-why-his-criminal-regime-treads-the-path-of-defeat/



In pursuit of profits from and control of the drug trade

Pres. Duterte's drug war did not make a dent on the problem of drug use and trade in the Philippines. On the contrary, it has created bigger problems of impunity and mounting extrajudicial killings, mostly victimizing the poor. Based on previous revelations during public investigations like the 'ninja cops,' (the members of the police who were involved in the resale of drugs seized in operations) the drug war has only entrenched Duterte's clique as the country's foremost protector of drug lords.

Even to this day when his administration has garnered global coverage and concern for its bloody but failing drug war, there is no let up to Pres. Duterte's murderous war on drugs. It is clear by now that, in the first place, it did not really mean to eradicate the trade in legal or illegal drugs. It aimed more to captivate an unsuspecting public with his braggadocio. (He vowed to do it in six months. He later admitted it cannot be done in such timeframe). He puffed himself up with tough talk and murderous spiels: "Do not destroy my country because I will kill you. Do not destroy the young people of this country because I will kill you." Duterte attempted to woo the electorate earlier when he

expressed desire to run as vice president in the 2022 supposedly to continue his crusade against drugs. But, his bluster shrouded a sinister scheme.

With less than a year of presidency and thousands of unjust deaths under his watch, the persistent reports about coddling (or freeing of) the few apprehended or convicted drug lords and, more worryingly, the reports of drugs still proliferating in the country, showed that the Duterte regime has actually allowed the international syndicates to ply their drug business in the country. As Prof. Jose Maria Sison put it, the drug menace will not end for as long as "the supreme protector of drug lords remains in power."



The supreme protector of drug lords remains in power.

Drug war all theatrics, big fish untouchables

The campaign against drugs was just a ploy to allow those in power to take over the drug trade, observed Prof. Sison. Indeed, the underworld narcotics industry had been aggravated "for the benefit of criminals in power." Duterte has emboldened the state forces to maintain and flaunt impunity.

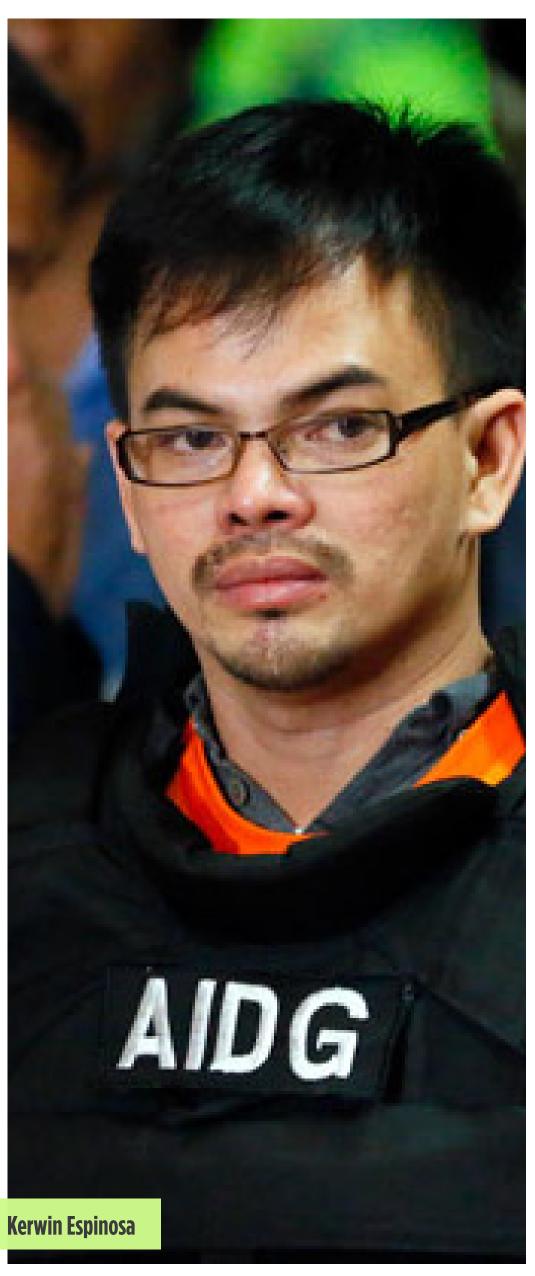
Forget the laws on human rights, Duterte told the police force that he gave license to kill any suspected drug lords, users, and pushers. He emboldened them with his brag: "I assume full responsibility."

Yet, drug lords are unscathed in the savage "war on drugs" where close to 30,000 have been killed, mostly small fries from the wretched poor—street pushers, users, some mere bystanders or suspected. The most notorious and relative big fishes were set free or untouched.

The cases of Kerwin Espinosa and Peter Lim, reported as big fish in the drug trade, were dismissed for insufficient evidence. The investigating body from the Philippine National Police-Criminal Investigation and Detection Group (PNP-CIDG) failed to submit to the prosecutors transcripts of the Senate hearings, where Espinosa explicitly admitted his involvement in drugs.

Despite Duterte's "war on drugs," tons of shabu have been smuggled in the country. But, retired military officers appointed by Duterte to executive agencies who were embroiled in drug smuggling at the Bureau of Customs (BOC) were removed from their posts only to be "recycled" to other "juicy positions" in government.







Nicanor Faeldon

was appointed director general of the Bureau of Corrections after he was dragged into the Php 6.4 billion shabu smuggling scandal when he was Customs chief. Later, Faeldon was sacked after at least four jailed Chinese drug lords were released through the Good Time Conduct Allowance (GTCA).





Isidro Lapeña

who was implicated in the Php 11 billion shabu shipment contained in six magnetic lifters, was transferred to head the Technical Education and Skills Development (TESDA).





Allen Capuyan

former assistant manager at the Manila International Airport (MIA) who gave the tariff codes to exempt scrutiny of the Php 6.4 billion shabu shipment, was appointed head of the National Commission for Indigenous People (NCIP) and at the same time Executive Director of the national secretariat of the nefarious National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC).















Oscar Albayalde

implicated in the 2013 drug pilferage case involving 13 cops aka "ninja cops" worth Php 648 million. When the case was reinvestigated in 2019, the embattled PNP chief went on leave three weeks before his scheduled retirement in November 2019 which was approved by Pres. Duterte and Department of Interior

and Local Government chief Eduardo Año. Earlier in 2014, Albayalde was placed on a floating status after the "ninja cop" incident but through the strong recommendation by former PNP Chief and now Senator Ronald Bato, Pres. appointed Albayalde to replace Ronald "Bato" de la Rosa as PNP chief.

These officials comprise a sampling of the personalities in Duterte's circle who were implicated with drug cases and/or linked with drug syndicates.

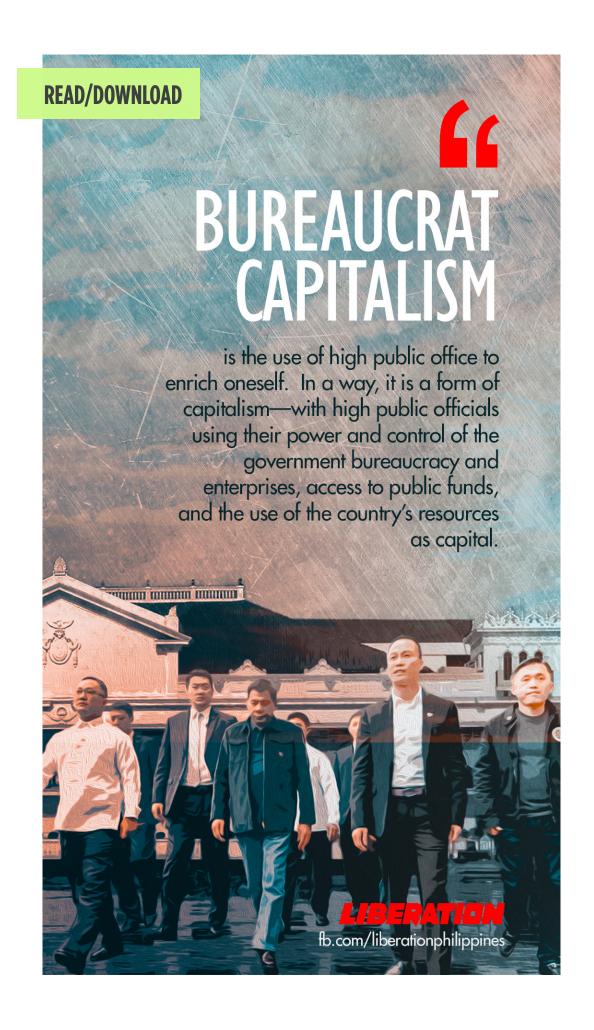
Assessing the situation, Prof. Jose Maria Sison said, "The exposed criminality and corruption of police officers are a manifestation of the corrupt, rotten and mendacious character of the Duterte regime."

Drug lords are unscathed in the savage "war on drugs"

Bureaucrat capitalism breeds criminal activities

Currently, Pres. Duterte is the chief bureaucrat capitalist in the semicolonial, semifeudal Philippines. With his minions, they use high position in public office and their power and control of the government bureaucracy for their own aggrandizement and that of their families, friends, and allies. They are in the reactionary government to preserve the oppressive and exploitative system of their masters—the imperialists, the landlords and big bourgeois capitalists.

Aside from corruption and plunder, puppetry and treachery, the use of fascism that characterize bureaucrat capitalism, bureaucrat capitalists like Duterte also engaged in illegal and criminal activities such as drug trade, gambling, and smuggling—directly or as protectors. Pres. Duterte, the NDFP-Eastern Visayas said, "has made a private army out of the AFP-PNP to kill and intimidate his critics, and to eliminate his family's rivals to monopoly of the illegal drug trade."



As things stand now, victory in the anti-drug campaign is just a dream for the Filipino masses who want safer lives, no drugs, no pushers, and no protectors in government. Duterte's sham of a drug war is, without doubt, an ongoing nightmare for the poor.

"By turning himself into an international pariah, Duterte is becoming all the more isolated and the Filipino people have more than enough reasons to fight his regime. Duterte's schemes to remain in power will certainly fail," said the NDFP-Eastern Visayas.



Smashing the puppet government to wean the country away from chronic crisis

As the Duterte regime inches close to its ignominious end, its treacherous "war on drugs" is one of the biggest nails in the coffin of the Philippine puppet government. It exposed to the people the sham, scum "leaders" who took advantage of them and the country's problems in many detestable ways.

The "war on drugs" is a double-edged sword for the likes of the Duterte regime: it is benefitting the ilk of the current chief bureaucrat capitalist, but in its brash "kill, kill, kill" operations while it tried to deceive the people about its true self-serving aims, it only exposed the rottenness of the puppet government. The people will not always put up with such

treacherous governments
who make use of the crisis its
minions helped to foster to
aggrandize itself. The people
can see and will bolster
the national democratic
revolutionary movement that
genuinely seeks to resolve
not just the drug problem but
all the root causes of people's
poverty and recurring crises.

The people long for revolutionary change that will not be achieved by mere changing of puppets in Malacanañg every six years. Together with the revolutionary forces, the people will soon realize this and put in place a society that is just, democratic, and compassionate to the Filipino people, especially the poor and oppressed.



by Vida Gracias

power" and nations are caught with their defenses down.

There is hardly a nation today that has not succumbed or been influenced or swayed by imperialism's "soft power." Achieved through persuasion rather than coercion, the culture here plays an important role. From the imperialist shores of the United States to various continents of the world, from metropolitan centers to agricultural societies, from white people to people of color, imperialism, without flexing its muscle, is setting the world's everyday taste in music, film, television, food, fashion, beauty, lifestyle, etc., in scales unheard of.

With digital technology, imperialism's cultural offensive has grown more massive it has broken down geographical barriers without using force or threats. Following a world of borderless economy, imperialism, true to its capitalist drive, has been trendspotting for a culture that sells in the race for new markets and global profit. It may be a culture pushed, acquired, appropriated, shaped, or adopted from any part of the world—the indigenous communities of Asia, the tribes of Africa, the legends of the West, the rich history of the East—so long as it brings enormous returns

the source of culture becomes immaterial. What matters is a culture that can be turned into global merchandise and shorn of threats to imperialist hegemony.

Today the imperialist US still leads the rest of imperialist headquarters in establishing its global cultural influence. Its music, fashion, lifestyle, and way of thinking run amok at influencing trends in other countries while engaged in a friendly competition with fellow G7 rival imperialists. After all, their mindsets and way of doing business are the same. They commodify culture for profits and took pains to exercise social control.



Such also is the case of Hallyu, or the "Korean wave", which in recent years saw its meteoric rise in Asia including the Philippines and other parts of the world. A boon to South Korea's capitalist class, Hallyu has also become for imperialism, primarily the US, a profitable weapon to help maintain its dominance in the world. On the other hand, Hallyu's worldwide success has been largely dependent on the global infrastructure of South Korea's imperialist partners. Behind Hallyu's glory is an intricate international network where business and culture converge to capture hearts and minds and, ultimately their pockets.



As South Korea emerges to become the world's 11th industrial nation, it became known for its cars, shipping, electronic products such as cellphones, food, big brand names such as Hyundai, Samsung, LG, and Lotte. With the US as a defense "partner," South Korea has been perpetually at war against North Korea. And so, aside from hosting US military bases, it also has its share of arms or "defense" technology and unremitting propaganda against a non-capitalist way of doing things. Much like its being a "partner" of imperialist US in big business, it also plays a key role in the proxy war led by the US against states that refuse to bend to imperialist hegemony. South Korea is on a war footing, it even requires its youth to render military service for some period when they come of age.



a part of Asian) singing and dancing

like in American MTVs.



Their music and flashy dance moves take after Black music that critics said the American music industry also appropriated, for example, rap and hip-hop. American soldiers stationed in US bases in South Korea also contributed to introducing hip-hop to the local scene. (The same thing was happening in the bars and clubs in the cities of Olongapo and Angeles which also hosted US military bases in the Philippines.) The British and US boybands also came ahead of the K-pop idols.

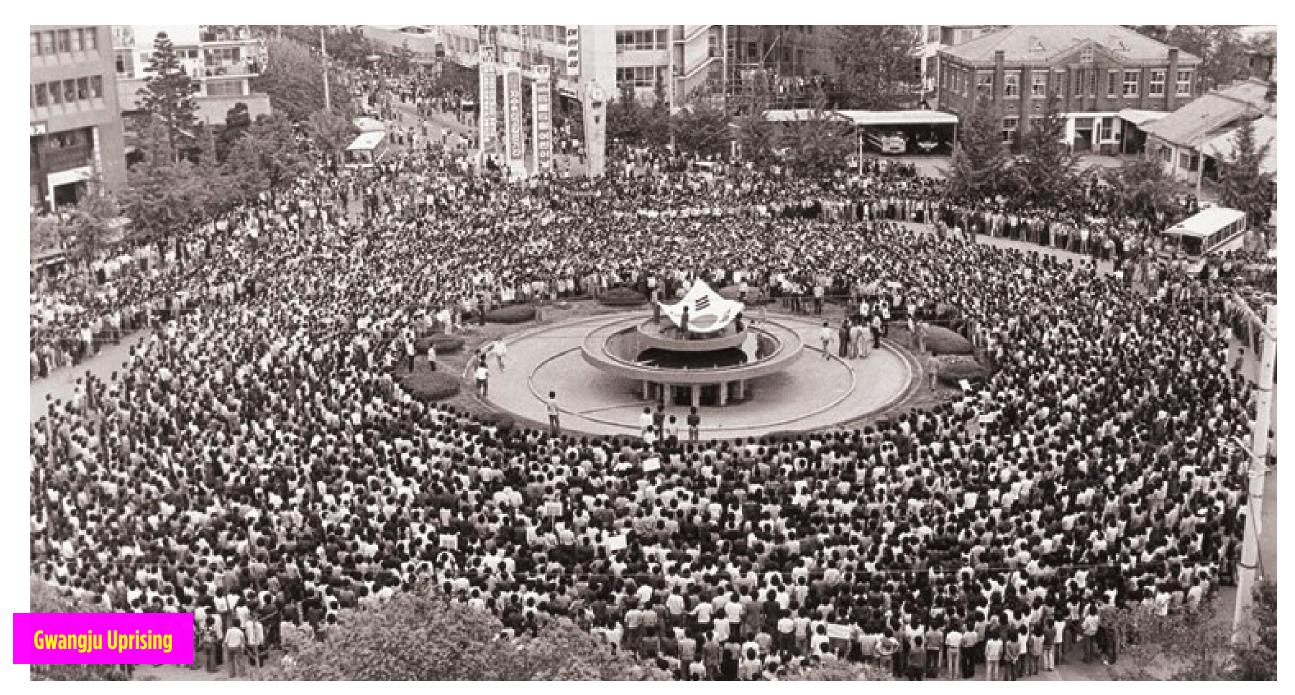
The popularity of karaoke, walkmans, and musicfests, later MTVs, allowed K-pop to develop its art form by fusing music and dance. The sound was Western but catering also to local sensibilities. The only difference, perhaps, is the idol system, which was developed to not just draw fans (consumers) to music and performances, but also to personalities that are carefully managed or protected by content creators. The idols were turned into role models. They are usually young, filial, and paragons of virtues—sporting genteel demeanor and clean-cut features that blended the beauty standards of the East and the West—quite a contrast to the rebellious youth. Thus, they are particularly appealing to the upper and middle classes, suburban youths, and their parents.

Carving such an image insidiously contrasted with rebellious youths that figured in the 80s and 90s and onward to the millennium, in a string of people power revolts in many countries including South Korea. Most known in South Korea is the Gwangju uprising, an armed rebellion of citizens against soldiers and police of the authoritarian government.

Pro-democracy movements would erupt now and then not just in South Korea but also in other countries like the Philippines, Thailand, China, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Myanmar, etc. The youths came forward to battle dictatorships, coup d'etat, corruption as well as economic or financial crises fueled by imperialist globalization. Voices were calling for reforms or revolution.

Then, beyond 2000, came the Arab Spring of anti-government protests and rebellions that spread across the Arab World. The IMF-World Bank and the World Trade Organization also came under heavy fire as the youths in Europe and the Americas stormed or occupied the streets, blocked corporate offices, or shut down government operations. Not a few nation's economies were on the verge of collapse rising unemployment, lost jobs, debt crisis were becoming unbearable; and so were racism and environment degradation.

Much like how US imperialism has molded Hollywood and mass media to deliver its key messaging, it has seen in K-pop and K-drama another way to



distract the people from the realities of social inequality, economic disparities, and the claws of US imperialism itself. Terror and repression alone have never stopped the youth from expressing themselves and aiming for social change. But the dominant culture can change their perspective and behavior. And so in the digitized world where music and entertainment are more easily accessible across time, place, or space, imperialism has found another weapon of mass destruction. Ideals were manipulated. Hero worship was turned into idols, dreams into stardom, organizing into fandoms, and

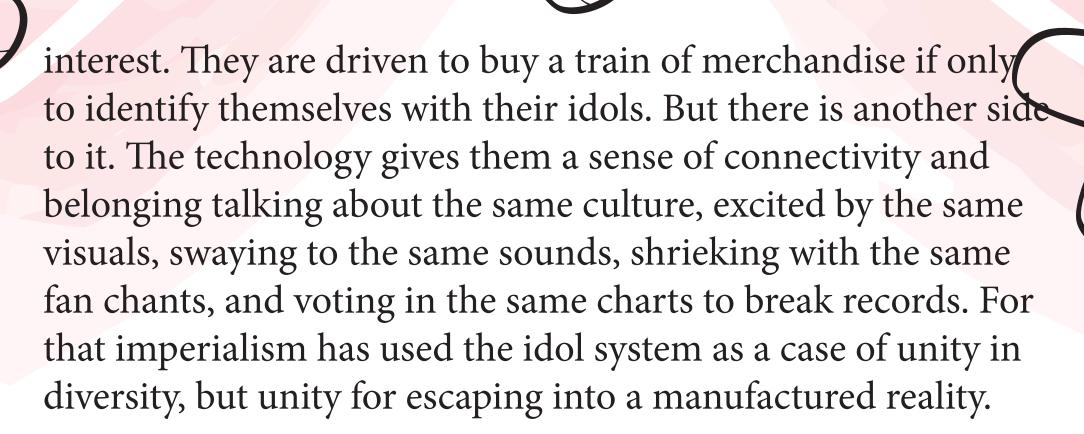
battlegrounds into music charts and audience share.

The youth's attention, energy, and resources were channeled away from social causes into an idealized world of escapism and endless entertainment. Even the few relatively brave cultural products that showcased Korean heroism subtly evaded the bigger enemies that are led by the US imperialists. The K-pop intelligently sells aspects of Korean history, yet, note that despite being under the US imperialist, it hardly has cultural products questioning or even depicting US imperialist hand in their country, and how it divides not just Korea but the rest of

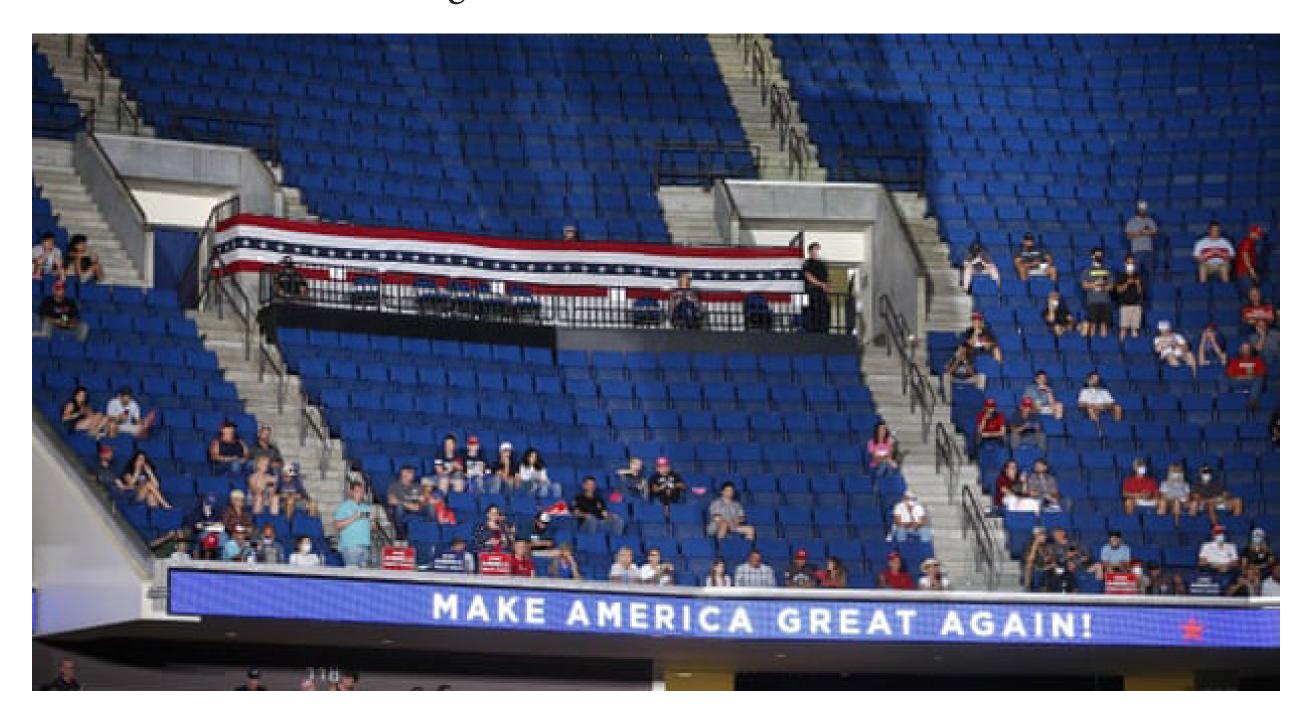
the world between socalled rogue states and "allies" in democracy.

The K-pop industry releases a constant stream of content around idols that hooked their audience, and somehow kept them captive. This is to indulge or keep the fans engaged. It becomes less now about the idols' artistry or music than it is about their personalities. The fans are glued to what their idols eat, their pets, their quirks, habits, preferences, even the names of their family members. They are so invested in their idols' lives that they lose sight of their selves. Anything and everything becomes a consumer

Weapons of mass seduction



At some point, K-pop fans do get into civic, humanitarian, charity, volunteer, or self-help programs in the name of their idols or their anniversaries. What imperialism most fear, however, is for these fandoms to turn political. For example, in the Black Lives Matter movement, K-pop fans stood against racism and police brutality and flooded, downed or hacked internet sites of government and police stations with the memes and fancams of their idols. Such tactic was also used by K-pop fans to help disrupt and cause a low turnout in Trump's rally. These actions, though, are still few and far in between.



Who gains more:

Parasite's multi-level foodchain

On the economic side, the profits are staggering. People have raved about the \$4.5 billion contribution of BTS, currently the world's most popular boyband, to the Korean economy. But that is nothing like what the world's recording companies and streaming platforms earn from BTS music. The global phenomenon that is BTS is under the direction and control largely of the American music industry, which earned more than what BTS could probably imagine. Superstardom came only after the BTS Company BigHit made deals with the American giant recording industry, which took charge of BTS global distribution and marketing.





According to the Nielsen Sound Scan report of 2011, the world's music recording industry is controlled by four players: Universal, Sony, Warner, and EMI Group. These four also control the world's airwaves and dominate the music played in radio stations through payola (pay-for-play). While illegal, it is a "standard" practice. Sony alone owns the largest music catalog in the world. So the music heard on the radio is orchestrated by record labels and fed or forced on listeners, no matter if it's junk. The industry's network is unbelievably spread out into myriad offices, branches or subsidiaries all over the globe including the Philippines. The last three English songs of BTS were released internationally under Columbia Records, which is a subsidiary of Sony Music, and never left the charts. Recently BTS shifted to Universal for a better deal but has also reached out to other music conglomerates.

The website IFPI reported that in 2019, the global recording

industry generated \$20.2 billion in wholesale revenues, \$21.6 billion in 2020, and is projected to earn \$25.7 billion in 2021. While the global recording industry is doing astonishingly well, Youtube, the world's largest video platform and acquired by Google, is reportedly eclipsing the recording industry in advertising revenues alone in the amount of U\$ 29 to U\$ 32 billion in 2021. BTS and other K-pop idols have generated billions of views for Youtube. It also has a local office in the Philippines along with the local offices of music streaming platforms Spotify and iTunes.

Simply unmatched is the power of these companies, with the US on the lead, to reach out to global audiences and rake in millions of profits. It can allegedly manipulate even the views and global charts to the point of keeping fan bases as a smokescreen. No wonder the dominance of K-pop. "World domination," indeed, under the auspices of US imperialism.

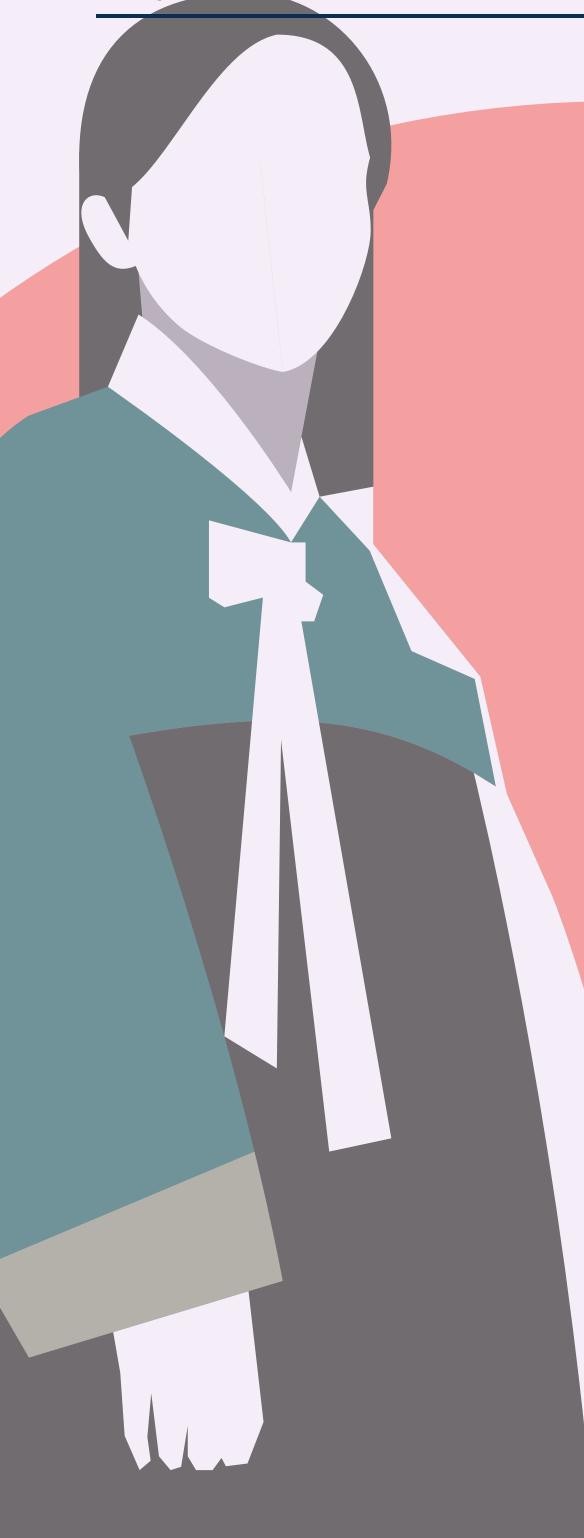


Also interfering in the choice, production, and message of songs is nothing new to recording giants who are working on the premise of what sells. Except when they go independent or own major shares in their company, artists lose their creative freedom and they become simply performers. Earlier, some BTS songs had touched on or hinted about social issues but their latter songs were depleted of substance. Where before they were fully involved in writing their songs, BTS has now

a retinue of English songwriters hired to come up with hit after hit for BTS.

It is a sad truth for all K-pop idols that in the end they are no longer treated as artists but as a product, a brand, or merchandise. A large part of their companies' revenues does not come from the sale of their songs but from product endorsements and all sorts of merchandise around their image as idols that fans eagerly buy.





K-drama and global investors

Meanwhile, TV drama series called K-drama has also attracted global investors as its popularity grew even more among female millennials. It also has a crossgenerational appeal with both men and women. Available on various streaming services, it is viewed in many countries and translated into multiple languages. Again, nothing gets to the global audience without a little help from big foreign capitalists who make a killing in this business. And with the US dominating the internet, there is no way anti-imperialist US sentiments can flourish in K-drama.

K-drama is designed for bingewatching with cliff-hangers ensuring audience following. Production is all-year-round, wideranging. These are richly awarded by domestic capitalists and the government to capture audiences and promote Korean products and tourism. Viewers spend an average of 54 hours per month, said DramaFever, a streaming site. The number of hours shot up during the COVID-19 pandemic. Such a mighty distraction from the world's ills, hence Hallyu saved a lot of the ruling elites from attention and fury at their neglect, inefficiency, corruption.

Normally views are monetized through ads and paid subscriptions. But giants like Netflix and Disney+ went beyond streaming. They upscaled their game by producing original films that doubled or tripled their profits. Squid Game, the most viewed series by Netflix and watched by 111 million households around the world, cost only \$24.1 million in production but already earned \$891 million for Netflix.

The world would not have known K-drama had not streaming platforms like Netflix and Youtube helped to bring them to global audiences. Before this, South Korea had a domestic market that was too small and already crowded. A limited number of national broadcasters controlled South Korea's TV industry. But they were

eclipsed when the global streaming platforms came in, not just to market or distribute K-drama, but to provide financing for productions and target the international market. Hence local producers are up in arms as the streaming giants competed and set up their own local offices when K-drama was fast becoming popular in South Korea and parts of Asia.

K-drama has its share of large audiences that have long existed and are targeted to buy anything K-drama endorses. It was from the series that people learned to cook and eat South Korean cuisine, formed fan bases around Korean stars; dreamed of traveling to Korea and learning its history and language, etc. And as K-drama content went global and shot scenes in

other countries, so did their reach and revenues. The cultural offensive has paved the way for Korean businesses to prosper globally.

Many have argued that not everything is lost in K-drama or Korean movies. Some bared the cracks and weaknesses of the capitalist system. These are the works of a few progressive or woke artists who persisted to defend their politics and craft. Some outstanding works have helped viewers reflect on current political and social conditions, though rarely inspiring people to action. In the movie Parasite, for example, the causes of poverty and inequality are hardly exposed and targeted, though lamented in an Oscar awardwinning way. In the end, it is the poor and the worst victims who slugged it out and lost against each other.





Others would turn to K-drama to relieve them of temporary anxiety, to de-stress as they say, and thus, they come to it, as they do with other cultural products, with suspended disbelief. If one didn't park his or her intelligence to watch and enjoy the likes of K-drama, no one would realize that however riveting it was, it still reflects the ruling class system and a purveyor of its values promoting consumerism and individualism, on one hand, and romanticism or idealism, on the other hand. Class struggle as a recurring theme is usually brought down to the personal level devoid of collective or mass struggle. If at all, conflicts are resolved towards class reconciliation or compromises, passivity, exile, defeatism, denial, surrender, and, death or suicide. The braver ones resolve conflict through open struggle but in the whole output, the enemy can only be the likes of the Japanese who colonized Korea last World War II and its local collaborators. The ruling classes of South Korea are considered as US imperialist's junior partner.

The most insidious attack is reserved for North Korea as depicted in another popular series "Crash Landing on You." Wrapped in a romantic comedy, the story took potshots at socialism by showing the technological advances of the capitalist system in the South over the seeming backward socialism in the North. It also depicted the masses in the North as either hardboiled, drab, stupid, trivial, simpletons or sentimental fools. It pictured the military and the bureaucratic elite as corrupt, the thriving black market of far superior South Korean goods, and the ordinary soldiers pining and dreaming about the South. In short, it's telling audiences that socialism is dead or a failure.

To penetrate the North's defenses, South Korea has taken to flying hot-air balloons over to the North its CDs or USB drives

containing K-drama and K-pop. Also, the trade between North Korea and China has opened the door wider to the smuggling of the same. Nationals of North Korea who have studied or traveled abroad and have been exposed to Western culture are said to bring home copies of K-drama and K-pop in secret. No wonder that state leader Kim Jong Un has called the invasion of South Korean pop culture a "vicious cancer" corrupting the country's youth and could make North Korea "crumble like a damp wall."

If that happens, it is the imperialist US, the global "police" for monopoly capitalism, who would laugh the loudest. Who knows how insidious the ultimate Parasite can be, that it can bankrupt you and make you feel sweet when it disarms you as it crash-landed on you over and over.



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