

Jose Ma. Sison

Detention and Defiance
against Dictatorship

Selected Writings, 1977 to 1986

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Author's Preface

Detention and Defiance against Dictatorship covers the period from my capture on November 10, 1977 to the fall of the Marcos fascist dictatorship on February 25, 1986. It contains my writings mostly under my real name and a few under some pseudonyms. The book provides an understanding of how my personal struggle and more importantly the people's struggle against the dictatorship proceeded and triumphed in this period.

When I was presented to Marcos on the day of my capture, he tried to flatter me by saying that he had avidly read my writings. Then, he offered national unity and reconciliation. I told him that it would be good if he considered the national and democratic rights of the people and I warned him that someday the US would regard him as more of a liability than as an asset. We engaged mostly in a debate for about thirty minutes.

The earliest writings I could pass on to my legal counsel from 1979 onwards during military commission hearings pertained to my capture, interrogations, physical torture (punching and water cure) and prolonged mental torture through solitary confinement and death threats from time to time.

The worst kind of torture that I suffered was solitary confinement which I had to endure for most of the years I was in prison. It lasted for more than five years, interrupted only when I was kept in partial isolation with my wife Julie in 1980-81 during which time she gave birth to our fourth child Jasm. My solitary confinement ended in 1985 when the Supreme Court finally ruled against it as a result of strenuous efforts by my counsel and the human rights mass movement.

While I suffered prolonged cruel and inhumane treatment in the hands of the fascist dictatorship, I kept high my revolutionary spirit on the basis of my previous knowledge of the successful line and real achievements of the people's revolutionary forces and new information that somehow reached me from various sources. After I gained access to more informative materials in 1979, I kept on studying and writing about the doomed direction of the autocratic regime and the losing course of the reactionary armed forces.

It is appropriate that this book begins with my statements regarding my detention, torture and the violation of my civil and political rights

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as well as my articles on the downward course of the Marcos dictatorship. Eventually, I would be able to hand over a wider variety of my writings through my counsel. After Julie was released from prison as a nursing mother in March 1982, I was able to devise more ways of smuggling my writings out of prison.

When Julie first read my speeches to public gatherings or published my articles in 1982 often under the auspices of the Free Jose Ma. Sison Committee, my military custodians menacingly pressed me to divulge how I was able to bring out my writings. But I refused and invoked my right to express myself. And they retaliated by preventing medical and dental treatment and the replenishment of supplies for my personal needs. Eventually, they stopped bothering me. I would find out later that they told their superiors that people outside of prison had written the articles and speeches in my name.

The mass movement against the dictatorship began to surge in 1978 after the dictatorship pretended to “democratize” itself by calling for elections to the sham parliament. Upon the advice of the US, Marcos allowed former Senator Benigno S. Aquino, Jr. to have his heart ailment treated in the US after two strokes in 1980. The financial crisis of 1981-1982 put an end to the easy foreign borrowing for public constructions and housekeeping operations of the reactionary government. But it seemed not to bother Marcos yet. He called for the sham presidential elections of 1981 and rigged his landslide victory over his handpicked opponent. He overconfidently boasted that he had consolidated his power and was irreplaceable.

The mass movement of patriotic and progressive forces surged to a higher and more sustained level upon the deterioration of economic and social conditions, especially after the assassination of Aquino in 1983. Marcos seemed to pay me no more attention, except sometime in 1985 when he sent Army commanding general Josephus Ramas to talk to me on his behalf to sow intrigue against the deceased Aquino and his followers. Marcos himself had previously tried to turn me against Aquino by intrigue when I was brought to him immediately after my capture in 1977. But I fended him off. And he did not take the risk of putting me in the same trumped-up murder charge with Aquino, Bernabe Buscayno and others.

Among my most important writings in prison were the poems subsequently published in 1986 in the book *Prison and Beyond—Selected Poems 1957-1983, Outline Study: Basic Principles of*

Marxism-Leninism in 1981, a digest of the writings of leading Filipino and foreign archaeologists and anthropologists about Philippine pre-history in 1982, my answers to a long series of questions in 1983 on the Philippine mode of production which countered those denying the semifeudal character of the Philippine social economy and my critique of the Right opportunist 1981 "New Katipunan" rewrite of the Program of the National Democratic Front.

Julie told me that comrades in the revolutionary movement were asking for my critique of certain erroneous currents deviating from the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. I am happy to this day that even while in prison I was able to wage ideological and political battles in order to combat wrong ideas, reinforce the Marxist-Leninist position in most of the 1980s and lay the ground for what could not yet be known and anticipated then, the Second Great Rectification Movement that would be launched in 1992.

I debunked the following currents that started in the early 1980s: 1) the subjectivist claim that Marcos had so industrialized and urbanised the Philippines that the country was no longer semifeudal but industrial capitalist; 2) the "Left" opportunist line that the armed revolution could win quick victory through urban insurrections and sheer vertical enlargement of NPA formations relying heavily on arms importations to the neglect of agrarian revolution and mass base building; and 3) the Right opportunist line of converting the NDF into the "New Katipunan," taking out working class leadership from the united front supposedly to draw more popular support, liquidating the Party and replacing it with the united front as the vanguard of the revolution.

I also contributed to discussions on how to build a democratic coalition government and on whether to boycott or participate in the 1984 and 1986 elections, especially in the latter when I stressed in written interviews that it was possible and useful to engage in revolutionary dual tactics by giving full play to the legal patriotic and progressive forces which were already resurgent and gaining strength rapidly.

In the long course of my detention, I was always delighted by reports of successful offensives by the people's armed resistance which I would hear from other political prisoners and from our lawyers during military commission hearings, from visitors and even from some of my guards who were becoming disgruntled with the Marcos regime. After Julie's release from prison in March 1982, I somehow gained a wide

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and deep knowledge of the nationwide advance of the revolutionary movement led by the CPP. The NPA was launching dramatic tactical offensives in various provinces of the country from year to year, contradicting the fascist regime's claims of decimating the forces of armed revolution.

After former Senator Benigno S. Aquino learned sometime in 1983 that the dictator Marcos was seriously afflicted by lupus erythematosus, he persuaded the US authorities to ensure the safety of his return and allow him to play a key role in a transition from dictatorship to "democracy." Thus, the US sent the Assistant State Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Paul Wolfovitch and the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the US House of Representatives Stephen Solarz to tell Marcos not to harm Aquino. Despite the strong US representations, Marcos and his ruling clique proceeded to have him assassinated upon arrival at the Manila international airport.

The assassination of Aquino on August 21, 1983 ignited an irrepressible wave of protest mass actions that led to the fall of Marcos on February 22 to 25, 1986. The growing mass actions were made possible by the powerful urban underground and rural-based people's war that the CPP had developed since 1969. The fear of the US, the Catholic Church and the ruling classes that the revolutionary mass movement could grow further to endanger the entire ruling system pushed them to decide the earliest possible fall of Marcos.

They agreed to weaken the autocratic regime first by pressing for a credible investigation of the Aquino assassination and encouraging independent publications and protest mass actions. Subsequently, Marcos would be compelled to call for the snap presidential elections of early February 1986 which he would win by his own devices and about which he would be accused of cheating. He would be deposed the way Duvalier had been in Haiti. While the mass protests surged from 1983 to 1986, I became well connected to the mass movement. I served as keynote speaker in the formation of several types of mass organizations and frequently one of the major speakers in the formation of broad alliances against the Marcos fascist dictatorship during the period.

You can read in this book my speeches such as those which Julie delivered in my behalf to gatherings of major mass organizations such as the Kilusang Mayo Uno, Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas, Gabriela, and League of Filipino Students and to such alliances as the

Justice for Aquino and Justice for All, Congress for the Restoration of Democracy (CORD), Kongreso ng Mamamayang Pilipino (Kompil), Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy (NAJFD) and the Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN). In what was the broadest alliance, KOMPIL, which included the most prominent anti-Marcos reactionaries, I was even elected as one of the 15 leaders qualified to replace Marcos in response to his claim and challenge that he was irreplaceable.

The aforesaid basic mass organizations and broad alliances were in the forefront of the mass movement to overthrow the Marcos fascist dictatorship. The concurrent resolves of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Catholic Church, the US, the anti-Marcos reactionary parties and the broad masses of the people spelled the doom of the autocratic regime. The US-controlled ruling system of big compradors and landlords and the reactionary armed forces and police remained intact due to the balance of forces and gave way to the pseudodemocratic regimes that began with that of the Aquino regime.

In a manner of speaking, what emerged as the Aquino ruling clique and other anti-Marcos reactionary groups, with the help of US and British psywar experts, the military intelligence services and some pseudo-progressive groups, grabbed the credit for the overthrow of Marcos even to the point of airbrushing from their narratives the long-term armed revolutionary movement from 1969 onwards and the resurgent legal mass movement of patriotic and progressive forces eventually spearheaded by BAYAN. In fact, the forces and people mustered by BAYAN at Edsa, before the presidential palace, in the seizure of Channel 4 and other government broadcast facilities, in provincial capitals and major towns were of great magnitude and consequence.

The only good turn that the Aquino ruling clique did as an act of gratitude to the patriotic and progressive forces that helped catapult her to the presidency of the reactionary government was to fulfil her promise of releasing the political prisoners from fascist detention. The exclusion of patriotic and progressive forces from the electoral campaign organization of Aquino and from sharing the bureaucratic fruit of the anti-fascist struggle was dictated to her by the US as early as November 1985 by Richard Holbrooke and the US Ambassador Stephen W. Bosworth, with Manila CIA station chief Norbert Garrett present.

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Under the baton of the US, the Aquino ruling clique pretended to be democratic in contrast to the autocratic Marcos regime. But it continued the servility of the reactionary state to US imperialism, the exploitative character of the social system, the corruption of government officials from top to bottom, cruelty to the working people and rampant human right violations. It preserved the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and instituted the neoliberal economic policy, thus ensuring the continuity of the armed revolutionary movement. Foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism continue to plague the Philippines. Thus, the Filipino people continue to wage the unfinished new democratic revolution. The revolutionary forces of the people, such as the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front, the mass organizations and the local organs of political power continue to gain strength and advance. And so do the legal patriotic and progressive forces of workers, peasants, women, youth, professionals and other social sectors.

Jose Maria Sison
Utrecht, The Netherlands
30 November 2013

My Ordeal and the Violation of Constitutional Rights

April 26, 1979

This statement was intended to be delivered before the Supreme Court on April 26, 1979; but the hearing scheduled for that date was postponed.

Most Honorable Court:

This statement presents the most essential facts of my detention experience as they pertain to the violation of certain constitutional rights, especially the right against self-discrimination and the right to the equal protection of the law. It updates my June 23, 1978 statement which reveals in detail how I was subjected to outright physical torture and how I continued to be subjected to mental and physical stress even after those days.

Not to be remiss in my duty to the people to defend not only myself but the democratic cause, I also have a long statement dated February 1, 1979 which deals comprehensively with fundamental and political issues pertinent to the political charges against me. In this statement, I point out among others the unjust redundancy of the charges of subversion and rebellion, the double jeopardy involved. But most importantly, I deal with the illegitimate foundation of the autocratic government and its military commissions and the falsity of such claims as that a Republic has been saved by a monarchy and a New Society has been built by the preservation and aggravation of the same semicolonial and semifeudal society.

To start with the presentation of facts. I was arrested together with my wife and three other persons on November 10, 1977 at Barrio Pagdalagan Norte, San Fernando, La Union. I was in transit to a study conference of democratic leaders on the subject of "The Fascist Dictatorship and the Democratic Movement." This is the first time that I state in the hearing of my captors the purpose of my presence where I was arrested.

I have no complaint about the manner of my arrest, except one important point. The arresting officers did not carry and did not show

Detention and Defiance against Dictatorship

any judicial warrant or even executive order specifying the persons and things to search for and seize, thus, they seized persons and things indiscriminately in gross violation of Section 3 of the Bill of Rights of the 1973 Constitution.

I personally take lightly the intimidatory acts and words of those who arrested me and I do not mind even the fact that I was pushed so hard into a vehicle that my eyeglasses were broken and destroyed at the risk of damage to my eyes and that my shins were gashed and bruised.

Soon after I was brought to the C-2 Office at Camp Crame, then Capt. Virgilio Saldajeno who introduced himself as a PC legal officer was asking me to make a written statement. I said firmly that I could not make any statement until I had a lawyer of my choice. My arrested companions and I jointly and separately asked for access to legal counsel and relatives.

I had the chance to meet and talk with quite a number of generals and Mr. Marcos no less soon after my arrest. I was tempted to think then that some civilized procedure would be applied on me and my companions and that our constitutional rights would be respected.

At some time past 11 p.m. of November 10, 1977, I was blindfolded and brought to what I would later find out after several months to be the Military Security Unit of the Philippine Army at Fort Bonifacio. I was pushed into a small, suffocating room with a boarded-up window.

On the succeeding two days, I was subjected to relays of interrogators who kept on asking who was supposed to be my successor in the Communist Party, besides other questions. I simply refused to answer any of the questions or parried them by citing my right to legal counsel or by drawing my interrogators into some political discussion. Among the interrogators was Capt. Saldajeno who came on November 11 and 12, 1977 to ask me repeatedly to make a written statement. I maintained as before that I would not make any statement without a lawyer of my choice.

Torture by Punches and Water Cure

Events took a very drastic turn between 8 and 9 p.m. on November 13, 1977. On the allegation that I was trying to escape, I was blindfolded with my own shirt and handcuffed behind my back by then Lt. Melchor Acosta, acting CO of the HHC of MSU (I came to know his

My Ordeal and the Violation of Constitutional Rights

real name only on June 23, 1978). After a while, another person came to subject me to barrages of fist blows on the chest and floating ribs.

My assailant, together with still another person, interrogated me on such questions as who are AFP officers connected with the CPP, the armed strength and disposition of the NPA, sources of funds, houses or barrios to which I would go in case of successful escape, and so on. I was given several blows for every question that was asked. It seemed that my assailant was never satisfied with my answers as he kept on hitting me. The punching session must have lasted for at least an hour.

I was subsequently chained to a cot by one hand and one foot, with the use of handcuffs. The room was dark when I removed the blindfold with my free hand. But a large flashlight was constantly on and focused on my face, I was kept awake by two young men in their twenties who alternated in asking me questions that had been asked of me during the punching session and also in making death threats and insults. I was repeatedly told that I would be killed as if in the act of escaping if I did not “cooperate.”

A pistol was always pointed at me by one of the two men who said from time to time that I would be disposed of the following day. He kept on kicking at the foot of the cot. He would also make a motion of wanting to hit me and the other man would pretend to hold him back. It was obvious to them that I was not intimidated. They would curse whenever I told them to let me sleep or to learn methods of investigation from Hawaii Five-O.

Throughout the morning, noon and early afternoon of November 14, 1977, two men who were apparently officers alternated in interrogating and keeping me awake. One made veiled threats about a scheme to finish me off. The other had a menacing style—talking forcefully and occasionally flexing one arm as if he wanted to hit me. I gave general answers only to those general questions which any man on the street would venture to answer. I can identify these two officers if I see them again because I was not blindfolded. Both appeared to be staff officers of the MSU.

At about 4 p.m. of November 14, I was again blindfolded as a swarm of men came into the room. I was able to see some of them, especially the one who looked like a senior officer (he was later identified to me as Col. Miguel Aure when he came to my room with Capt. Saldajeno on July 14, 1978) I can identify at least three more of these men if I see them again.

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My free hand and free feet were shackled by handcuffs to the cot. Thus, I was completely bound to the cot. A pail of water was brought in, a face towel was placed across my nose and mouth. I had to be pinned down by the shoulders as I kept on struggling, lifting the upper part of my body, moving my head vigorously and at time succeeding in loosening the blindfold and seeing the faces of my tormentors. At one point, someone had to sit down on my stomach to hold me down as the water cure was in progress.

Water was poured into my nostrils through the towel and my mouth was held shut for strangulation effect in order to force me to seek relief and answer questions. From time to time, a gun barrel was poked into my mouth, especially when I did not make an answer or said something that my tormentors did not like or appeared not to believe. They also repeatedly threatened to subject me to electric shocks before they would kill me.

The strangulation session must have taken some six hours. I was asked about eighty-five questions which I would later be able to tabulate. These are listed in my account dated June 23, 1978. These were repeated so many times as my answers or lack of answers appeared unsatisfactory to my tormentors. I had to suffer even for names and pseudonyms I was completely ignorant of. I also had to suffer even for the names of mountains and barrios I was not aware of. The questions were interspersed with insults and death threats.

My torturers were most persistent on such questions as the whereabouts of Rodolfo Salas, members and staffers of the Central Committee of the CPP and so-called underground houses; AFP officers and religious leaders in the regions; CPP sources of funds and supposed business enterprises; whereabouts of my children; contacts with the Chinese Communist Party; the killing of Judge Puno; and reasons for my having asked for Attys. Diokno and David as my lawyers.

Towards the end of the strangulation session, when I was about to fall asleep from exhaustion, one of my tormentors tried to apply hypnosis on me and failed. For all their troubles, my tormentors got either outright negative answers, cock and bull and trip wire. I was without food and sleep for about twenty-six hours, from the beginning of the punching session to the end of the strangulation session. Even after the water cure, two relays of interrogators still came after my meal so that I was not able to rest until around midnight.

My Ordeal and the Violation of Constitutional Rights

Until November 17, 1977, relays of interrogators would come to the room every morning, afternoon and evening. The first interrogators would come as early as 5 or 6 a.m. and the last interrogators would depart as late as 1 a.m. or 2 a.m. I had to maintain my wits and integrity even as I was in some daze and was not allowed to recover completely from the punching and water cure. I suffered chest pains as a result of the punches and water cure and my hands were numb from the wrist down as a result of the overtightness of the handcuffs during the torture session.

It would only be after two months that I would fully recover from the chest pains and after three months from the numbness of my hands.

From November 15 to November 17, 1977, I was always blindfolded by the guards before the interrogators entered my cell. Questions already asked during the strangulation session of November 14 were merely repeated ad nauseam. On the morning of November 17, someone came to offer a deal: my reunion with my wife in exchange for one regional secretary of the Communist Party of the Philippines. I merely ground my teeth at him.

On the late afternoon of November 17, 1977, Capt. Saldajeno came with another officer. This time I was not blindfolded. Capt. Saldajeno said that I had not given the interrogators and were angry for my making them look stupid. Thus, he offered that I would cease to be tormented and interrogated if I made a statement that would incriminate only myself and no others. All that I was supposed to do was to declare that I am Amado Guerrero, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines. I thought immediately that it would be like in the New Testament, with a Christian confessing to be a Christian before being put to death by his tormentors.

Even then it was clear to me that the statement was being unlawfully being extorted from me, although Capt. Saldajeno and his companion outwardly conducted themselves like gentlemen. In view of what I had already undergone and was still undergoing and also in view of the danger that anything could be done to me and could be claimed of me while I was in solitary confinement, I accepted the offer on the additional condition that the statement would include a part declaring that I would not be making any other statement while I did not yet have a lawyer of my choice and while I was still in the custody of the military; and that I would soon be presented in court.

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What kept running through my mind was that my custodians had samples of my signature, that I could be killed and later claimed as a suicide and that a statement in my name could be forged with my dead thumb impressed on it to clinch authenticity. I was not concerned with saving my life because I was aware that the death penalty would be applied on me under Republic Act 1700 by incriminating myself as no less the CPP Central Committee Chairman. I was actually being compelled to sign a death warrant. But my uppermost concern was to preclude the possible fabrication of a statement that would incriminate others and make me appear as shameless and untrue to the democratic cause.

Even in being flexible while sticking to my principles, I still had doubts that my tormentors would honor the agreement between me and Capt. Saldajeno. It helped to resolve my doubts by thinking that my self-incrimination would be quite satisfying to the highest authorities of the regime. I recalled that Mr. Marcos had prejudged me by pointing to me as Amado Guerrero, CPP Chairman, in his booklet "Today's Revolution: Democracy" (1971). That prejudgment was in need of a basis, no matter how artificial. And my interrogators would look too stupid if they could not get that.

As a layman deprived of legal counsel, I also thought during my moment of decision that if I introduced an untruth into the statement that would make it entirely false I would later be able to repudiate the statement by proving the untruth, and its character as the fruit of coercion. I was able to introduce the untruth into the statement. I did so in the honest belief of countering and outwitting the unconstitutional methods applied on me to extract the statement. But my lawyer now tells me that the military prosecutors will absolutely refuse to allow evidence to debunk what they will insist on as a self-confession, regardless of its false character.

As a former teacher of political science, I have some understanding of the right against self-incrimination, especially in the 1935 constitution. Thus, I insisted on having a lawyer of my choice and I refused to make any statement when I could. When my custodians allowed me in the days before November 13, 1977 and after I was compelled to make the statement dated November 18, 1977, I wrote letters asking for legal counsel. But my letters were never allowed to reach the lawyers of my choice, Attys. David and Diokno and other addresses like my relatives and "Task Force Detainees" of the Association of Major

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Religious Superiors of the Philippines. I still have copies of the letters and these are noted in my account dated June 23, 1978.

Having a formal knowledge of the right against self-incrimination or being able to recite it is one thing. But being able to exercise it under conditions of isolation, torture and malicious threats is another thing. I had to contend with the force, violence, threat, intimidation and other means (the offer of relief from torture) that was applied on me to vitiate my free will.

I am glad to acknowledge the counsel of my lawyer that there has been a great deal of constitutional and jurisprudential progress regarding the right against self-incrimination. This had been achieved by way of counteracting and nullifying the unscrupulous and violent methods employed by law-enforcement officers to extract self-incriminatory statements. My lawyer refers to Section 20 of the Bill of Rights of the 1973 constitution and the US Supreme Court ruling in the Escobedo-Miranda case.

In gross violation of Section 20 of the Bill of Rights, I was put under duress and I was compelled to be a witness against myself. Though Capt. Saldajeno and Agent Calayag who administered the making of my self-incriminatory statement on November 18, 1977 saw it fit to induce me to make such a statement, they did not see it fit to allow me to consult with a lawyer of my choice and moreover they did not inform me of my right to remain silent and to have a lawyer.

Instead of informing me adequately on the right and allowing me to exercise it, they took advantage of my forced isolation and the force, violence, threat and intimidation that were applied on me by offering relief from these in exchange for the statement of self-incrimination. A person of my educational background and political experience could not have refused to remain silent and to have a lawyer as a matter of right had I been assured and allowed to exercise it.

I am told by my lawyer that enlightened jurisprudence would rather allow one or a few culprits to go unpunished for lack of evidence than lay down a principle allowing officers of the law to extract statements of self-incrimination by force, intimidation and other underhanded methods. Such a negative principle is liable to result in systematic and large-scale abuses by officers of the law themselves, which are bound to victimize more innocent people than real culprits, the officers of the law themselves are also liable to become the most privileged criminals.

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Prolonged Mental and Physical Strain

After the statement of self-incrimination on November 18, 1977, I became relieved of the torment of frequent interrogations and repetitious questioning and I was allowed to recover physically. But I continued to be subjected to what eventually turned out to be a worse form of torture. It was chiefly mental torture attended by physical isolation, constant enchainment and other straining conditions. It was clear that my tormentors were still wanting to break my nerves or make me break my principles.

I was deprived of visitors that I would welcome. As before, I repeatedly asked for access to a lawyer, my wife, others arrested with us and our relatives. But my custodians did not bother to give any kind of answer, except some mocking remarks at certain times from inspectors who looked through the bay window of my cell door. The days, weeks and months passed until August 7, 1978, when my mother, my sister and my lawyer were allowed to visit me.

One or two military officers would come to my cell for a while at the average rate of once in two weeks during the period of December 1977 to the middle of February 1978. And then they ceased to come in order to complete my isolation. From the beginning, my guards have been under prohibition from talking to me except when they say something for a few seconds on behalf of their superiors.

I continued to be kept in a fully enclosed cell, a small room with a boarded-up window. From 11 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. of the months of November to January, it is oppressively hot. In the summer months, it is practically hell during the day and is oppressively hot even at night. During the day, a wet cloth dries up in a few hours' time. I am now enduring once more the intensified summer heat in this cell.

I was shackled to my cot by my right hand and left foot day in and day out, on a twenty-four hour basis, for more than seven months, from November 13, 1977 to June 23, 1978. This was constant physical violence on my person. I consider this even more savage than the punching and strangulation sessions. I was told sometimes by an officer and at other times by the guards in some threatening or mocking tone that I had to be chained because I had refused to "cooperate" or because I would escape or commit suicide. I was unchained only for brief periods of a few minutes to take my meal or go to the toilet; and my guard always insolently harried me and often made insulting remarks.

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For about four months, from the time of my capture to February 9, despite the grossly unequal visual capacity of my eyes. I had to suffer eye strain and headache everyday. I was told that I did not need any glasses because I had nothing to read from the walls and the ceiling.

I had nothing to read for a stretch of more than four months and after I was given something to read within a few days I again had nothing to read for a longer stretch of time. I was also deprived of cigarettes from November 12, 1977 to the end of February 1978. This was started even before the physical torture of November 13-14, in 1977 in retaliation to my complaint that my room was suffocating.

Until now, I remain in chains in the same stifling cell. Since June 23, 1978, I have been disconnected or unchained from my cot. But I am still shackled by both feet by a pair of handcuffs during my waking hours. Thus, I can only toddle around the room like a small child learning to walk. When I go to sleep at night, I am chained to the cot. As from the very start, the inspectors come so often to flash a light on me even as I am already chained to the cot for my rest.

From November 10, 1977 to January 17, 1978, I was not allowed to have any sunshine. In the succeeding 11 months from the latter date I had no more than a total of twenty-four hours of sunshine despite the standard prison rule of one-hour daily sunning for ordinary criminals already condemned to death. Only since last December 1978 have I been allowed to have sunning at the still substandard rate of three times a week at one hour per.

Whenever I am brought out of my room for any reason, I have to suffer the indignity and discomfort of being blindfolded until I reach the destination either inside or outside of the MSU compound. Sometimes, the blindfolding becomes painful when I am bumped into things by a careless or mischievous escort. I feel that this blindfolding is designed more as a means of humiliation than as a camp security precaution.

Until now, I have not been allowed to read even the Marcos-leaning Manila newspapers. Reading materials from my relatives and friends are not allowed to reach me. When Atty. Joker Arroyo gave me a copy of the pamphlet "Legal Rights of Political Detainees" last February 23 during a hearing, it was immediately confiscated from me as soon as I was out of public view. When Atty. Juan T. David, my own lawyer, gave me a copy of his Habeas Corpus petition to the Supreme Court involving my wife and me, it was also taken away from me as soon as he left the MSU reception room last February 28.

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The visitation right which has been extended to my lawyer and family since August 7, 1978 has been so limited or restricted that in effect there is only one person in my family, aside from my lawyer, who can visit me. Due to her professional and family responsibilities, my sister who is my lone family visitor has been unable to visit me at certain times for as long as five weeks.

My wife and I are detained in the same compound. But until now, even after more than 17 months since our arrest, we have not been allowed to meet and talk by ourselves at some reasonable length, despite contrary precedents which allow not only conjugal meetings between co-accused husband and wife but even the temporary release of the latter for the sake of her children.

Until now, our children have not visited us. That is because my wife and I have not yet fully discussed the implication of the overeagerness of the military to know their whereabouts. We certainly do not want that the guardians of the children are subjected to any kind of harassment or that my wife be preempted by some entities from availing herself of the right to go on temporary release on account of the children.

My mother and my sister have long wanted my wife and me to be visited by religious people, especially by Archbishop Sison and by religious personnel devoted to pastoral work among political detainees. I have agreed to welcome their visit since August 7, 1978. But my custodians or higher authorities do not allow them. At one time, I am told that communists do not talk to religious people. At another time, I am told that religious people are in collusion with communists.

My requests for medical and dental treatment from MSU medical personnel have not been attended to for periods as long as five months. Each time that my dental treatment was allowed, the attention was superficial and incomplete. The last time that my two lower front teeth were treated for filling, the dentist practically busted these plus one more tooth and did further permanent damage to them. I would like to have a doctor and dentist of my choice, just as I have a lawyer of my choice. I also have strong doubts about the medical treatment that I last received concerning an obstruction in the pupil of my left eye.

There are so many seemingly minor vexations that have been imposed on me to make my solitary confinement and enchainment truly trying. Taken in isolation, each of these might be dismissed as a mere trifle. But this can spell misery for a person in isolation, even

if he were without chains and placed in an airy room. I can mention some of these "trifles."

I was once asked to undress completely in the cell on the ground that I would have to be inspected thoroughly before meeting my visitor. When I used to be chained to my cot on a twenty-four hour basis, I was not allowed for four months to clean my cot and rid it of bedbugs which pestered me, especially at night. At certain times, I have not been allowed to have my hair and nails cut for as long as five months. When I used to be guarded closely while eating, my guard would tell me to hurry up, because he, in colorful Tagalog, had a loose bowel movement.

Recently, my handcuffs which are also my fetters during my waking hours were replaced with new ones that have sharp edges and tighten at the slightest pressure. Upon my complaint, these were replaced with handcuffs that have only one link (usually there are two or three) and make my toddling even more difficult. The replacement of the handcuffs came immediately after I was observed listing down my complaints for the benefit of my lawyer last February 28.

There are two important points I would like to raise regarding my prolonged ordeal in solitary confinement and enchainment. Firstly, I wish to refer to the constitutional right of equal protection of the law. Secondly, I wish to point out that it is unfair and unjust that while I am being tried I should be kept in a military unit where I have been subjected to brutal torture and where I still continue to be subjected so relentlessly to mental torture and so many physical difficulties and vexations.

By way of demonstrating the gross violations of my right to equal protection of the law, I would like to compare the situation of Senator Aquino with mine. The comparison is appropriate, especially because we are both in the custody of the same military unit. After all the foregoing narration of my experience and situation, all that I have to do is to mention the publicly-known facts about Senator Aquino's situation.

Senator Aquino has not been subjected to outrightly brutal treatment comparable to what I have been subjected to. He has been allowed to give press interviews not only to local newsmen but also to foreign ones. Remember that not so long after his arrest he was allowed to be interviewed by Tony Clifton of the Newsweek. He can issue press statements anytime he wants. He has been able to participate in elections and to write a book.

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He has a cottage of his own in the same compound and allowed to have a television set, a radio set, an airconditioning unit or ventilators and cooking facilities. He can play pelota. He has overnight conjugal visits. He is visited by a wide range of relatives and friends. He has been visited by quite a number of his foreign friends.

Certainly, I would like to have the termination of the brutal and intolerable conditions of my detention. I would like to be unchained and placed in a decent room, preferably with fellow detainees, if not with my wife. I would like the blindfolding business to stop. I would like to read the newspapers and books of my choice, even only as convicts in Muntinlupa are allowed. I would like to write as much as I want and have work and sports activities like other detainees. I would like to have conjugal visits and the visit of a wide range of relatives and friends. I would like to have such a modest facility like a radio set which I can afford and other legitimate facilities that my relatives and friends can provide.

Why should I be discriminated against so violently and so grossly by the same custodians that Senator Aquino and I have; when in fact my legal status at the moment is even relatively better than his? He has been convicted and sentenced to death by a military commission, whereas I have not yet been convicted by any military commission. He is charged with more offenses (subversion, murder and illegal possession of firearms). I face only two redundant charges (subversion and rebellion). These smack of double jeopardy as only one and the same criminal offense—the overthrow of the state—is alleged. The gravest charge against Mr. Aquino is no lesser than the gravest charge against me.

Why should I not be entitled to the right of equal protection of the law? Is there not class discrimination even in the treatment of political detainees? Am I not already so presumed guilty in a peculiar way that I must be relentlessly tortured and deprived of decent civilized treatment? Am I to believe what was already drummed into me during my torture by punches and water cure that I would suffer torture first before the final death blow?

In addition to the demand that my right to equal protection of the law be respected, my wife and I would like to be transferred to another detention center where other political detainees can observe how we are being treated. The situation is such in the MSU that, even if one were allowed the same conveniences that Senator Aquino has,

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a political detainee is absolutely deprived of the least possibility of having a witness in his favor whatever is done to him and claimed against him by the authorities.

It is unfair and unjust that my wife and I continue to be in separate and solitary confinement in a military unit where I have suffered outright physical torture and prolonged mental and physical torture. Until now, I have not been able to discuss with my wife her own experience and mine.

It is unfair and unjust that I be subjected to trial by military commissions that do not assume full and direct responsibility for our custody and treatment. I am still being subjected to conditions of duress. I can still be harmed at any time and any complaint will be too late and futile, except to inform the people. My mother, sister and lawyer have too long and too often been given the run-around, although everyone knows that my custodians, interrogators, prosecutors and judges are all under the executive and military command of Mr. Marcos.

As a result of this statement, I am almost certain that there will be a series of retaliations against me. It has been my experience that whenever I make a request or demand and at the same time invoke a certain right my custodians or higher authorities always seem to take offense and react by not only refusing to accede to the request or demand but also doing something to make my situation worse. It seems that in their view I have completely lost every right.

Such is the arrogance of fascists, high and low. They want you to crawl on your knee for the return of a little fraction of so much that they have taken away illegally and unconstitutionally. Then, for the return of that little fraction, they want to grab so much more or the whole lot of what you might still have. Thus, for instance, I have been told that my wife and I shall have conjugal meetings only after we shall have pleaded guilty to charges against us in order to cut short the proceedings of the military commission.

It is the same story as when I was offered my immediate reunion with my wife in exchange for one regional secretary of the Communist Party. The fascist brutes were angling that they could crush the Communist Party at one blow by getting hold of someone as the key to the Second National Congress of the CPP. But I was not in any position to give the brutes that satisfaction, even as they were stupid enough to underestimate my integrity and wits.

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Upon the good counsel of my lawyer, I insist on certain constitutional rights in this statement. But in another statement, as I have already said, I make a comprehensive and fundamental criticism and condemnation of the antinational and antidemocratic reign of terror and greed. By actively participating in my legal defense, I try not only to expose, delay or stay the hand of injustice about to smite me but also to continue doing my bit in defense of the people's democratic cause.

I am aware that so far my ordeal in the hands of the fascists is so slight in comparison to the torture suffered by several of my co-accused. It is also nothing in comparison to the torture and murder as well as massacre of thousands of revolutionary martyrs. With this awareness, I am determined to keep on fighting and I am prepared to undergo further fascist brutality until my tormentors decide to finally kill me.

The broad masses of the people will eventually put the whole lot of their oppressors in their proper places. Right now, the organized democratic revolutionary forces are steadily growing in strength and advancing. US imperialist and the local exploiting classes will utterly regret that the fascist regime has only served to accelerate the rise of the revolutionary forces and the doom of the already outmoded system.

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On the Fourth Republic so-called

July 15, 1981

In world history, there has been a fundamental progressive shift from the principle of autocracy in feudal times to the principle of republicanism in modern times. This is the result of the political defeat of the feudalists or their reduction to a subordinate position by the bourgeoisie. The absolute monarchy is finished, except as a ceremonial vestige of the past or as a camouflaged revival by the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie.

In any definition of the modern republic, bourgeois-liberal or Marxist, there are certain essential elements such as that the people are sovereign and enjoy national independence; they are the source of political authority and officials are merely their representatives and servants; an elected representative assembly rather than a single individual makes the laws according to the sovereign will of the people; and this popular will is determined through suffrage and other democratic means.

Both the bourgeois-liberal and the Marxist agree that armed revolution is the sovereign right of the people and is justified and necessary in order to establish, defend or reestablish the modern republic against tyranny and its armed counterrevolution. The modern republic could not have arisen without the people fighting battles against monarchies and colonial tyrannies. The Marcos idea in his *Today's Revolution: Democracy* that the Philippine revolution of 1896 was Jacobin and therefore antiliberal because it was violent is complete nonsense. The Katipunan and its armed successors were like the Jacobins of the French revolution in taking the decisive step for an armed revolution against tyranny and for the liberal-democratic cause.

The bourgeois-liberal and the Marxist differ basically in class standpoint, in their order of appearance on the stage of world history and in their historic missions. But both affirm the democratic principle of people's sovereignty and the representative form of government. Both ideological and political trends are categorically and uncompromisingly against autocracy, of whatever label—"constitutional authoritarianism," "enlightened/benevolent despotism," etc.

The Philippine Republic and Pseudorepublics

In Philippine history, a Philippine republic has been proclaimed five times; namely, in 1897, 1899, 1943, 1946 and 1981. The first proclamation was done at Biak-na-Bato during the armed revolution against Spanish colonialism. The second was done in Malolos after the defeat of Spanish colonialism and on the eve of the revolutionary war against US imperialism. The third was done under the sponsorship of the Japanese fascists. The fourth was also done under the sponsorship of a foreign power, the US. And so, the proclamation of the so-called fourth republic is actually the fifth one.

In all instances, the proclamation makes an avowal of adherence to both the principles of national sovereignty and people's sovereignty. Because of the background of the Philippines as a colony or its current circumstance as a semicolony, anyone who makes a proclamation of the Philippine republic is obliged to assert the aforesaid principles. A genuine republic cannot be formed without the people being integrally sovereign and without them being free from colonial or imperialist domination. But it is one thing to make a proclamation and another thing to mean the existence of the republic.

There is no doubt that in the 1897 proclamation of the Philippine republic the revolutionary government was truly assertive of national independence in word and in deed. Notwithstanding the weaknesses of the Aguinaldo leadership, the proclamation summed up the national and democratic aspirations of the people who were up in arms against Spanish colonialism and were calling for separation. At its best moments, the revolutionary government tried to have as representative a form as was possible and sponsored the framing of a constitution along the lines of a bourgeois-democratic republic (this constitution though was almost a verbatim copy of the Cuban constitution of Jimaguayu). The capitulationist pact of Biak-na-Bato put an end to the republic.

The 1899 proclamation marked the inauguration of a Philippine republic that had a fuller and wider existence than the prior Biak-na-Bato republic of 1897. Many historians have accorded this republic proclaimed at Malolos the dignity of being the first Philippine republic. It can also be considered as the only genuine republic so far in Philippine history if the Biak-na-Bato republic is discounted as a mere prototype.

At the proclamation of the Philippine republic at Malolos, the revolutionary government had established a nationwide system of political power, taking over control and administration from the Spanish colonialists, except in a few places. It succeeded in putting together a constituent assembly which framed a constitution once more along the lines of a bourgeois-democratic republic before the outbreak of the Filipino-American war. It was able to put up a formidable organized resistance against US aggression. But the military superiority of the US aggressors and the internal weaknesses of the Aguinaldo leadership, especially the capitulationism of the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie, led to the end of the republic and the onset of direct US colonial rule.

The 1943 proclamation marked the inauguration of what is sometimes called the second Philippine republic. This was in fact the first of the pseudorepublics or puppet republics in Philippine history. The Japanese fascist invaders pretended to grant independence to the Philippines and sponsored the proclamation. The “republic” proclaimed was patently puppet because Japan could not disguise its colonial and military presence and could entrust the sham only to a narrow clique of big comprador-landlord politicians in the face of widespread patriotic resistance and wartime difficulties. The pseudorepublic disintegrated upon the retreat of the Japanese occupation forces from Manila.

In 1946 the US granted nominal independence to the Philippines and sponsored the proclamation and establishment of the so-called third republic of the Philippines. Serious encumbrances and limitations were placed on Philippine sovereignty so that the country remained semicolonial. To secure this status for the country, the 1935 constitution was amended to accommodate the Parity Amendment and various unequal treaties were imposed. However, the full range of Philippine reactionary classes accepted the puppet republic, and popular resistance led by the Communist Party was suppressed. A Filipino government with three coequal and coordinate branches—executive, legislative and judicial—developed. The tokens of representative government and the formal processes of bourgeois democracy subservient to US imperialism operated.

Until 1972, the “third republic” or rather the second pseudorepublic seemed to create successfully the illusion of a representative form of government and a people enjoying basic democratic rights under a liberal-democratic but pro-imperialist constitution. The people were

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always limited to a range of choices determined by the ruling reactionary classes that controlled the government, the two major political parties, the mass media and so on. But sometimes and to some extent, the needs and demands of the people could be ventilated due to rivalries within the ruling system and the growth of democratic movements.

The Marcos Coup and Autocracy

Thanks to Mr. Marcos, the incumbent president nearly on his way out of office, the “third republic” was destroyed under the pretext of saving it. Marcos carried out a counterrevolutionary coup d’etat starting on September 21, 1972 on the flimsy grounds of some explosions of his own making and fabrications against the revolutionary movement. And he grabbed all the powers of government, suppressed all real and potential opposition, and foisted upon the people an undisguised autocracy as he declared martial law, chiefly against the Communist Party of the Philippines and the revolutionary movement.

In issuing Proclamation 1081, general orders and decrees to formalize his assumption of absolute powers and repression of the people, Marcos overstretched and abused the commander-in-chief or martial law provision (section 10, paragraph 2 of Article VII) of the 1935 constitution to the point of violating the most fundamental principle, that of a republican state, in the same constitution. He substituted the retrogressive and counterrevolutionary principle of autocracy for the principle of republicanism. He practically declared, “Letat c’est moi” (I am the state).

All executive powers were arrogated by the single person of Mr. Marcos. All government officials in and out of the executive branch, including those elected and those with constitutionally guaranteed tenures, were required to file letters of resignation and could stay in office only at his pleasure. Congress, the elected representative assembly, was dissolved and all its powers taken over by a one-man legislature. Moreover, this autocratic legislator could legislate far beyond the powers of the legislature he had disbanded and even beyond the limits of the 1935 constitution.

The Supreme Court and all lower courts became captive entities and were castrated of authority with regard to cases pertaining to the powers and repressive issuances of the autocracy. They were obliged to obey the autocracy or else suffer such consequences as

disbandment, reconstitution or further reduction of authority. At its first occasion to make a ruling on questions involving acts of the autocracy, the Supreme Court would admit that these were political and therefore nonjusticiable questions and that even as the Marcos constitution was not validly ratified there could be no judicial obstacle to its enforcement.

Indeed, in the final analysis, the state as the coercive instrument of the ruling class has the courts and the legislature as components that are inferior to the army and police. The Marcos appointees and agents in the Supreme Court can be derided as cowards and ignoramuses who cannot recognize autocracy when they see one. But they can as well be thanked for unwittingly reminding the people that it is not litigation but revolution that can deal properly with a coup d'état and an autocracy. Lest too much writ is attributed to these robed placemen and acolytes of Marcos, the people should also remember that the Supreme Court had stupidly encouraged Marcos to violate the constitution when the same court opined previously in 1971 that Marcos could suspend the writ of habeas corpus any time on the basis of his mere say-so.

While padlocking and disbanding Congress which by the way had also its own prerogative to inquire into and decide on questions of national emergency and war under the 1935 constitution, Marcos directed the constitutional convention at gunpoint to put out a constitution favorable to the autocracy and the imperialist and antidemocratic interests behind it. Then contrary to his own claims of widespread disorder, requiring martial law, Marcos would also claim that his constitution of 1973 was freely ratified by "citizens' assemblies."

Marcos had two reasons for putting out his own constitution at the cost of self-contradiction. First, he wanted to assure the US imperialists that they could retain and enlarge their commanding interests and privileges in the country so long as they supported his autocratic interests. Second, Marcos himself was aware that the commander-in-chief provision of the 1935 constitution did not legally allow him to assume autocratic powers and so aside from carrying over into the "new constitution" the commander-in-chief provision, he introduced into its transitory provisions the provision, specifically section 3, paragraph 2, which explicitly allows his one-man legislation both retroactively and prospectively.

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This provision outrightly blessing the unlimited legislative power of his autocracy once more completely negates and reduces to a mere embellishment the principle of republicanism which the Marcos constitution avows above all in its basic statement of principles. This contradiction in that constitution spells its hypocrisy. Another scandalous and shameless provision is that one in its bill of rights allowing arbitrary arrests and searches without any judicial warrant. This provision jibes with the entire phenomenon of despotism and fascism.

Further Entrenchment of the Marcos Autocracy

As the Marcos constitution provides, an interim national assembly was supposed to exist immediately upon ratification in 1973. But Marcos was never interested in convening this assembly because he was insecure about its composition which would include the vice-president, the members of Congress and the Constitutional Convention. The prospect of convening the assembly was merely a plan to induce the members of the constitutional convention to sign the draft constitution prepared by Malacañang. They never got their promised reward. Marcos never convened the assembly but instead in 1976 he introduced amendments to his constitution, among which involved the replacement of the interim national assembly by the so-called interim *batasang pambansa* to be formed completely on his own autocratic terms.

Still not satisfied with section 3, paragraph 2 of the transitory provisions, he also introduced in 1976 an amendment to the “new constitution” allowing him to make laws whenever he thinks that there is a “grave emergency or imminent danger thereof” and whenever he wishes to disregard the interim *batasang pambansa* or regular national assembly, whatever are the reasons. This is the infamous Amendment 6, which places his autocratic legislative power over and above the representative assembly without any time limit. It is clear that the interim *batasang pambansa* or the prospective regular national assembly is nothing but an embellishment on the autocracy. In journalese, it is the rubberstamp of one-man rule.

It is appropriate at this point to stress that modern constitutionalism, whether bourgeois-liberal or socialist, condemns the principle of one-man legislation. To adopt this reactionary principle is to cast away all that has been learned from the historic struggles of the Filipino people

for their sovereignty and freedom against foreign and local tyranny. As it was conscious of the evils of autocracy, that of the Spanish king or the colonial governor-general, the Malolos constitution (Article 4 of Title II) made an explicit injunction against entrusting legislative power to a single individual. This was part of clarifying the meaning of the republican state.

The Marcos autocracy is not merely a violation of the republican tradition of the US or the West but a vicious betrayal of a sacred legacy of the Philippine revolution which subsequent Philippine constitutions have not disregarded even if only as a glittering generality. Even among the fascist regimes, the Marcos regime is unique for holding itself up as an undisguised autocracy for so long. Marcos would drag his feet towards holding sham elections and putting up a rubberstamp parliament. Such is a measure of his greed and contempt for the sovereign people.

The arrogations of Marcos in law are clear. So are their material manifestations and effects. These include the Marcos monopoly of the civil and military instruments of power, ownership and/or control of all major mass media, unrestricted accumulation of private wealth through political power, unceasing persecution and dispossession of his rivals within the ruling system and, worst of all, violation of the people's basic democratic rights and acts of terrorism such as massacres, arbitrary arrests and searches, mass evacuations, indefinite detention, torture, extortion and so on.

Because of the persistence of the autocracy and its abusive and terrorist acts, the so-called elections of the interim *batasang pambansa* in 1978, of the local officials in 1980 and of the president in 1981 cannot be considered as genuine steps towards a representative form of government. These are all rigged exercises and farces through and through. These are all travesties of democracy and its processes. These are as false as the so-called plebiscites and referenda from 1973 to 1981.

The electoral laws and the Commission on Elections are all stacked in favor of the fascist party, the *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan*, and against the legal opposition parties. The latter have been given only token and marginal concessions even while they are expected to help whitewash the continuing fascist dictatorship. Not only are the legal oppositionists deprived of facilities to express their views freely but their most

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effective candidates are banned and harassed. Worst of all, the figures for voter turnout and vote count are prefabricated.

The sham election of Marcos in 1981 is the most absurd. With the major legal opposition parties refusing to be made fools of anymore and deciding to boycott the election, Marcos was compelled to hand-pick his own opponent from the ranks of his subordinates. As in all previous voting exercises staged by the autocracy, the prefabricated results included an unbelievable voter turnout and number of votes for the autocrat, notwithstanding his notoriety and the evident success of the boycott movement.

The supposed repeal of Proclamation 1081 or lifting of martial law prior to the fake presidential elections is basically a farce. While their proclamation is formally repealed, all its important concrete contents and effects are actually perpetuated in the exceptions of repeal Proclamation 2045, in the Marcos constitution and in other laws. Without critical analysis and exposure, the fake repeal of Proclamation 1081 or lifting of martial law is even more dangerous than the fascist martial law without disguise.

The basic democratic rights, including free assembly, speech, press and so on, remain curtailed in so many ways. The autocratic provisions of the Marcos constitution remain undiminished. Arbitrary arrests and detentions without judicial warrant are still allowed by the same constitution. The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus continues against those apprehended on charges of subversion, rebellion and other political offenses. Military commissions are still in operation.

The Anti-Subversion Law continues as a catch-all, loot-all and repress-all weapon. Proofs for incrimination have been made easier and penalties have been made heavier for political offenses. All the repressive decrees have been perpetuated in the form of the National Security Code and the Public Safety Act. Military campaigns by the Armed Forces of the Philippines have been stepped up against the people and the revolutionary movement.

Just as Marcos had pressured the Supreme Court in 1971 to rule in favor of his power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus solely on the basis of his own claims in exchange for the lifting of his suspension order, he once more pressured the same court to rule in his favor on pending cases regarding the authority of the military to try civilians, in exchange for the fake lifting of martial law. The next time Marcos

formally declares martial law, he will be free to put the military commissions on a rampage against civilians.

By the 1981 fake plebiscite, Marcos has also introduced an amendment into his constitution giving immunity to himself and his subordinates against the long-established principle of public accountability of government officials. He knows that his immunity is as good for him and his fascist ilk as they are in power. This is assurance for themselves that they can commit acts of fascist terror and plunder with impunity so long as they are in power.

Under a so-called process of normalization, Marcos pretends to make a few small or false concessions. But in fact he entrenches further the abnormality that is the fascist dictatorship and tries to whitewash its monstrous crimes. In law and in fact, he can backtrack anytime and erase in one fell swoop all the small and false concessions he has made.

Real Character of the "Fourth Republic"

The real character of the Marcos proclamation of a "fourth republic" in conjunction with his inauguration as its first president is utterly clear. It is a piece of falsity misrepresenting a continuing autocracy, a fascist dictatorship as a republic. The ceremonial lip service made to national liberation is also nothing but a flimsy attempt to conceal the utter subservience of the autocracy to US imperialism.

As soon as the proclamation ceremonies were over, Marcos was shamelessly declaring allegiance and loyalty to the US and boasting of US support for his fascist regime. On his part, the US representative Vice President Bush made reassurances of US support. After all, the events that led to the proclamation of the "new republic" and inauguration of the first president had been arranged by Mrs. Marcos with Reagan aides last December.

The proclamation of the Marcos "new republic" is diametrically opposed in character to that of the Philippine republic either in 1897 or 1899. The first Philippine republic, including its prototype, was the fruit of the Philippine revolution against colonial domination and for national independence and democracy. But the "fourth republic" is the bitter fruit of a fascist puppet counterrevolution.

The proclamation of the "fourth republic" is actually the third of its kind, after such puppet republics as those sponsored by Japan in 1943

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and by the US in 1946. It is also the second fascist republic after the pseudorepublic sponsored by the Japanese fascists in 1943. Moreover, it is the first “republic” of a homegrown autocracy and fascist clique. In this respect, it is definitely new.

The “fourth republic” stands for a Philippine government that is so far the most subservient to US interests and is run by the most brutal and most rapacious clique of big comprador-landlord bureaucrats headed by an autocrat. One important point that should not be missed about the proclamation of the “fourth republic” is that it is an open confession of Marcos that he destroyed rather than saved the “third republic.” In the latter puppet republic, there was yet no full-blown autocracy and fascism in complete control of the state and there was far more leeway for the people to express themselves legally.

The great Lenin teaches us in his study of state and revolution that we must not be confused by the political form that a reactionary government claims to have. The point is to examine the concrete historical conditions and make class analysis in order to determine the real character of that government. A fascist dictatorship like that of Marcos is a bourgeois autocracy and an open rule of terror in the service of imperialist, bureaucrat capitalist and feudal interests in a semifeudal and semicolonial setting.

On the basis of the going reality, it is idle to expect that Marcos will ever voluntarily give up his fascist dictatorship. This tyranny drives itself to persist and accumulate more power and loot not only for the self satisfaction of the tyrant but also out of fear of the people who are being abused and who are determined to settle accounts. The end of such tyranny is brought about by its own greed and by the rise of the revolutionary masses.

The despotism of Marcos will eventually prove to be its own undoing and be a blessing in disguise. The people are driven to fight for a new democratic republic. The revolutionary struggle of the broad antifascist united front of progressive and patriotic classes, organizations and personages is steadily developing and is bound to result someday in a democratic coalition government or a provisional revolutionary government. This government will pave the way for the proclamation of a new democratic republic.

By its constitution and practice, this new democratic republic will accomplish the struggle for national independence and democracy and raise it to a new and higher level of development under the leadership

On the Fourth Republic so-called

of the proletariat and on the foundation of the worker-peasant alliance embracing the overwhelming majority of the people. The republic will not only uphold the republican character of the state and make explicit safeguards against autocracy and the abuse of martial law but will also make sure that the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie are properly and significantly represented in the government. The basic democratic rights of the people shall be amply protected and promoted.

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President Marcos Should Drop Anti-China Cases¹

Circa November 1981

Since 1975, Sino-Philippine diplomatic and trade relations have developed fairly well.

Mutual benefit has been gained in the course of friendly political, economic, cultural, scientific and technological cooperation.

China is an expanding market for traditional Philippine exports like sugar, coconut oil, copper concentrates, wood and so on.

China is at the same time a major source of crude oil and, in time of critical local shortage, even of rice.

China can provide equipment, spareparts and raw materials in exchange of the traditional exports. It is possible to arrive at friendly reasonable terms of exchange.

However, despite the established friendly relations between China and the Philippines and the bright prospect for further development of these relations, the Philippine government or specifically the Marcos regime continues to regard China as a hostile foreign power in a number of cases pending before some courts called military commissions.

We refer to the subversion cases against Luzvimindo David, et al. and Jose Ma. Sison, et al. pending before Military Commission Nos. 6 and 25, respectively as well as to the rebellion case otherwise known as the Karagatan-Andrea case before Special Military Commission No. 1-1.

The Charge Sheet in the rebellion case explicitly points to China as the supplier of military hardware to the accused.

In the two subversion cases, which involve Republic Act 1700 as amended by Presidential Decree 885, China is also attacked as the hostile foreign power which is supposed to be behind the accused and to whom the same accused would want to deliver the country or any part thereof.

¹ Communication sent to Atty. Juan T. David and proposed as a tack for handling the subversion cases being tried by the military commissions.-
Editor

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All these cases may be called anti-China cases. These are not only inconsistent with the friendly relations between the Philippines and China but they also run counter to it.

It is perplexing to many observers why these cases have been filed at all long after the establishment of diplomatic relations with China in June 1975.

The Philippines has every right to file charges against its citizens and even certain foreign entities within its territory. But it does not have the right to implicate an entire foreign country as a "hostile foreign power" without formally calling its attention.

The current assumption of the military prosecutors that China is a hostile power and the likely conviction of the accused as agents of China are damaging to what are in fact the friendly relations between the Philippines and China.

These cases are anachronistic and the consistent thing for President Marcos to do is to have them dropped.

President Marcos should also consider that the people accused in these cases have already suffered long years of imprisonment and have undergone various forms of torture.

It is sheer cruelty for the government to continue keeping them in prison on charges that have been erroneously formulated by the military prosecutors.

There have been so many instances of President Marcos ordering the dropping of cases because of erroneous formulation of charges and lack of evidence.

In view of the rapidly deteriorating economic conditions which he himself has acknowledged, Mr. Marcos should realize that the Philippines would stand to gain more by rectifying what has been a false accusation against China and further improving diplomatic and trade relations with that country.

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Dissidence and Detente²

November 6, 1981

How do Sino-Philippine diplomatic relations affect the CPP? Do you think the CPP will align itself with current Sino-Philippine relations by making peace with President Ferdinand Marcos?

Sino-Philippine diplomatic relations are a matter distinct from party-to-party relations and even more so from the standpoint of revolutionary integrity and development of the CPP. I suppose that this party will always integrate the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions of the Philippines.

The question of the adverse or favorable effect of diplomatic relations on the CPP is secondary or even peripheral to the independent decisions and achievements of the CPP within the country. But I will venture to say that under certain conditions it is desirable to achieve some modus vivendi between the CPP and the Philippine Government—not necessarily the Marcos government—that will in a sense be parallel to Sino-Philippine diplomatic relations.

Making peace with Marcos or not depends on the resolution of questions internal to the Philippines. For instance, to what extent is the Marcos government willing to cooperate in promoting national independence and democracy? Will it allow the CPP and related organizations to exist and operate legally and so on? There are so many questions. But let me make it clear that I do not pretend to speak for the CPP. I am simply a political observer.

How do you size up the present leadership and strength of the CPP, the New People's Army (NPA) and other related organizations? Are you in touch with any of them?

I am under maximum security detention, so I am not in touch with the CPP or similar organizations. But I can to some extent gauge the leadership and strength of the CPP and the like on the basis of critical reading of news reports that I am allowed to read. I believe that the CPP leadership is competent and effective. It has excellently advanced

² Interview with *Far Eastern Economic Review* correspondent Sheila H. Ocampo and published in the November 6, 1981 issue.—Editor

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the revolutionary movement from the level of accumulated experience and knowledge since 1977. The basic units and leading organs of the CPP, NPA and mass organizations are now in the overwhelming majority of the provinces of the country.

The nationwide tactical offensives launched so far this year by the NPA are a clear measure of the rapid growth of the CPP and all related organizations. The subjective force of the revolution is excellent and the objective conditions are exceedingly favorable.

What are the chances of the CPP or a united front dislodging Marcos from power? What is the possible role of Aquino?

The CPP alone cannot dislodge Marcos from power now. But a united front for armed struggle can, within the near future, not exceeding a decade. For maximum effect, the united front can include the direct components and associates of the National Democratic Front, the Moro National Liberation Front [MNLF] and the conservative opposition and middle forces in general, with or without their own armed organizations. Even some pro-American groups with an honest liberal democratic orientation can join such a united front.

Aquino and the like have been talking about developing their muscle. I suppose that they can make themselves a major factor in the united front by taking a more nationalist stand and by doing three things: forming their own armed organizations among the people at the grassroots; coordinating with the CPP and the MNLF; and influencing some sections of the reactionary armed forces. In the present Philippine situation, a political leader cannot be of significance without armed support.

Do you think that the support from US President Ronald Reagan for Marcos guarantees his stay in power at least until 1984? How do you regard this support?

Assuming that Marcos does not change his line and politics and a broad front for armed struggle builds up against him, I estimate that he will most likely still be on his throne in 1984. But the throne will already be shaking a lot. Even Reagan will start to think of junking him in favor of another puppet. Reagan can always say that the Philippines and not a certain man called Marcos is the ally of the US.

Marcos has been the No. 1 Filipino agent of the US since 1966. Reagan's basic attitude towards him is no different to that of former US

president Carter. There has been only a change of style. Reagan talks aloud about giving political and military support to puppets, whereas Carter talked about human rights without really doing anything effective to cut down the fascist dictatorship.

There is no doubt about Reagan's open protestations of political and military support for Marcos. But objectively the US has adopted certain economic policies that put a tighter squeeze on the Philippines, regardless of the domestic political consequences to Marcos.

Right now elements of American big business who are close to Reagan are blaming Marcos for economic mismanagement, over-regulation, overreaching and corruption, even as he has in the main followed US dictates. He can be cut down to size any time by some significant delay or reduction of loans. But, of course, Marcos will manage to borrow time by giving in to US economic pressures, unless there is a rapid growth of the armed opposition to make him a hot potato even to the US. No native puppet is indispensable to the US.

What do you think about Marcos' call for national unity and reconciliation? Is it also pitched to the CPP? In your opinion, will the CPP respond to it?

On the basis of past and current events, it can be easily said that that call is for capitulation to the Marcos monopoly of power in the Philippines. I suppose that Marcos has to prove otherwise. He should give ample proof in advance that he truly wants to promote national independence and democracy before any of the self-respecting opposition forces can believe the call.

Some persons tell me that the call is also meant for the CPP. But Marcos himself continues to declare publicly that the CPP is the No. 1 threat to his regime in the short run and in the long run. As a matter of fact, it appears that he intends to keep Reagan's support by harping on anti-communism. Under these conditions, I would presume that it is impossible or difficult for the CPP to respond in any positive way to the call.

To persuade the CPP to respond, Marcos has to do a few things, like asserting national sovereignty in the major aspects of Philippine society; amending the autocratic and anti-democratic provisions of the Constitution; repealing the fascist laws like the Anti-Subversion Law, National Security Code and Public Order Act; releasing all political

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prisoners by general amnesty; demilitarizing the so-called dissident areas; and so on.

The CPP is obviously aware of its importance as the linchpin of the nationwide armed opposition. Before agreeing to a dialogue with Marcos, the CPP should therefore seek guarantees not only against every military trap but also against any political trick meant only to sow confusion within the ranks of the CPP and the anti-fascist united front. Marcos should therefore adopt approaches acceptable not only to the CPP specifically, but also to all worthy opposition forces.

Have you been offered amnesty?

No. Even if I were offered amnesty, I would not accept it if it required the renunciation of my principles. Such an amnesty would be humiliating and unacceptable.

Of course, I hope to be out of prison some day. There are several possibilities for this, unless Marcos proceeds with indecent haste to kill me. I put my trust in the growing national democratic movement first of all. Revolutionaries have got out of prison as a result of domestic and world opinion, some truce agreement between the opposing sides or the overthrow of the tyrannical government.

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Basic Principles of Marxism-Leninism: A Primer

Unpublished typescript, 1981-82

Introduction

Marxism is a comprehensive ideology, ranging from philosophy to strategy and tactics. It seeks not only to interpret the world but to change it. It is acclaimed as universal, serving as guide and general method of cognition and practice in both natural and social sciences.

It is a system of ideas or ideology that guides the organized conduct of the working class and the people as well as proletarian parties and states in building socialism and carrying out the anti-imperialist movement. This ideology has inspired and impelled the rapid social, economic, scientific and cultural progress of socialist countries in a matter of a few decades. It has adherents of no mean magnitude and significance in the third world and in the capitalist countries.

In summing up Marxism, Lenin cited philosophy, political economy and socialism as its three basic components. Describing Marxism as a development of revolutionary theory and practice on the high road of civilization, he pointed to the fact that Marx and Engels based themselves on the most advanced sources of knowledge during their time.

Marx and Engels applied their critical-creative faculties on German philosophy (especially on the materialist Feuerbach and the idealist Hegel); on British political economy (especially on the classical economists Adam Smith, David Ricardo, etc.); and on French social science (especially on the democratic revolutionaries and utopian socialists).

In pointing to political economy, specifically *Das Kapital*, as the core of Marxism, Lenin clearly recognized its significance as the most profound explanation for an entire historical epoch, that of capitalism. Marx explains the emergence, development and maturation of capitalism in a comprehensive and thoroughgoing manner.

Up to the present, the theory and practice of Marxism is known to have undergone three stages of development.

The first stage covers the period when Marx and Engels clarified the laws of motion in free competition capitalism that led to ever

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increasing concentration of capital; and when revolutionary activities (not even led by Communists or Marxists) ranged from the 1848 revolutions through Marx's ideological leadership in the International Working Men's Association (First International) to the first successful armed revolution of the proletariat, the Paris Commune of 1871, which lasted for over two months.

The second stage covers the period when Lenin clarified the growth of capitalism into imperialism and the Bolshevik revolution won and gave way to the building and consolidation of socialism in one country. Stalin carried on the theoretical and practical work of Lenin for a long period.

The third stage covers the period when socialism exists in several countries and Mao Zedong Thought confronts and clarifies the problem of revisionism and restoration of capitalism in some socialist countries. Even as imperialism and the world capitalist system are in rapid decline, the problem of revisionism has also arisen in socialist countries. Mao put forward the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship.

It may be observed that although Marxism or Marxism-Leninism is a theory based on the fundamental teachings of Marx and Engels, it is continuously developing, in stride with the ever changing world and with the particularities of countries. Marxism today is the acclaimed guide to the world transition of capitalism to socialism and, in semicolonial and semifeudal countries particularly, the completion of the democratic revolution and transition to socialism.

Chapter 1. Dialectical Materialism

Marxist philosophy is otherwise known as dialectical materialism. It assumes that reality is material (constituted by particles) and that consciousness arises and proceeds from matter; and accounts for development or change in terms of the laws inherent to matter as well as the interaction of matter and consciousness, peculiar to man.

It may sound redundant and trite to speak of reality as material or as consisting of matter. But we must recall that for long periods in the history of philosophy the Platonic and Augustinian kind of objective idealism held sway and dictated that reality is ideal or consists of ideas and that the material, sensible things are but a reflection and poor copy of that reality.

Even in the present scientific milieu there is the view posed by subjective idealism, especially along the line of the empiricist Hume, that reality is but a mental construct of the sense data of the individual human perceiver. There is the denial of the material object of the physical sciences, which object is put at par with the mere belief in the supernatural.

A. Materialism

To understand dialectical materialism, let us first clarify its root word materialism. The best way to do so is to clarify the meaning and relationship of matter and consciousness in a general manner.

At the outset, however, let us make short shrift of the kind of materialism that preachers, reactionary politicians, landlords and the leading lights of the bourgeoisie often inveigh against but in fact always indulge in. This is supposed to be greed, moneygrubbing, gluttony and all kinds of selfish vices of which they themselves are guilty.

To Marxists, materialism is the outlook and methodology that correctly understands the nature and composition of the universe and the relationship of matter and human consciousness.

Matter is a general term that embraces things constituted by particles, existing in certain modes and measurable in space and time; it is the physical object of human perception and cognition. Consciousness ranges from sensations to thoughts or ideas.

Matter is the source and basis of consciousness. Consciousness is the product and reflection of matter. It is in this sense that we begin to speak of matter as being primary, while consciousness is secondary.

Thought itself is an electrochemical phenomenon emanating from specially arranged matter called the human brain. But, while thought is secondary to matter, it is the highest product of matter. Insofar as it is correctly reflective of the laws of motion in matter, it is capable of interacting with and transforming things faster than nature can on its own without human intervention.

Unlike mechanical materialism, which reduces things and processes to the laws of mechanics, Marxist materialism stresses the comprehensive capability of man in transforming nature and society. It guides and integrates the advances made by natural and social sciences.

Whether we refer to common day experience or to geological history, matter precedes consciousness in time. Before we can venture

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to think or speak of anything, we assume the existence of the thing that is the object of our interest.

Natural science shows that homo sapiens or cognitive man is only some 50,000 to 60,000 years old.³ The earth was bereft of human consciousness and yet this planet existed. One can only be astounded by the enormous amount of time involved in the sequence of inorganic matter, organic matter and the differentiation of flora and fauna down to the differentiation of the hominid (manlike ape) and homo sapiens.

We can therefore easily assert that matter can exist independently of consciousness while the latter cannot exist independently of the former. When Marxists refer to objective reality, they speak of things as existing independently of whatever one may think.

It is common notion that matter is finite while consciousness is infinite. It results from a failure to distinguish correct from incorrect ideas. Correct ideas are a reflective approximation of objective reality. They cannot go beyond the material facts. They tend to trail behind the material events or phenomena.⁴

Even fantasies are a mere distortion of reality or jumbling of parts of reality. The idea of an infinite self-subsistent supernatural being has been invented in the same manner as Walt Disney's Mickey Mouse. If one studies the history of the various religions, one cannot fail to see the concept of the supernatural as a mythological creation of human imagination.

The four major religions existing to this day maintain values that belong to the slave society. These were perpetuated as the suffocating ideology of feudal societies. While Marxism philosophically opposes religion, it politically tolerates it in the recognition that superior scientific ideas will prevail in the long run through persuasion, social practice and the benefits of science and technology. Marxism carries over from liberal democracy the principle of upholding the freedom of thought and belief.

³ Available fossil evidence and testing instruments and techniques have so far put the figures back to some 200,000 years ago.-Editor

⁴ For a further discussion on Pre-Marxist Materialism and Idealism, refer to Appendix 1, p. 123.-Editor

B. Materialist Dialectics

Pre-Hegelian dialectics simply means argumentation in the abstract, or abstract argument counter abstract argument. This is exemplified by the Socratic dialogues as written by Plato and by the similarly metaphysical coordination and disputation of fixed ideas (dogmas) in theological circles.

Materialist dialectics is the signal achievement of Marxism. Marx and Engels drew the most advanced and correct ideas from the best of idealist philosophy and materialist philosophy of their time, especially in Germany where philosophic activity was at its peak. They set Hegelian dialectics aright and put it on a materialist basis as partly indicated by Feuerbach. The result is an original and epoch-making advance in philosophy.

Hegelian dialectics asserts that development is first of all the self-development of thought before it is realized in history or in the material world. What makes Hegel the most outstanding idealist philosopher is that he dynamized the arid, static and lifeless dialectics of all previous idealism and took into account the development of the material world.

Feuerbach correctly pointed out that ideas are merely the sensuous reflection of the material world in human perception. He fell short of the Marxist comprehension of the endless interaction between cognition and reality and the capability of man for critical-revolutionary activity.

While it may be said that Marx and Engels put Hegelian dialectics on a materialist basis, they did not simply adopt his formula of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, which ends up in synthesis as final perfection. But rather they asserted that change is an endless process because anything at any stage always consists of contradictory aspects.

The most fundamental meaning of Marxist materialist dialectics is that things by their very essence are in the process of constant change. So Marxists say, nothing is permanent except change. But this does not mean that the things of nature change only by themselves without human direction and participation. It is precisely because of man's increasing scientific understanding of and mastery over nature and his society that the processes of change can be directed and hastened.

Materialist dialectics or the law of contradiction is the law of motion inherent in matter, springs from the differences and interaction of things, and operates in a two-way interaction of matter and

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consciousness. The materialism of Feuerbach one-sidedly took into account only the one-way reflection by human perception of material reality.

In the philosophical writings of Marx and Engels, three laws of dialectics can be drawn. These are: 1) the law of the negation of the negation; 2) the law of the interpenetration or unity of opposites; and 3) the law of quantitative to qualitative change.

The first law means that things run into their opposite in the full course of development. For instance, capitalism started as free competition, in contradiction with mercantilism but has eventually become monopoly capitalism.

The second law means that in everything there are two opposite aspects. One is the principal aspect that determines the basic character of the whole thing. The other is the secondary aspect which is needed by the principal one but which continuously struggles to assume the principal position.

For instance, the capitalist class and the proletariat are in the same thing, the capitalist system. They need each other and at the same time struggle against each other in the course of development. In so far as everything, including capitalism, comes to pass, the struggle of the two classes is permanent and absolute, while their unity within the same system is temporary and relative.

The third law means that change may at first be conspicuously quantitative or incremental but a point is reached at which the rise in quantity results in what is called a qualitative leap. In other words, evolution precedes revolution. Reforms precede revolution.

The three laws of dialectics are interrelated and integral, and may be summed up into the law of contradiction or the law of the unity of opposites.

The law of contradiction is universal: it embraces all things and processes at every stage and phase of development; it is also particular in that there are specific laws of motion peculiar to different things, knowledge of which laws leads us to the appropriate methods of handling them.

Everything has its principal and secondary aspects. In complex things and processes, there is one principal aspect but among other several aspects there is always one next in importance which may be identified as the secondary aspect.

For instance, in capitalist society, the capitalist class is principal aspect and is most directly contradicted by the working class as secondary aspect, even as there are intermediate classes and strata, making the whole situation complex

Several kinds of contradictions may be at work in the same thing or process. To determine the basic operation of the thing or process is to determine the principal contradiction and secondary contradiction. Thus, contradiction can be solved one after the other; and the solution of the principal contradiction or problem leads to the solution of the next.

Contradictory aspects constitute an identity in the sense that they are bound either in cooperation or in struggle, under given circumstances; and also that if the secondary aspect replaces the principal one from the ruling position, strength merely passes from the former to the latter.

C. Theory of Knowledge

Social practice is the basis and source of knowledge. The latter is the reflection and approximation of social practice. However, knowledge gained from social practice leads to a higher level of practice which in turn leads to a higher level of knowledge. The spiraling process is endless. Mao depicts this as advancing in waves.

Social practice embraces three things: 1) production; 2) class struggle; and 3) scientific experiment. All these involve the collective experience of large numbers of people.

Production, the struggle to transform nature, began with the advent of man and has differentiated him from all other animal species. In all times past and in all times to come, man is ever involved in the struggle to understand and master nature for productive purposes and for widening his freedom. The general level of production determines the general level of knowledge and the kind of society possible.

Class struggle arose with the advent of exploiting and exploited classes. Classless society, preoccupied mainly with the mysteries of nature, lasted for several tens of thousands of years. Class society is some 5,500 years if we base ourselves on the findings of archaeology, anthropology and history. This kind of society is characterized by the appropriation of the economic surplus (over and above subsistence of the mass of real producers) by a small section of the population.

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Consequently, it is characterized by the resistance of the deprived and exploited mass of real producers.

One kind of exploiting class society after another arose and passed away. The slave system led to the feudal system. Each reigned for thousands of years. Capitalism arose from feudal society some hundreds of years ago. Presently, it is trying to perpetuate itself in the developed countries and spread to the underdeveloped countries where there are still significant vestiges of feudalism.

Capitalism cannot last for as long a period as the previous social formations because it has created the very conditions and means for its relatively rapid supplantation by a non-exploitative class society, socialism. Science and technology for mass production have been greatly developed by capitalism. It is obvious that the masses through the modern means of large-scale production are capable of satisfying their needs and raising their cultural level and yet so small a class, the capitalist class, maintains an exploitative social system that allows it to privately appropriate and accumulate the social wealth rapidly.

Class struggle is far more accelerated now than at any stage in the history of civilization, especially because for the first time an exploited class struggles not only for its own emancipation but also for that of other exploited classes and strata. Out of the intensified many sided struggle between socialist and capitalist countries, among capitalist countries themselves, between the imperialist and developing countries; and the class struggle within every country, knowledge and material progress are making rapid strides.

Scientific experiment had its rudimentary beginnings in slave society but was suppressed due to the hegemony of religious dogmas, especially in medieval times. Following the rise of humanist (as against divinist) ideas in the Renaissance, scientific experiment flourished in the 16th and 17th centuries. Since then the progress of science has accelerated astoundingly.

According to Mao, the process of knowing basically involves two stages: 1) the perceptual or empirical and 2) the cognitive or rational. Perceptual knowledge is one derived from the gathering of raw data or facts through sense perception and social investigation. Out of these some ideas can be formed to be brought back to and improve practice. Consequently, knowledge of a higher level can be drawn from this improved practice. Decisions, judgments and stable conclusions would arise. These are called rational knowledge

This process is a continuous and spiraling one. While social practice is the basis and source of knowledge, it is also the testing ground and method for verifying the validity, invalidity or inadequacy of that knowledge. Practice guided and enriched by correct theory leads to the further development of theory.

Truth can be derived only from the facts. But without letting the ideas rise to a higher level through social practice, these ideas remain narrow, one-sided and fragmented. One runs into the error of empiricism

On the other hand, correct knowledge or proven theory can become rigid, lifeless and false when it stops to develop in accordance with changing conditions or when new conditions and new facts are simply construed to fit old ideas in the manner of cutting the feet to fit into an old shoe. This is the error of dogmatism.

Truth is both absolute and relative. It is absolute only in the sense that certain ideas are basically and stably correct in applying on a certain set of conditions. But because conditions keep on changing, truth or correct ideas are also relative. There is no final, cut-and-dried formula for social transformation. Also in the physical sciences, Newtonian physics has had to advance to Einsteinian physics. The former retains a certain limited validity but the latter has become the comprehensive explanation so far for physical phenomena.

Marxism, as founded by Marx and Engels, would have become a lifeless dogma, were it not for its further development by Lenin, Stalin, Mao and other subsequent thinkers and leaders in accordance with changing conditions.

Marxism holds that the struggle for freedom is an endless one. Freedom is but the recognition of necessity and the ability to transform reality. Every development gives rise to new necessities and problems that man needs to master and solve if freedom is to be advanced. Even basically correct solutions lead to new problems at a new and higher level of development. There is no such thing as a society of final perfection. Such a utopia is an impossibility.

Even after the final defeat of exploiting classes and those who wish to restore exploitation, even after a society of economic superabundance has been achieved, the infinitude of matter and complexity of relations continuously provide man with the problems to solve. There will always be a struggle between correct and incorrect ideas.

A society of perfect harmony would mean the end of humanity. Man would die of boredom and stagnation. Anticommunists do not

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actually speak of Marxism when they say that communists, in wanting to eliminate poverty and social inequalities, are advocating an impossible utopia where man would cease to be challenged and to take initiative to widen his won freedom.

As envisioned by Marxists, socialism is a whole historical epoch that results in the elimination of private ownership of the means of production and the withering of the state as a violent, coercive instrument of class rule. But even as communism will be rid of class exploitation and oppression, there will be public authorities and there will be friendly competitions between individuals and groups not in terms of profit-making or the rat race of the salariat but in terms of serving the entire people and achievements in science, arts, literature, technology, etc. Man, as we know now in overwhelming numbers, will be lifted from being preoccupied simply with earning his daily subsistence and will have abundant opportunities for social service and dignified self-fulfilment.

Chapter 2. Historical Materialism

Historical materialism may be briefly defined as the application of dialectical materialism on the study of the various forms of society and their development from one form to another. It focuses on that part of nature or material reality where the conscious, social activity and development of man is involved. It delves into the social sciences, rather than into the natural sciences.

Historical materialism studies and deals with the fundamental terms of the existence of societies and their social development. It seeks to comprehend the material base and superstructure of any society and-the interaction between the two, while a certain form of society exists and carries the potential or is in the actual process of changing or being changed into another form. It links dialectical materialism to political economy and other aspects of social study.

Historical materialism uncovers and shows the most essential laws of motion that operate in all and in each of human societies and that govern their development, from their initial growth through maturation to decline and either replacement by a new and higher form of society or retrogression to a lower one.

In the entire life of mankind so far, there have arisen several forms of societies in a generally ascending order. Chronologically and progressively, these are: 1) primitive communal society; 2) slave society;

3) feudal society; 4) capitalist society; and 5) socialist society. Communist society, a classless society, is projected by Marxists as the form of society that would eventually follow socialist society.

We shall follow mainly the historical experience of Western Europe because this is where capitalism and socialism appeared for the first time in a series of social transformations.

A. The Material Base of Society

The material base of society is its mode of production or economic system. This consists of the forces and relations of production.

The forces of production include the means of production and the people in production. The means of production include the tools of production and the available natural resources which are the object of human labor. The people in production include the actual producers of wealth with a certain level of skills.

The relations of production refer to the organization of production or division of labor, the common or private ownership of the means of production and the distribution of the products of labor. In primitive communal society, some simple division of labor existed but such division did not yet evolve into classes of exploiters and exploited. It was in succeeding forms of society that classes have evolved. The division of labor did not only become sharper but owing to the evolution to private ownership of the means of production, also an ever sharper division developed between definite classes of exploiters and exploited and correspondingly in the distribution of the products of labor.

In general, the forces of production determine the relations of production and may be considered primary. But at certain times, the relations of production play the primary role either in hastening or restricting the growth of the forces of production.

In general, the mode of production as a whole determines the form of society, including the character of noneconomic activities in the superstructure. However, such noneconomic activities interact with and have a powerful influence on economic activities. We shall discuss this more when we study the superstructure of society.

The full significance of the mode of production needs to be recognized. It is often times taken for granted or deliberately obscured. No society whatsoever is possible without it. And such higher things in life as philosophy, politics, science, the arts and letters, lifestyle

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and the like cannot exist without the necessary the material base supporting them.

It is through production that man has differentiated himself from other animals and has steadily gained mastery over the spontaneous forces of nature. The prehensibility of the hands, the acquisition of language and the development of the brain and thinking are the triumphs of man in tens of thousands of years of crude productive labor.

According to progressive anthropologists, man made himself. This statement is made in repudiation of the myth in the Genesis that Yahweh created him whole and placed him at first in Eden without having to sweat and labor.

The forces of production in primitive communal society was at an extremely low level. The Palaeolithic savage society had for its most potent tools of production crude stones and was dependent on hunting, fishing and picking fruit. Typically this kind of society consisted of a nomadic clan. It lasted for several tens of thousands of years before the neolithic society could emerge.

The neolithic or barbaric society had for its most potent tools of production polished stones and the bow and arrow. Subsequently, it developed husbandry, tillage, basketry, pottery, the use of the cart-wheel and the smelting of soft metals (tin and copper). Typically this kind of society consisted of a tribe. Social development accelerated but society still lasted a few tens of thousands of years.

The level of the productive forces was so low that it could not produce a significant surplus for so long. The smallness and limited productive capacity of society limited the surplus it produced. The surplus product was not sufficient for a part of society to be able to form itself into an exploitative class to appropriate and increase that surplus. Stones as tools of production were available to everyone and it was impossible for any class to gain exclusive ownership or control over them.

Although society had not yet divided into exploiting and exploited classes, it certainly was no paradise as man had to contend with the harshness of nature only with crude tools. There may have been father figures, patriarchs or leaders in clans or tribes, aside from priests or medicine men. However, these individuals did not comprise an exploitative class. They themselves had to take part in labor.

It took some 50,000 or 60,000 years before civilization emerged, with the slave society as its first form. By civilization, we mean the

existence of literacy, metallurgy and class-divided society. The earliest slave societies now known to archaeology, anthropology and history hark back to some 6,000 years ago. These include the Mesopotamian and Elamite societies (dating back to 3500 BC), Egyptian (3000 BC) and Chinese (2500 BC). As civilized societies, they had a significant degree of urbanization and they left written records and artifacts of culture far superior to that of the primitive communal society. At least, they consisted of intertribal nations.

Earliest evidence available on the making and use of a hard metal, bronze (an alloy of tin and copper) as tools dates back to 3000 BC. Evidence available on the early use of iron tools dates back to 1050 BC. Bronze and iron tools became the most potent tools of slave society, especially for agriculture and construction. These could not yet be produced abundantly and thus easily lent themselves to private ownership by a definite class.

The private ownership of the means of production was also extended to the ownership of men and women as slaves, as beasts of burden. At first, this was a progressive development from the old barbaric practice of simply killing off serious offenders in society and captives of war. But eventually the ruling class in society made it a systematic and sustained practice to turn more men into slaves until these became a major means of production in society.

The Hebrew society that we know from the Old and New Testaments of the Bible was a slave society. So were our sources of ancient classical learning, the Athenian city-state and the Roman empire. The basic classes in these societies were the slave-owning aristocracy and the slaves. The economic needs of society were in the main produced by the slaves and the slave-owning aristocracy lorded over society.

In slave society, there were also the nonbasic or intermediate classes like artisans, free holding peasants, the plebeians, the merchants and intelligentsia.

Just as the slave society could arise only on the basis of the productive level achieved in a barbaric society, so did the feudal society on the basis of that achieved by slave society. It took some 4,000 known years of slave civilization before feudal societies came into full existence in the Middle Ages in Europe. In China, it took 2,000 known years of slave civilization before the feudal society emerged.

Upon the breakup of the Roman Empire, under the onslaughts of revolts by slaves and subjugated nations and peoples, feudal societies

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emerged in Europe. With land as the principal means of production, the relations of production between slave master and slaves transformed into those between landlord and serf, with the former in control.

The slave became the serf. He could no longer be bought or sold like a beast of burden nor be subject to extremely arbitrary laws which easily cost him his life. But he was bound to the piece of land assigned to him and could not leave it unless allowed by his lord. He was obliged to pay rent to his lord.

Agriculture and husbandry greatly expanded in feudal society. Metal tools for clearing the forest and tilling the soil became more available. Deep plowing, intercropping, fallowing, more efficient use of draft animals and improved irrigation were adopted.

In the early period of feudal society, the serf was given the illusion of owning the piece of land he tilled, especially when he was the one who cleared it. Thus, he was encouraged to put more land to tillage. He paid rent in the form of labor service, by devoting certain days of the week to work on the land of his lord.

Subsequently, landownership slipped away from the serf through various devices. The distinction between land owned by serf and lord was erased and the serf was obliged to pay rent in the form of crop share. In the later period of feudal society, land rent in the form of cash was increasingly adopted as the bourgeoisie increased its role and influence in the relations of production.

The growth of agriculture encouraged the distinct growth of the handicrafts which included the production of agricultural implements, cloth and the like. Towns emerged as distinct centers of handicraft production and centers of commerce between the products of the town and the village.

The handicrafts stage of bourgeois development, characterized by the guild as a form of organization, gave way to manufacturing. No longer was a complete product made by a few men in the same small shop but a large group of men would be devoted to making only a single part of the complete product day in and day out. The relations between the guild master and artisans was replaced by the manufacturer and a mass of workers put in line according to a high degree of a division of labor.

The advance of manufacturing though still based on handicrafts made the bourgeoisie a wealthy class, influential as the moneybags in the royal court. As early as the 16th century; it was obvious that the

needs of the king for funds to carry out wars to consolidate his power coincided with the needs of the bourgeoisie for a secure market. Also, their interests coincided in colonial expeditions.

The scientific advance in mechanical physics from the 17th century onwards gave way to technological inventions which promoted manufacturing in an unprecedented manner in the 18th century. The best known of these inventions were the steam power and the spinning jenny. The bourgeoisie found the feudal mode of production too restrictive and wanted to change and control the relations of production.

The French revolution brought the bourgeoisie to power for the first time in history. By the 19th century, the bourgeoisie had already come into full control of the relations of production in several countries in Europe. Either the landlord class had to compromise for gradual dissolution or be destroyed outright by political upheaval. This class could linger on in Europe, unable to resist absorption into the capitalist economy.

The advance of science and technology became even more rapid in the 19th century. It gave rise to what is now often called the industrial revolution. Large scale machine production or mass production became the dominant characteristic of the economic system in a number of European countries. The new powerful means of production were owned by the capitalist class; and the mass of industrial workers or proletariat increased in order to build them up. The relations of production was one basically between the capitalist class and the proletariat, and the former was in control of it.

The Communist Manifesto in 1848 noted that the material achievements of capitalism outstripped in a very short period those of all previous civilizations by so many times. It also pointed out that a world economy had arisen, with the capitalist countries capable of bombarding all backward countries with the commodities of capitalist production.

But the fundamental message of the Manifesto was that the capitalist class had also summoned to life its own grave digger, the proletariat. Capitalist society was increasingly being divided into two great camps, that of capital and labor. For the first time in the history of mankind, an exploited class had arisen with the capability not only of overthrowing the class that dominates it but also of linking up with other exploited classes in a struggle for emancipation in order to build a new socialist society.

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In presenting the internal laws of motion of capitalism and its course of development, Marx did his greatest work in *Das Kapital*, which we shall deal with in a later chapter. In the large terms of historical materialism, Marx and Engels pointed out the social character of the means of production (which in the first place is congealed labor) and the private character of appropriation by the capitalist class.

Marx uncovered the extraction of surplus value (unpaid value of labor above paid labor or wages) which leads up to the compelling accumulation of the means of production or productive capital in the hands of the capitalist class and the consequent relative crisis of overproduction. As a result of this, the workers are compelled to stand up and struggle for their class interests; at first through trade unions and subsequently through political parties.

Just before the end of the 19th century, capitalism grew into monopoly capitalism in certain countries. Increasingly, in the 20th century, it found in the export of capital aside from commodities the solution to the overconcentration of capital. It was Lenin's turn to study and explain this new phenomenon, which he called modern imperialism, the highest and final stage of capitalist development.

He said that just as the old form of capitalism led capitalist rivalries to break out into wars, modern imperialism would lead to more bitter rivalries breaking out into larger wars. But these wars, he pointed out, are self-defeating and would lead to social upheavals and revolutionary civil war. He described modern imperialism as the eve of social revolution and called for turning war into revolution.

The first interimperialist war, World War I, resulted in the victory of the first socialist revolution in the weakest of imperialist countries, Russia. World War I resulted in the victory of socialism in several countries and the rise of national movements against imperialism and colonialism in the colonies and semicolonies. In turning to modern imperialism, therefore, capitalism, has merely temporarily postponed its demise in its home grounds and has made possible not only the worldwide anti-capitalist (anti-imperialist) movement but also the rise of socialism.

The socialist mode of production, in sharp contrast to the capitalist one, involves primarily the public ownership of the means of production. In the concrete circumstances of countries which have so far become socialist, however, there have been transitory concessions to private ownership of the means of production, especially in the case

of the peasants and even some capitalist entrepreneurs. All strategic industries, bureaucrat ill-gotten productive assets, capitalist farms and sources of raw materials are definitely nationalized at the inception of socialist society. In so far as there are considerable vestiges of feudalism, it is both politically and economically wise to carry out bourgeois-democratic land reform. This means the free distribution of land to the peasants. Over a period of time, their individual ownership would be raised to the level of cooperative or collective ownership.

The process of dissolving private ownership of land among the peasants is smoothed by education, the introduction of farm machines and other modern means, the development of localized industries and the increased capacity of the national industries to absorb those that may be displaced from the farms. However, in collective farms, small private plots are allotted to peasants for gardening to serve home use, private taste and some amount of localized exchange.

Concessions to some private capitalist entrepreneurs and even private traders are usually more short lived than those extended to peasants. These concessions are extended on varying considerations, depending on the concrete conditions. At any rate, the most important economic reason is that entrepreneurial and professional skills and widespread small trading facilities continue to be useful, after all the commanding heights of the economy are already socialist. It is only a foolish leadership that encourages the expatriation of people, especially when these have skills to contribute. Communist society is still too far away for any dialectical and historical materialist to be able to work out its details. It is enough to know the basic principles and outline of the communist future. Although some writings of Marx and Engels state that socialism is the first stage of communism, Lenin—favored by further proletarian revolutionary experience—said that socialism would take an entire historical epoch. At any rate, we can say that the socioeconomic, political and cultural achievements of socialism prepares the way for the communist society.

In socialist society, private profit ceases basically and then completely. But social profit takes its place. In the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Marx thoroughly debunked the idea of “the equal distribution of the fruits of labor” as too simple-minded and nonsense. In the socialist mode of production, the income above wages will be allotted in the following manner: 1) the expansion of productive capacity, not just simple reproduction of capital or simple replacement of depreciation;

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2) increased fund for public-welfare (public housing, public transport, nurseries, hospitals, schools, theaters, libraries, parks, recreation facilities, etc.); 3) administration and 4) defense.

Private profit that under current circumstances is frozen in unproductive assets or wasted on luxurious, conspicuous spending by a few shall cease to exist. So shall unnecessary and bloated costs of administration, like excessive salaries, allowances and bonuses for the bosses and the unnecessary costs of private economic competition and bankruptcies.

The possibility of the communist society lies in the awesome capacity of the modern means of mass production, hastened by the cumulative progress of science and technology and unfettered by the motive of private profit; in the steady increase of the real wages or the purchasing power of the workers; and in the rapid expansion of public welfare facilities. The work time can even be reduced to allow people to engage in more cultural and other worthwhile activities and thus become well integrated. Thus, work itself ceases to be a drudgery and becomes a joy.

The high-tech productive capacity of the imperialist-dominated world today is enough, to wipe out poverty. But the wealth created by the people is taken away from them through the exploitative relations of production obtaining. Myths of scarcity and limits to growth are also spread and the environment is ravaged for the purpose of private profit. If the United States of America were to turn socialist today, it will not only permanently eliminate its problem of unemployment and poverty for a considerable portion of its population (20 percent) but will facilitate and accelerate the growth of other countries by several fold.

Anyhow, high technology accelerates the crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system and creates at a faster rate the conditions for the people's resistance to imperialism and neocolonialism and for the irrepressible advance of socialism through the twists and turns of history. The capitalist relations of production are becoming more and more incapable of containing the growth of the forces of production.

B. The Superstructure of Society

The superstructure of society consists of the ideas, institutions and fields of activity above the mode of production. Philosophy, the arts and sciences, politics, economic theory, jurisprudence, religion,

morality and the like belong to the superstructure. The institutions, personnel and activities in the superstructure are maintained by the surplus generated by the mode of production.

The superstructure is founded on the mode of production. The former reflects the latter. In general, the material base of society determines superstructure. Thus, the level of cultural development and the dominant currents of thought in a society are expressive of the basic mode of production.

While it may be said that the mode of production is primary to the superstructure, Marxism goes further to state that they interact. At certain times, the superstructure can restrict the growth of the mode of production. And at other times, the former can hasten the latter. Just as reactionary ideas can linger on in the superstructure, progressive ideas can arise in it ahead of the actual transformation of the mode of production.

The contradictions in the mode of production are reflected in contradictions in the superstructure; and the latter influence the former. Marxism encompasses the complexity and dialectical relations of the mode of production and superstructure. It shuns economic determinism, the one-sided dictation of the economic system on the superstructure.

Of all institutions and organizations in the superstructure of a class society, the state is the highest form. It is the most powerful and most comprehensive. It claims the obedience of all inhabitants within its territory; and it has the means to enforce that obedience.

Defenders of the bourgeois state present it as a supra-class instrument for the general good and often quibble about the forms of government in order to obscure the class character of the state. Thus, the Athenian slave state is simplistically referred to as “the cradle of democracy” simply because at certain periods the general assembly or representative assembly of slave-owning aristocrats and freemen held sway instead of an autocracy or oligarchy at the helm of government. Completely obscured is the essential fact that this so-called democracy was the rule of the slave-owning class over a great mass of slaves and other people.

In this regard, an ecclesiastical chapter in the Middle Ages might as well be called a democracy. Along this line, many bourgeois historians actually call the Magna Carta of the 13th century a milestone of democracy. In this document, the feudal monarch of England pledged himself to consulting with the feudal barons before imposing new taxes.

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To the Marxists, the most important consideration in characterizing a state is what class rules. To them the state is the special instrument of class coercion over another class in order to realize a certain kind of society. It is the institution in the superstructure which preserves the relations of production in the material base of society. It consists essentially of the army, police, the courts and the prisons—the very same apparatuses that the bourgeois political theorist would point to as the guarantee to law and order for the common good.

The state arose with exploitative class society. In the long, long period of primitive communal society, there was merely the authority of the clan, tribal leader or council of elders. The community was so small that the leaders or elders were close to their followers and together they could easily make decisions whenever they wanted to. Contrary to the idyllic presentation of primitive society, the leader could at times be abusive. But certainly he was not yet the representative of any ruling exploitative class.

All menfolk were warriors in the interest of the community and normally there was no special body of men performing military duties full time. There were simply no means of production yet which could be monopolized by any class. There was simply no surplus product to take away. The whole community had to struggle together for bare subsistence.

Considering the extremely low level of its mode of production, the primitive communal society had a very crude kind of superstructure. Apart from their practical thoughts related to production, the primitive people had superstitious beliefs ranging from animism and magic through ancestor worship to polytheism; and made uncomplicated rhythmic melodies and flat, childlike drawings. They were not literate. The society could not generate the surplus product to support special bodies devoted to various fields of activity besides the simplest division of labor in economic production.

As we go further to discuss the superstructure of the various forms of society, take note that we seem to set one form of society from another absolutely. This is so because our main interest now is to present the basic characteristics of each type of superstructure. When we deal with social transformation, we shall give due attention to the fact that the embryo of a later form of society is necessarily found in a preceding form of society, This is true with regard to both mode of production and superstructure.

The slave-owning class built the state for the first time in civilization. Whether there was tyranny (autocracy) or a representative assembly of slave owners at its helm, the slave state maintained the relations of production whereby the slave masters dominated the slaves. This was true from the most ancient oriental civilizations down to the Roman Empire.

As a coercive instrument of class rule, the slave state saw to it that the exploited class of slaves was constantly replenished by people who could not pay their debts, violated laws against property and persons or were captured from other communities. The slave state also went into empire building for the purpose of getting slaves, booty and tribute. These empires ranged from the small one, wherein one city-state dominated a few others, to the vast one of the Romans.

With society already capable of creating surplus product, distinct institutions and activities in the superstructure developed. Such groups of individuals as politicians, scribes, administrative officers, priests, philosophers, master builders, poets, painters, sculptors, other artists and professionals arose mainly in the service of the ruling system.

For brevity, let us cite only the most outstanding achievements of slave society with great influence in the Western tradition. The Hebrews put forward through the Old and New Testaments most vigorously the concept of monotheistic religion, an advance on highly irrational polytheism and emperor worship. The Greeks gave natural philosophy, great works of poetry (especially the epic and drama) and excellent architecture. The Romans merely elaborated on the cultural achievements of the Greeks but raised to a new and higher level the art of administration and jurisprudence.

The feudal societies that emerged from the collapse and fragmentation of the Roman Empire had, of course, the feudal state as the main feature of their superstructure. As the emancipated peoples and slaves settled down and developed a feudal mode of production, the feudal state arose to maintain the relations of production whereby a hierarchy of landed aristocrats lorded over the masses of serfs and other people.

A striking feature of the superstructure was the ideological monopoly enjoyed by the Catholic Church. During the overthrow of the Roman Empire, Christianity had managed to be on both sides of the conflict. It was the state religion of the empire since the fourth century and Christian missionaries were deployed among the subjugated

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nations and peoples. Bereft of any ideology or culture higher than that of their adversary, the subjugated peoples adopted Christianity. Thus, Christendom prevailed in Europe.

The Catholic clergy cultivated the union of church and state and likewise the idea that God is the source of authority. They advised the feudal rulers and instructed the children of the royalty and nobility. The ecclesiastical organization was even more extensive than the administrative system of the state. The parish was based on the village and the priests were in ways depended on for certain functions of government, especially tax collection.

In cooperation with the church, the secular rulers had to contend not only with the clergy within society but also the papacy seated in Rome. Except for certain periods of extreme corruption, debauchery and loss of authority, the papacy was the effective international power arching over the feudal societies. The empire of Charlemagne was a flash in the pan. The Holy Roman Empire existed from the tenth century to its end in the 16th century. It was a farcical copy of the original Roman Empire in the long run but it nurtured the European feudal states under the canopy of Christendom.

In the first half of the Christian millennium, from the fifth to the tenth centuries, the Church concentrated on catechism. The highest level of education was available only to monks and it consisted mainly of the study of the Bible. Except for what served the Christian ideology, the philosophical, protoscientific and literary works of Greece and Rome were suppressed.

As Engels would say, natural philosophy was subordinated to theology. What was most cherished in philosophy was metaphysics. To be precise, only the Augustinian adaptation of neo-Platonism (Plotinus) was propagated until the late 13th century. Thomas Aquinas made an adaptation of Aristotelianism on the basis of secondary materials, the commentaries of the Islamic scholar Averroes. No university existed in Christendom until the University of Paris was established in the 11th century. But the main fare was still theological and metaphysical. More advanced secular learning and ancient classical learning were available either in the schools of Islamic Spain, Norman Sicily or scholarly circles in Constantinople.

The Roman Catholic monopoly of the superstructure in all societies of Western Europe was eventually undermined by the increasing virulence of the conflict between state and secular interests, the Italian

Renaissance which promoted secular humanist literature emulating pagan works of the past, the Reformation and rise of Protestant movements, the rise of scientific investigation and, of course, the rise of the manufacturing and commercial bourgeoisie. To the extent that the capitalist mode of production took hold of certain parts of Europe, the germinal bourgeoisie were conceded political rights by the feudal authorities. This occurred in divided Italy where cities which economically benefited most from the religious crusades and Mediterranean trade became republican communes and were responsible for their own economy and defense, as early as the 13th century.

But it was first during the civil war in England in the 17th century that a flourishing bourgeoisie made a powerful bid to acquire its own political power in a major European country. The French revolution was eventually the culmination of the long-drawn efforts of the bourgeoisie to gain state power for itself. Against an extremely resistant nobility and clergy, the bourgeoisie together with the other classes of French society went on to overthrow feudal power.

In revolutionizing the feudal superstructure, the bourgeoisie promoted subjective idealism (empiricism in England and rationalism in the continent); the idea of rational, secular and scientific enlightenment and progress; liberal democracy (under such slogans as liberty, equality and fraternity) and the separation of church and state; and the economic theory of free competition (an advance on mercantilism, whereby the feudal monarch and the national bourgeoisie worked hand in hand through state trading monopolies and concessions to the bourgeoisie).

The West European bourgeoisie took advantage of the workers' armed uprising in 1848 to trounce feudal power on a wide scale and at the same time suppress the working class and carry on the industrial revolution further. After getting hold of state power, the bourgeoisie used it to control the working class and suppress any resistance to capitalist exploitation.

Compromising with a landed aristocracy on the wane, the bourgeoisie reverted to old ideas and recanted on its blasphemies against church and religion. Of course, it continued to avail of science and technology in pushing the growth of productive forces. But even in this regard, the advance of science and technology has been subordinated to and restricted by the process of maximizing profit. Productive forces have been destroyed repeatedly via the economic crises and wars, not

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to speak of the wasteful consumption in boom times which induced every consequent crisis.

In the imperialist era of capitalism, in the midst of which we are, individual freedom and free enterprise are still the catchwords of the capitalist class in its prevailing theories and propaganda. But the fact is that whole masses of individuals (the proletariat and other exploited classes) are being oppressed and exploited by capitalist states and their client-states. It is monopoly capitalism and not free enterprise that actually rides roughshod over the people in the capitalist world.

In comparison to the superstructure of feudalism, that of capitalism is definitely more advanced. Under feudalism at its best, education was available only to the children of the nobility and the bourgeoisie in schools run by clerics. Under capitalism, there is universal public education in the elementary grades or even up to high school and also state universities and there are all sorts of nonsectarian private schools at every level. The media of information and education have also vastly expanded through the advance of science and technology.

The needs of the capitalist mode of production are met by the superstructure, in terms of training more men and women in the various professions. This is not only to enhance production for profit directly or indirectly but also to throttle or mislead the exploited classes. While the upper classes of society in the capitalist world have a cosmopolitan character, the kind of "pop culture" dished out to the masses consists of trivial works that promote the individualistic values on money grubbing, sex and violence. This totalitarianism of the capitalist class over the exploited masses in the field of culture is touted as the hallmark of freedom. It is counter-posed to the revolutionary ideological and political unity of the exploited masses.

The inhabitants of the economically advanced capitalist society today can boast of a lifestyle and flashy possessions far above the income level of the workers and peasants and even the lower and middle-middle classes in the colonies and semicolonies. But it should be noted that the ability of American workers to get creature comforts, often on mortgage, rests on the imperialist exploitation of other nations, while the crisis of overproduction and capital overaccumulation does not yet result in economic stagnation and massive unemployment even in capitalist countries.

An unprecedentedly grave economic crisis is now occurring in the capitalist mode of production. This is reflected in a growing crisis

in its culture. There is huge waste of resources and serious threats to mankind in the rivalry and arms race between an imperialist and social-imperialist power; cutthroat competition among the capitalist countries; the demands of the third world countries and people for emancipation and development. All these are putting every capitalist country in dire straits.

Socialist society has arisen only a few decades ago, in 1917. But it has chalked up material productive achievements that took the bourgeoisie several centuries to make. On the basis of this, a socialist superstructure is flourishing. Even in the Soviet Union, which has retrogressed into state monopoly capitalism, it cannot be denied that what it previously achieved through socialism is so great as to enable it to continue confronting the United States in the Cold War.

Socialist societies have so far arisen in countries with a backlog of feudalism. Thus the socialist states have taken the form of people's democracy, with the alliance of workers and peasants as the main political base. At the same time, proletarian dictatorship is exercised to disempower the exploiting classes. It is proletarian, Marxist ideology, politics and organization that prevail, even as bourgeois-democratic reforms like land reform have to be undertaken for a while in a period of transition.

The Communist Party is the chief propagator and applicator of Marxism in a socialist society and it is preeminent in the socialist state because it has been the leader in the transformation of the old society and in the continuing proletarian revolution. Thus, in China until today, various noncommunist parties and associations continue to exist and are represented in the People's Consultative Council and the National People's Congress.

All the freedoms formally guaranteed in a liberal democratic constitution are carried over into a socialist constitution, with the crucial difference that the proletarian dictatorship and the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry are upheld and the bourgeoisie and the landlord class are deprived of the freedom to exploit and oppress the people under the guise of individual freedom and the right to own property, including the means of production.

While the people achieve real freedom, only a comparatively small number (a handful) of exploiters and counterrevolutionaries lose or have their freedom restricted according to their political or criminal culpability. Unlike the bourgeois state, the socialist state frankly admits

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that it is a class dictatorship against its class enemies even as it is the democratic instrument of the people.

Freedom of thought and belief is respected in socialist countries. Marxism maintains the scientific and optimistic view that correct ideas emerge through debate and democratic persuasion and through social practice where the ideas are tested and verified. Within the Communist Party, no line or policy is adopted without democratic discussion. In society at large, the freedom to espouse any idea or belief is wider, short of any overt act of violence against the socialist state and counter-revolutionary effort to restore the exploiting classes to power.

The materialist-scientific outlook of Marxism is conducive to the rapid advance of science and technology, not for the sake of private profit but of social profit. What happens in the first place in the socialist transformation of the means of production is the removal of fetters imposed on them by the selfish and narrow interests of the exploiting classes. Thus, we are witness today to a China, extremely backward only three decades ago, fast approaching the most advanced standards of science and technology for agriculture, industry and defense.

The quality of life of the large masses of workers and peasants improves in accordance with the expansion of socialist production. Education at any level is open to the workers and peasants and their children without any cost. The new heroes of the culture are revolutionary workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals. New values run through the works of arts and letters. At the same time, learning from the past and from abroad is encouraged to serve the present needs of the socialist society.

Socialism as a form of society is still relatively new but its achievements in both material base and superstructure are already gigantic. It will take an entire historical epoch, before it passes on to communism. We can also say that socialism will outlive its purposes, the historic mission of the proletariat, at an accelerated rate when modern imperialism shall have been defeated.

The withering of the state is pointed to by Marxists as the most decisive characteristic of the transition of socialism to communism. So long as imperialism exists and so long as there is still an internal danger of capitalist restoration, socialist societies cannot be expected to let down their guard and dissolve the instruments of coercion by which the proletariat can keep down and eliminate the bourgeoisie as a class.

Those who are capable of thinking only in terms of pre-socialist state power cannot imagine how the state could ever be dissolved. They call this impossible and utopian. What compounds their ignorance of the Marxist definition of the state as class instrument of coercion is that they think unfairly that Marxism prescribes the end of all authority in communism. That is not Marxism but anarchism.

We can say in the most general manner that some authority will still exist in communist society. But it will certainly not be an authority with coercive apparatuses for the private gain of any exploitative class or group. Even at its early stage, socialism has already demonstrated that there can be a kind of state which still uses the coercive apparatuses against its enemies but which has put an end to productive and social relations whereby a few belonging to a narrow class can exploit masses of people belonging to another class.

Given more time, socialist society can generalize the level of living and education of the present upper-middle class. If such were the condition of the people in the whole society, is there any need for the instruments of class coercion? Crimes against property because of economic want will go down to zero. Most crimes and legal cases today relate to property and poverty.

The long period of socialism will create not only the economic conditions but also those social, political and cultural relations that will make a classless society, communism, possible.

C. Social Transformation: Revolution

A society is ripe for a radical transformation when the forces of production have grown to the point that they can no longer be contained by the relations of production obtaining. In a manner of speaking, the integuments of society are burst asunder. The socioeconomic crisis leads to a political crisis in which the ruling class is unable to rule in the old way, the people are desirous of revolutionary change and there is a revolutionary party strong enough to lead the revolution.

Under these conditions, the struggle between the ruling class and the ruled class intensifies. The ruling class tries to preserve the outmoded relations of production and mollify or suppress the ruled class. The latter is determined to overthrow the ruling class and seeks to change the old relations of production.

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The class struggle rises from the mode of production to the superstructure and the whole of society. The ruling class tries to make use of the superstructure, especially the state, in order to preserve the outmoded relations of production. Likewise, the ruled class tries to make use of anything it can in the superstructure and hasten to create the political and cultural means in its favor. Thus, the superstructure becomes a field of class struggle.

In the course of class struggle, reforms or revolution may occur. Under certain circumstances, the relations of production may still be adjusted and concessions granted to the ruled class. Or the ruling class may simply refuse to make reforms, even when still possible, and thus provoke a revolutionary upheaval that takes the form of armed revolution by the ruled class. Conditions may also reach such a point that mere reforms would no longer suffice to preserve the relations of production.

The ultimate weapon of any ruling class in order to retain its class rule is the state as an instrument of coercion. It is openly used to repress the ruled class when all suasive means such as the parliament and other civil institutions fail to appease the ruled class.

In the face of flagrant armed repression by the state, the ruled class is induced to resist and organize its own revolutionary party and armed force. If the ruled class does not fight, it continues to be dominated by an outmoded relations of production and by the state power of the exploiting class. But the tendency of the ruled class to struggle for its own rights and interests will still be there. If the ruled class chooses to fight and organizes an armed force, it is determined to change the relations of production and establish a completely new society.

The outbreak of an armed revolution depends on the objective conditions in the mode of production and how the two sides in the class struggle consciously maneuver in the use of the superstructure. It is also possible for the leadership of the exploited class to be coopted or defeated by the ruling class for some time so that the coopting or winning class (the ruling class) can arrange the relations of production either by way of further reaction or a series of reforms to reinforce reaction.

Reformism rejects the theory and practice of social revolution, especially that which entails the armed overthrow of the reactionary state. It is a system of thought that insists on pursuing an indefinite

series of reforms to improve the incumbent exploitative and oppressive class society.

History has shown that, independent of the wishes of the reformists, the political crisis in a capitalist society can lead to the inciting moment that triggers the acceleration and climax of the revolutionary process of seizing political power. It has also shown that in an underdeveloped and semifeudal society, with a large peasant population, the chronic socioeconomic and political crisis provides the basis for a protracted people's war of encircling the cities from the countryside.

In Marxism, the armed seizure of political power by an oppressed and exploited class is the central task of revolution and is the necessary prelude to all-round social revolution. Without political power in its hands, the proletariat cannot make the social revolution. This social revolution involves essentially the total transformation of the relations of production. It also involves a prolonged process of totally transforming the superstructure, making it correspond to and thereby enhance the relations of production.

The historic revolutionary mission of the proletariat is not limited to an armed seizure of power. It extends over a long period of struggle from the change of political power to the period of socialist revolution and construction until the dawn of communism. It is bourgeois or feudal confusion of mind or misinterpretation of Marxism to narrow down social revolution to a mere spasm of violence.

The Marxist understanding of revolutionary violence as the people's sovereign right against oppression is no different from that of the liberal-democrat. Such right is always implicitly or explicitly upheld in liberal-democratic constitutions. The only difference lies in the goals: the Marxist wants socialism and the liberal democrat wants capitalism.

Social revolution is a conscious mass undertaking. Marxism rejects a number of false theories in this regard. Among them are the theory of mechanical inevitability, the theory of spontaneous masses and the theory that great individuals rather than the masses make history.

The theory of mechanical inevitability puts the ruled class in the passive position of not consciously doing anything to change the relations of production because it is the growth of the productive forces that will inevitably change the relations of production.

What is obscured by this theory of mechanical inevitability is the fact that the ruling class has a prior conscious control not only of the relations of production but also of the superstructure. It can onesidedly

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prolong the relations of production if the exploited class does not make effective resistance. This explains why as late as the 16th century onwards master-slave relations in the Americas could exist side by side with lord-serf relations as well as with capital-labor relations. Until now, there are still remnants of primitive communal, slave and feudal societies in the most backward parts of the world. In many colonies and semicolonies, feudalism and semifeudalism persist on a large scale.

The theory of spontaneous masses posits that the ruled class without any conscious leadership and without a definite ideology, programme and organized strength can transform society into a new one. This is an anarchist notion. It again obscures the prior ruling class control of the relations of production and the superstructure. To say the least, the unorganized masses are eventually rendered helpless before the highly conscious and highly organized ruling class, which is in command of a large number of armed personnel that can prevail over spontaneous mass uprisings.

The direct opposite of the theory of spontaneous masses is the theory that great individuals rather than the masses make history. The Marxist view is that the people are the motive force and makers of history and that great men as leaders are at best representatives of great mass movements. The brilliance of leaders can help hasten the advance of a movement; or the loss of such leaders can delay such an advance. But so long as a conscious, well organized mass movement exists, a structure of leadership can replace a leader as soon as he falls or is lost. Marxism requires both correct leadership and mass participation in the making of revolution.

When they speak of the people as the motive force and makers of history, Marxists mean a single leading class and the other exploited and oppressed classes rising against the ruling class. The leading class must be able to rally under its leadership other classes and strata against the ruling class.

Broad organizations and groups of various interests are aroused and mobilized against the ruling class. And the revolutionary army enlists fighters from the broad ranks of the people. To serve as the vanguard of the revolution, the leading class has a political party with a progressive ideology, political programme and a solid organization of cadres and conscious and conscientious members.

In the face of a ruling class like the bourgeoisie, which is highly conscious of its class interests and has a complex array of highly

developed means either for crushing or misleading any attempt at radical social transformation, the proletariat as the leading class has to comprehend the proper relationship of people, class, party and cadres or leaders.

Let us now review social transformation as it has occurred in the history of mankind.

In primitive times, the paleolithic clan commune lagged for a painfully long period. In this regard, we can easily observe the primary role that the forces of production, particularly the means of production at this stage of human existence, played in the development of society. The neolithic society of the extended clan or tribe could arise only on the basis of the refinement and improvement of stone tools. This took another painfully long period.

The crudity and puniness of the forces of production and the reflective flimsiness of the superstructure have prolonged the process of social transformation. A long period of social evolution had to take place before there could be social revolution. Man had to struggle hard from being a blind part of nature to becoming one increasingly distinguishable from it through the growth of the forces of production.

The transition from primitive communal society to slave society was made possible on the basis of achievement in the former. In the womb of neolithic barbaric society, man started husbandry, agriculture, the use of hard metals and the conversion of social offenders and war captives into slaves. These were the forces of production which increasingly wore out the simple division of labor during the late period of those barbaric societies that managed to graduate into the slave form of society.

The slave society firmed up and expanded the conversion of men and women into a class of slaves from the ranks of social offenders and war captives in order to produce the surplus product for the benefit of a slave-owning class and its civil retinue of priests, scribes, administrative officers and the like, and its army and other coercive apparatuses. For the first time in the history of mankind, classes arose and the state was established to maintain the political and economic power of the ruling class. The drive to increase the surplus product impelled nation-building and empire-building for expanding the ranks of slaves from war captives.

The majority of slaves were mainly deployed in the fields to till the land for the benefit of the aristocrats and freemen. Agriculture was

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expanded. Upon the tremendous increase of slaves, the master-slave relations of production started to become outmoded. Oppression and exploitation increased even as it became more difficult to manage so many slaves on the wide fields. The slaves started to rebel. So did the subjugated nations and peoples in the empire as they were obliged to create more surplus product for the military governor and the imperial coffers.

The class struggle between the slave-owning aristocracy and the masses of slaves intensified. As the magnates of slavery tended to accumulate slaves and land, vast numbers of landed freemen who owned a few slaves and even lower sections of the slave aristocracy were bankrupted.

The Roman Empire reached its peak in the first and second centuries but in the third century it began a protracted period of decline. The weakening and fragmentation of the empire eventually resulted in the emancipation of slaves. Either upon the victory of the revolts of slaves and subject nations or upon the adaptation of original slave owners to the feudal relations of production, large masses of slaves became converted to the status of serfs.

It should be observed that in the transformation of a slave society into a feudal one, the largest exploited class did not become a ruling class. But it made substantial gains. It was no longer prey to customs or laws that easily cost the lives of its members. At the early stage of feudal society, the serfs were also often given the illusion of owning their own parcels of land, provided they worked on the lands of the landlords on certain days. This served to stimulate the clearing of land and expansion of agriculture.

In the feudal mode of production, land is the principal means of production and the serfs were in the main the people in production. These forces of production were subject to the relations of production dominated by the landlord class or feudal aristocracy. The tithe-collecting Roman Catholic Church was also part of the landlord class. The Pope was landlord of the so-called papal states and the monastic orders and parishes owned land in the European states and colonies. In many European countries, the church corporately became the biggest landlord.

Though several feudal states sprung from the ruins of the Roman Empire, they were dominated by a single interstate ideology and institution—that of Christianity. The church and the state were the powerful

forces in the superstructure of European feudal society. They united to defend the system against common foes but they also had conflict of interests.

At the peak of feudal development, serious peasant rebel movements were already cropping up and often took the form of heretical movements. The religious crusades at first tended to absorb peasant unrest and unify the monarchies in Europe under Christianity. But in the 13th century, both the church and state took violent measures such as massacres to suppress the serfs who combined antifeudal resistance and religious heresy.

The papacy merely manipulated the various feudal states to get what it wanted and sometimes got the short end of a conflict with a more clever secular ruler. But by the 16th century, the papacy had its own army to assert its power in the papal states and punish rebellious peasants. Against the rise of the secular humanist spirit and the outbreak of peasant rebellions in the 16th and 17th century, the church in cooperation with the state expanded the work of the Inquisition from suppressing heretics to widescale witchhunt. The Church also repeatedly instigated religious wars against Protestants.

In Western Europe, after the so-called barbarians had settled down, no peasant movement succeeded in seizing political power from any landlord class dominating feudal society. In China, some peasant movements succeeded in taking over political power over entire feudal states but could not go beyond the feudal form of society. Their leaderships merely took over the role of the deposed landlords. As in China, the peasantry of Europe were not pushing forward any new mode of production even if they were moved by clear specific grievances. They only had vague ideas of what constituted more just relations of production than what existed. They were often provoked to revolt by excessive rent, taxes and other levies. They could not propose any progressive ideology, except some alternative notions of Christianity considered heretical by the dominant church.

Within feudal society, however, a new class pushing a new mode of production and a new outlook grew. At first, a mercantile bourgeoisie arose with the towns and cities which served as centers of handicraft production and trade between town and country or between farflung areas. Subsequently, a manufacturing bourgeoisie arose from the ranks of the mercantile bourgeoisie.

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When the manufacturing bourgeoisie developed further into an industrial bourgeoisie, especially in the later part of the 18th century, the bourgeoisie was in a position to make a frontal challenge to the old feudal aristocracy for political supremacy. In previous times, the bourgeoisie had tactfully cooperated with the feudal monarchs in the consolidation of national markets and in the financing of colonial expeditions and wars.

Beside the growth of the capitalist mode of production, which had extended to capitalist farming, there had been a long period of ideological preparation for the political ascendancy of the bourgeoisie. This ranged from such development as the Italian renaissance in the 15th century through the scientific inquiries into physics in the 17th century to the French enlightenment in the 18th century.

Unlike the peasantry, the bourgeoisie stood for a new mode of production that was capable of replacing the old feudal mode and it easily adopted a progressive scientific outlook that effectively destroyed the ideological monopoly of the Church. In the French revolution, the bourgeoisie took the vanguard position and allied itself with the peasants, workers and other sections of the population to overthrow the state power of the landlord class and the authority of the Catholic Church. The political supremacy of the industrial bourgeoisie over society was established.

In capitalist society, the new class struggle is between the capitalist class and the working class. The growth of large-scale machine production and the proletariat has reached the point that the capitalist relations of production hinder rather than enhance them. The capitalist relations of production and the capitalist class can be removed and the proletariat can establish the socialist relations of production.

Unlike the peasantry, the proletariat stands for a new mode of production. As a matter of fact, the peasantry is dissolved by the expanding mode of capitalist production and has no place to go but join the ranks of the proletariat. Thus, the Communist Manifesto speaks of a society increasingly divided into two great camps, that of capital and that of labor.

For the first time in the history of mankind, an exploited class which does not previously own the means of production is in the position of becoming the ruling class in a completely new form of society. It stands for a mode of production that continues to forge ahead long after the seizure of political power. Also for the first time, an exploited

class cannot emancipate itself without emancipating all other exploited classes. As never before in the history of mankind, the freedom of the entire people can be achieved.

The development of the working class has undergone three stages. The first one was the machine-smashing stage when workers displaced by machines anarchically destroyed or sabotaged machines in vengeance. The second one was the trade union stage when the workers learned to organize themselves for the first time to fight for their own economic interests. The third one was the stage when the workers started to form their political parties to wage political struggles in their own class interests and in alliance with other oppressed classes in society.

In 1848, Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto as a programmatic guide for the workers of all countries. Without even having read this manifesto, significant numbers of workers participated in uprisings in several cities of Europe in 1848. These were quelled and bourgeois reaction reigned. Marx and Engels further laid the ideological foundation of the working class movement and participated in the work of the International Workingmen's Association (First International).

In 1871, the proletariat of Paris seized political power and it survived for a little over two months. This is a milestone in the history of Marxism as it proved the thesis of Marx that the proletariat as a class is capable of organizing itself in order to seize political power and hold it. Marx hailed the achievements of the Paris Commune, criticized its errors and drew the lessons for the future advance of the working class.

In an attempt to resolve the contradiction or class struggle in capitalist society, the capitalist class in the various capitalist countries engaged in modern imperialism. The result was that alliances and counteralliances of capitalist countries resulted in graver crises of overproduction and world wars.

World War I led to the victory of socialism in one country. World War II led to the victory of socialism in several countries and the vigorous growth of national independence movements. To the extent that there were still vestiges of feudalism in countries that turned socialist, bourgeois-democratic reforms like land reform and concessions to national entrepreneurs were undertaken.

What makes the capitalist society radically different from all social formations is that it has internationalized its system of oppression

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and exploitation through modern imperialism to the point that in many countries today working-class parties have arisen to fight it and its reactionary puppets.

Chapter 3. Political Economy

Political Economy is the study of the fundamental laws of motion of the whole economy of a society. It can be sharply distinguished from the microeconomic interests of particular enterprises or industries although these, through aggregation, generalization or abstraction, are within the sphere of political economy.

The classical British economists were the first to firmly establish this subject as a definite field of study in the latter part of the 18th century and the early 19th century when commodity mass production, particularly the capitalist mode of production, was rising to a dominant position in the leading European economies. The growing complexity of a commodity system of production demanded systematic study.

Of the classical economists, Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776) made the most comprehensive and coherent presentation of capitalism at the stage of free competition. Strongly opposing mercantilist strictures imposed by the state, he put forward the theory that self-interest and free competition make the market a self-regulating mechanism for the efficient allocation of resources, the continuous accumulation of capital and the attainment of the common good.

Adam Smith pointed to labor as the source of value in the commodity but was overwhelmingly concerned with the important role of the market. David Ricardo elaborated on the labor theory of value and was concerned with the differing interests of the workers, entrepreneur and landlord and with how utterly unjust it was that a share should go to the unproductive landlord whose claim is based on sheer traditional private ownership of land. He perceived the injustice done by the landlord to the capitalist but he fell short of perceiving the injustice done by both capitalist and landlord to the worker.

To this day, bourgeois economists like religious fundamentalists preach free competition or free enterprise despite the fact that capitalism has long developed into a system of gigantic monopolies. However, due to the recurrent and ever worsening economic crisis, bourgeois economists in varying degrees would welcome the intervention of the

capitalist state in the economy through fiscal and monetary policies and measures.

As a result of the Great Depression of the 1930s, the Keynesian idea of using the state to salvage capitalism from economic crisis, restoring the equilibrium of demand and supply through public works, has become an outstanding part of the gospel truth of bourgeois political economy. Previously, since the middle of the 19th century, John Stuart Mills had lucidly endorsed state intervention for reasons of redistributive justice.

As it has evolved from the works of the classical economists, bourgeois political economy has by and large stood for the perpetuation of the capitalist system, the principle of private profit and private ownership of the means of production, the subordination of the production system to the distribution system, the obfuscation of the ultimate source of incomes (profit, wages, interest, rent, etc.) and the myth of free enterprise even in the face of monopolies dominating capitalist society.

Marxist political economy is a more comprehensive and deepgoing study of the laws of motion of capitalism than bourgeois political economy. Karl Marx laid its foundation in *Das Kapital* (Vol. I published in 1867) and this covered the genesis, development and decline of capitalism and pointed to the possibility of socialism. To delve into the internal laws of motion of capitalism, he concentrated on the production system rather than on the distributive system and proceeded from the analysis of the commodity as the cell, the basic organic unit, of the capitalist mode of production rather than that of the market phenomena as bourgeois political economy does.

Marx laid bare the fundamental laws of motion that impel free competition to develop toward the concentration of capital and create the very forces that are bound to bring about socialism. However, the development of Marxist political economy did not end with him. Building further on the theoretical foundation laid by Marx, V.I. Lenin concentrated on monopoly capitalism in his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Still Marxist political economy did not cease to develop. It has come to encompass the building of several socialist economies. In brief, Marxist political economy ranges from Marx' theoretical writings to the building of socialism.

But in this chapter, we shall tackle only the following: 1) Marx' critique of capitalism; 2) Lenin's critique of monopoly capitalism; and 3)

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the decline of capitalism and US imperialism. We reserve to a later chapter a full discussion of socialism. An appendix is provided as a backgrounder on preindustrial capitalism or the primitive accumulation of capital since the chapter concentrates on industrial capital as Marx and Lenin did.⁵

A. Marx' Critique of Capitalism

Karl Marx dealt mainly with the capitalist mode of production at its industrial stage, when commodity mass production gained dominance in the leading economies of Europe. He had a great advantage over the classical economists (whom he studied thoroughly in conjunction with the enormous amount of economic data available at the British Museum) in that capitalism developed more fully than before and was therefore more open to comprehension. He could go as far as to analyze the financial system of capitalism as never before by his predecessors in the study of the political economy.

At any rate, in his critique of capitalism, he started with the analysis of the commodity, using critically and developing further the labor theory of value which had been put forward by Adam Smith and David Ricardo and which the former had borrowed from the philosopher John Locke of the 17th century. Like his predecessors, Marx affirmed that the value of the commodity is the amount of labor time expended on its production. Labor time remains to this day a measure of labor power used in production.

To focus on the commodity as the starting point of analysis is absolutely precise. It affirms the primacy of production over distribution in the study of a certain mode of production. Commodity mass production is what differentiates capitalism from all previous economic systems, which had been basically natural economies highly dependent on nature or land—the original source of wealth and characterized by self-sufficiency or subsistence in small localities.

To be called a commodity, a thing must have use value and exchange value. Use value means that the thing can satisfy a human want. Exchange value means the thing can be exchanged in the market for another thing that normally involves the same amount of labor power. If one unit of a certain commodity takes one day of work

⁵ See Appendix 2: On Preindustrial Capitalism and the Primitive Accumulation of Capital, pp. 125.-Editor

to make, it will exchange for two units of another commodity each of which takes a half day to make.

In the commodity mass production that characterized capitalism, no worker can lay claim to having produced an entire product. If we were to measure the amount of labor power that goes into the making of a commodity, we have to go into abstracting or averaging the various standards of labor time or rates of productivity that go into the making of the commodity in a given society. Thus, we speak of socially necessary average labor time that goes into that commodity.

Labor power itself is a commodity in the capitalist system. Its value is the amount of socially necessary average labor time to produce the basic necessities (wage goods) to maintain and reproduce the worker and his family. In the labor market, the capitalist buyer of labor power offers the price of labor power, which is called the wage—the value of labor power in money terms.

By and large, the capitalist class gives the working class a subsistence wage. This should cover at the least the barest physical needs of the workers to keep them coming back to work and also to maintain a class as the source of labor. To hold the line, the workers themselves insist on a minimum wage level. When business is good, increments may even be made so as to raise the level of productive skills among the workers.

It is to the interest of the capitalist class to allow the maintenance and reproduction of the working class. Labor power is the sole commodity that is capable of reproducing itself and all other commodities. Capital by itself cannot produce anything. Historically, it is but an accumulation of labor power. It is congealed labor power. In the production of new commodities, no new value is created by the machines and raw materials. Their old values are merely transferred into the new commodities. New added values can only come from the labor power of the workers attending to the machines and raw materials.

The capitalist class extracts its profits from the process of production itself. The workers required to work for a period longer than it takes to produce the equivalent of the wages paid to them. The difference between the total value that the workers create and the wages that they receive is what is called surplus value or unpaid labor. This is the source of industrial and commercial profit, interest payments and land rent.

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To extract a larger amount of surplus value, the capitalists lengthen the working day and depress the wages. This is called absolute surplus value. During the period of the primitive accumulation of capital which went on for centuries and extended into the first half of the 19th century, the work day ranged from 18 hours to 12 hours at extremely low wages.

The capitalists can also shorten the work day and raise wages. But they resort to such methods of raising productivity as the speed-up, especially as a result of the introduction of the conveyor belt; extremely high production quota and the nonfulfilment of which cuts into wage; systems of rewards and punishment that motivate the worker to put more work in less time; and the like. In this case, relative surplus value is what is extracted.

As a result of the increasing use of machines and worker resistance to the long work day, this was reduced to 12 hours in the greater part of the 19th century until it was further reduced to 10 hours in the late part of the century. The eight-hour work day is largely a 20th century achievement of the international proletariat.

Though the capitalist class needs the workers as the source of new values in production, from which profits can be obtained, there is always a considerable portion of the working class that is unemployed either due to a lag in the absorption of displaced peasant by industry in a developing economy or due to the disequilibrium in the fully developed economy. These unemployed are called the reserve army of labor. The more they are, the more they tend to press down the level of wages and increase the surplus value obtainable from those employed.

The larger is the surplus value, the higher is the rate of labor exploitation. The rate of surplus value, also called the rate of exploitation, is arrived at by dividing the amount of surplus value by the amount of wages paid.

It is the theory of surplus value that radically differentiates Marxist political economy from bourgeois political economy. It shows that profits are extracted from the process of production, particularly from surplus value. It likewise shows that exploitation of the working class is rooted in the process of production and not in the market.

Though the leading classical economists Smith and Ricardo had affirmed the labor theory of value, they did not develop it to the extent that Marx did. After them, the general run of bourgeois economists,

especially in the 20th century, have obscured it or completely negated it by asserting the primacy of the market mechanism over the productive process and by claiming the profits are made in the market in the difference of buying and selling price and vice versa.

According to Marx, it is certainly important for individual capitalist enterprises to take into account buying and selling prices. But in the market no new material values are created. And in the entire economy, total values in production are equal to total prices in the market.

What is self-serving for the capitalist class and its economists in adducing to the market as the source of profit is to conceal the process of exploitation in capitalist production and in the whole history of capital. Capitalists can claim that their investment simply generates employment one-sidedly at a fair price settled in the market, without anything being taken from the workers beyond what has been fairly paid for. Also, the industrial capitalist class can ante up the merchants as the scapegoats when an economic crisis sets in and is manifested in the form of serious price fluctuations.

2. Consequent to the fact that they extract surplus value from the total value created by workers and that they thereby accumulate capital, the capitalists compete with each other to raise their productivity and achieve economies of scale. More goods are produced in less time and at less cost. Those who fail to adopt more efficient methods of production are priced out of the market.

At an early stage, the competition is essentially one of raising capital. The winners can raise more capital than the losers. This capital is divisible into two parts: 1) constant capital which consists of the means of production (capital equipment, raw materials, plant site and the like;) and 2) variable capital which is the fund for wages.

But as the competition rages and goes from one round to another, there is the ever increasing trend to raise the organic composition of capital, that is to say, constant capital. After all, the winners in the competition swallow up the loser through mergers and other forms of absorption. There is always a need for the competing capitalists to build up constant capital in order to consolidate their position and to raise productivity further.

Constant capital is raised at the expense of variable capital. The labor-saving machines displace the workers. In the heat of competition, the capitalists also think that they can improve their competitive position and raise their profits by reducing the variable capital. At first,

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this means that they depress the wages. Eventually, they reduce their work force by acquiring labor-saving machines, in effect, increasing constant capital.

The competing entrepreneurs or firms act anarchically in pursuit of their respective profit-seeking interests, They are out to trounce each other. Each fails to understand that by reducing variable capital and laying off workers each is actually reducing the source of new values and in effect profits.

The result is the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. The profit rate is determined by dividing the surplus value by total capital (constant capital plus variable capital). If constant capital is increased but variable capital is diminished, the amount of surplus value is reduced and the profit rate is likewise reduced.

The high productivity of capital goods and capitalist competition reinforce each other to produce goods at low prices in comparison to those produced in backward modes of production. Commodities are sold at production prices, equivalent to cost of production plus a small and dwindling average profit. The average profit is small and dwindling due to the diminution of variable capital in the process of production.

Variable prices of a certain commodity which arise in the market in the course of competition even up at the level of production price. A capitalist might underprice his product in order to undercut his competitor. But when he has gained the upperhand, he raises his price and recoups what he has "lost." Thus, the variable prices even up at the level of the production price.

Capitalist production is basically divisible into two departments: department I which produces the means of production or capital goods; and department II which produces the articles of consumption.

In the race to raise the organic composition of capital, the competing capitalists build up department I. But then, greater production under this department leads to still greater production under department II. This comes into contradiction with the diminution of variable capital or wage fund.

The increasing supply of the articles of consumption does not jibe with increasing unemployment and diminishing purchasing power of the workers. The market, consisting mainly of workers, is narrowed by layoffs and depressed wages resulting from the competitive drive to concentrate capital. Thus arises the crisis of overproduction, relative to the market.

In the crisis of overproduction, both overinvestment and underconsumption are operative. It is obvious that existing capital goods are capable of producing more than what the market can carry. At the same time, the workers do not have the income to purchase and consume all that is in the market. Neither can the puny number of capitalists consume what has been produced even if they are the ones who have high incomes.

The occurrence of the crisis of overproduction exposes the fatal weakness of capitalism. The economy operates far under capacity. Tremendous amounts of human and material resources go to waste. Commodities are even destroyed in order to adjust the supply to the constricted market. The reserve army of labor becomes so large that it no longer simply presses down the wages but cuts down effective demand. Both employed and unemployed are restless and tend to unite against the capitalist class.

The crisis of overproduction becomes an occasion for the big capitalist firms to swallow en masse the smaller firms that go bankrupt. The drive towards even greater concentration of capital continues unabated. The economy becomes revived after so much waste and after the winning capitalists have grown so much bigger than before and start to rehire the unemployed. A period of boom follows only to end up in another bust which is worse than the previous one. This again leads to a higher concentration of capital in firms fewer than before.

The crisis of overproduction necessitates the use of the state in shoring up the capitalist system and appeasing or subduing the proletariat. At worst for the system, the crisis exacerbates the class struggle and is liable to lead to a revolutionary civil war and the victory of the proletariat. There is also the likelihood that the crisis leads to an international war. However, Marx was not yet able to elaborate on this possibility.

Marx sometimes was criticized by some bourgeois economists who have not even read him for supposedly predicting the collapse of capitalism in the offing, perhaps within the 19th century, in one fell swoop. This is nonsense. Marx was dealing with large historical forces and processes that could not be reduced to a timetable.

Other bourgeois economists, however are astonished that he was able to predict the rise of monopolies to a dominant position in the capitalist system although at the time that he wrote *Das Kapital* a mass

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of small enterprises still characterized that system. The emergence of socialism in 1917 should be even more astonishing.

Marx correctly laid bare the laws of motion of capitalism and showed why and how free competition leads to concentration of capital; and the crisis of overproduction recurs and becomes worse at each recurrence; thus prompting the working class to take ever greater revolutionary efforts. Subsequent developments have verified all these.

Marx pointed to the rise of the working class first as a class in itself and then as a class for itself. As a class for itself, it first formed the trade unions to fight for its economic interests and then the political party to fight for its political interests and also for those of others exploited in capitalist society. He indicated sufficiently why and how the proletariat will eventually depose the capitalist class and replace the capitalist mode of production with a socialist one.

B. Lenin's Critique of Monopoly Capitalism

As Marx scientifically predicted, free competition in his time (mid-19th century) actually led to the high concentration of capital in the hands of a few capitalist firms during the last three decades of the 19th century. Capitalists of Europe, the United States and Japan made an outcry for the expansion of the market in view of their limited home markets.

The British capitalist magnate Cecil Rhodes, the American politician Theodore Roosevelt and men of letters like Rudyard Kipling and even Victor Hugo were among the most raucous in calling for imperialist expansion and placing every part of the world in the capitalist network. They frankly admitted the capitalist motives even as they couched these in the rhetoric of civilizing the world. They echoed the clichés of old-type mercantilist colonialism and applauded the bloody adventures of modern imperialism.

Great Britain, the leading capitalist country, did not only have its old colonies (India, what are now Pakistan and Bangladesh, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), what is now Malaysia, Australia, Egypt, parts of Latin America, etc.) but also acquired the largest share in the late 19th century rush to colonize Africa. It consolidated the largest spheres of influence in China.

Next only to Great Britain as the largest imperialist power was France. It had its old colonies, which included Indochina, and acquired

the largest share in Africa next to Great Britain. Small capitalist countries like the Netherlands and Belgium also had substantial colonial holdings. The former had Indonesia as the largest possession and the latter, the Belgian Congo.

Strong latecomers to capitalist development like the United States, Germany and Japan participated in the rush to acquire colonies. Notwithstanding its large frontier in the west, its acquisitions from colonial powers (Spain and France) in North America and its hegemony over the main part of South America, the United States provoked Spain into a war in order to seize Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines and sidled up to Great Britain in order to have a share of the imperialist action in China,

Germany got some portions of Africa, spheres of influence in China, some Pacific islands, coveted large portions of Eastern Europe and got into complex entanglements with Russia and Austria. The Alsace-Lorraine areas taken from France by Germany as a result of the war of 1871 continued to be a bone of contention between the two countries. Japan held Formosa (Taiwan) and Korea as colonial possessions and a sphere of influence in North China.

Russia, the weakest of the capitalist countries, held on to large territories seized from China and was at odds with Japan in this area. It also coveted large portions of Eastern Europe and was at odds with the old Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires.

At the beginning of the 20th century, there was no longer a part of the world that was not in the international network of capitalism. The capitalist countries had drawn in the rest of the world as they competed for markets of surplus commodities, sources of raw materials, fields of investment, spheres of influence and positions of strength. The monopoly capitalists were out to relieve capitalist society of its capital glut, relative overproduction and class contradictions by being able to exploit the people in colonies and semicolonies.

Among the first to put out studies on modern imperialism, as a phenomenon distinguishable from the old mercantilist colonialism which had been a part of the primitive accumulation of capital, were the avowed Marxist German economist Rodbertus and the German revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg. The British economist John Hobson picked up ideas from them and pursued the subject further but did not go beyond denunciations of the abuses of modern imperialism.

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In his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, V.I. Lenin surpassed all his predecessors' writings on the subject by analyzing it so comprehensively and so profoundly that he came to the conclusion that it was the last stage of capitalism and the eve of socialist revolution. Moreover, he was the theoretician and leader of the first socialist revolution in 1917.

Lenin developed further Marx's theory of capitalist development. He proceeded to analyze the further development of capitalism into monopoly capitalism or modern imperialism. These two terms are synonymous and interchangeable. Given an understanding of the basic laws of motion of capitalism as laid out by Marx and proven by history, we can easily grasp Lenin's brief description of imperialism as the highest and final stage of capitalism or as moribund capitalism.

Let us state the five basic features of imperialism or monopoly capitalism as described by Lenin. They are as follows:

- The concentration of capital has reached the point that monopolies have become dominant in capitalist society.
- Industrial capital has merged with bank capital to become finance capital and create a finance oligarchy.
- The export of surplus capital, aside from that of surplus commodities, has gained importance of its own and is the outlet for the capital glut in capitalist countries.
- International combines of monopolies, trusts, cartels, syndicates and the like have emerged.
- The division of the world among the capitalist powers has been completed and its redivision cannot but lead to war.

In explaining the above features of monopoly capitalism, we shall often cite phenomena beyond 1917. The reason is obvious. We continue to be in the era of modern imperialism and Lenin's critique has continued to be borne out by events.

1. Monopoly means that one company or a single combination of companies controlled by a single group of capitalists dominate the main part or entirety of an industry. At the start of the 20th century, such strategic and major industries as steel, oil, coal, machine-building, chemicals, railroads, etc., were already in the hands of monopoly capitalists.

As early as 1890, public clamor in the United States against such monopoly capitalists as the Rockefellers in oil, Du Ponts in chemicals, Mellons in steel, Vanderbilts in railroad, and others came to such a

high pitch that the Sherman anti-trust law was enacted. But at most the monopoly capitalists could only be summoned to administrative hearings where they were advised to merely rearrange their investments. Eventually, the law was directed more against trade unions as supposed monopolies in restraint of trade.

The era of free competition basically came to an end towards the end of the 19th century. All major fields of economic activity was dominated by the large monopoly firms and these continued to grow larger. In the era of imperialism, the monopoly firms have become even larger by extracting superprofits from the colonies and semicolonies and by continuing to engage in mergers as a result of recurrent economic crisis.

One learns something about monopoly by perusing the assets, sales and profits of such companies as the Standard Oil chain of companies, General Motors, Ford Motors, General Electric, US Steel, Bethlehem Steel and the like. One learns that all the talk about free enterprise by bourgeois economists is all a lie.

In the late 1950s the 135 largest manufacturing corporations in the United States accounted for half the manufacturing output in the United States and that the 250 largest firms turned out a flow of goods equal in value to the output of the entire economy prior to World War II.

2. The merger of industrial and bank capital has put more capital at the disposal of the monopoly capitalists than ever before and has spawned a finance oligarchy that amasses profits not because of its entrepreneurial skills but because it simply controls and manipulates finance capital. The monopoly capitalist class hires the managers to run its productive enterprises and, as a rentier class, simply sits back to await the dividends from shareholdings.

Monopoly capitalists who own banks (Rockefellers in Chase Manhattan and National City Bank of New York; Fords in Manufacturers Hanover Bank; Mellons in Mellon Bank; Du Ponts in Chemical Bank; etc.) actually lend the money of other people (including deposits of workers) to their own industrial firms at prime rates for their expansion. And they borrow from their own banks in order to buy stocks.

In times prior to imperialism, the banks were autonomous from manufacturers and they at first specialized in extending commercial credit or handling bills of exchange. Subsequently, they extended loans for industrial projects but still retained their autonomy. Finally, in the

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imperialist era, the monopoly capitalists put the banks and industries under their ownership and control.

The role of monopoly capitalists as rentiers is underscored by the use of holding companies, trust funds and tax-exempt government bonds. They are further removed from the process of production and their parasitic character is starkly obvious. It is their hired financial managers who manage their mounting funds. The monopoly capitalists have no claim to income except by the backward principles of private property and heredity.

According to the Lampman 1922-1956 study (*The Share of Top Wealth Holders in National Wealth, 1922-1956*) 1.6 percent of the adult population in the United States owned 32 percent of all privately owned wealth. Among the several items in the list of their wealth are 82.2 percent of all stocks and 100 percent of state and local (tax-exempt) bonds.

3. The export of surplus capital takes the form of loans and direct investments. These serve to relieve the capitalist economy not only of its capital glut but also of its surplus commodities. Loans facilitate the sale of surplus commodities, paves the way for direct investments and earn interest and becomes converted into equity upon failure of the debtor to pay the debt, Direct investments are forthright and even more effective than loans in gaining control over another economy. They establish ownership and earn profits. They facilitate the sale of surplus commodities and the acquisition of raw materials for the industries in the metropolis.

Though the initial impulse in the export of capital is to seek relief from capital glut, it results in the aggravation of the original problem because it brings home to the metropolis a much larger amount of capital, fattened by profits and interests. The monopoly capitalists at home must still look for new outlets for their capital.

In the relationship between a metropolis and its colonial or semicolonial dependent, the export of surplus capital is comparatively quite a new thing under modern imperialism. In the old-type mercantilist colonialism, when the primitive accumulation of capital was the process involved, the colonial power embarked at worst on blatant, undisguised plunder or at best a grossly unequal trade. For a change, modern imperialism is compelled by capital glut to go through the motion of making loans and direct investments.

Some amount of development, above the level achieved by old-type colonialism, occurs. But this remains superficial, lopsided and sporadic inasmuch as it is restricted by the dumping of surplus commodities on the dependent economy. The flow of investments is made in such a manner that the dependent economy remains basically a reliable supplier of raw materials and an importer of manufactured goods from the metropolis.

Thus, foreign direct investments go mainly into extractive industries and export agriculture. Loans are extended to favor this type of productive activity and to divert the client-state from promoting a well-balanced developing economy into merely improving the infrastructures (road, bridges, ports and the like) for the purpose of reinforcing the unequal exchange of raw materials from the dependent country and manufactures from the metropolis. It is definitely not in the interest of an industrial capitalist country to allow a subservient underdeveloped economy to develop into another industrial capitalist country and another competitor.

4. According to the law of uneven development, capitalist countries differ in economic strength and they therefore take their place in the capitalist world accordingly. But according to the same law, growth and competition of the capitalist economies continue to upset every given balance of relations.

At every given time, one capitalist power may dominate another or several lesser capitalist countries, or such countries are allied for mutual accommodations and advantage in a competition against another groups of capitalist countries. However, all capitalist countries always tend to be totally united against the proletariat or against the oppressed peoples in colonies and semicolonies.

In this context, it is easy to understand why international combines of monopolies, cartels, trusts, syndicates and the like arise. To this day, as we are still in the era of imperialism, Lenin shed light on the phenomenon of transnational or multinational corporations and the alliance of capitalist countries to exploit others.

Competition always rules the relations of capitalist countries. Under conditions of peace, each capitalist economy continues to accumulate capital and is in due time afflicted by a series of worsening crises of overproduction (the business cycle). Modern imperialism has never been a complete and final solution to the basic contradictions within capitalist society.

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Competition among the capitalist countries is always sharpened by a series of crises and protectionist measures. This is a competition for markets, fields of investment and sources of cheap raw materials and cheap labor. The selfish and narrow interests of each capitalist country as well as the alliances and counter-alliances among them become increasingly pronounced.

Take note that each of the last two world wars was preceded by a series of worsening economic crises and protectionist measures. In the relations of capitalist countries, economic war precedes the shooting war.

5. At the beginning of the 20th century, there was no more part of the world that was not under the domination of a capitalist power or a number of capitalist powers. Africa had been the last continent to be fully divided among the capitalist countries. The division of the world among the capitalist powers was completed. A redivision of the world was no longer possible, without causing a war. In this regard, Lenin said that imperialism means war.

The structure of colonial possessions and areas of imperialist domination is disturbed by the ever pressing concentration of capital and economic crises in capitalist countries. A capitalist country which has a large productive capacity but which has very limited area for internal and external economic expansion is bound to press for a redivision of the world and disturb the balance of economic and political power. Those who control the arrangement are of course bound to resist.

In the period before World War I, the accumulation of capital in Germany became so large in relation to a limited market and field of investment at home and overseas. Being late in the race, it had only a few colonies in comparison to others. Thus, when economic crisis worsened, Germany became increasingly bellicose and eventually launched a war. It spearheaded the Central Powers (Austria and Italy were the others) against the allies, France, Great Britain, Serbia and the United States.

Although it lost in the war, Germany was able to save its industries by surrendering to the allies before their counter-attack on German cities. In the peace settlement, Alsace-Lorraine was given back to France, its spheres of influence in China were given to Japan and its African colonies were given to other European powers.

Soon enough, the squeeze effect of great industrial capacity and limited area for expansion surfaced and produced a Hitler. After

becoming the chancellor, Hitler engaged in massive public works and military production. But while these were outlets for surplus capital, they brought a dwindling profit rate for the German monopoly capitalists. Clamoring for “living space,” Germany undertook a series of aggressive actions in Eastern and Western Europe until these led to World War II.

In Asia prior to World War II, Japan was able to build a large industrial capacity. It was encouraged by the Western powers to be a foil to Czarist Russia in the Far East and then it was allowed to have ample territory in China, Korea and Taiwan and accommodated in the Southeast Asian market. But it still became afflicted with crisis and this produced fascism as in Europe. It schemed to grab the whole of Asia for itself. Thus, it joined the Axis powers (Germany and Italy were the two others) in plunging into World War II which engulfed the whole world.

We shift to Lenin’s work. Lenin concluded that imperialism is the eve of social revolution. Imperialism has not solved the basic problems of capitalism but has merely aggravated them and put them on an international scale. It has served to engender unprecedentedly powerful revolutionary movements among the proletariat of capitalist countries and the oppressed nations and peoples of the colonies and semicolonies.

Under Lenin’s theory of uneven development, Russia as the weakest capitalist country could as well be the most susceptible to social revolution and it was up to the proletariat to prepare itself carry out its revolutionary tasks. This is diametrically opposed to misrepresentations made by anti-Marxists that Marx declared in absolute terms that England being the leading capitalist country in his time was the country most ripe for social revolution of the proletariat.

To make revolution in a leading or strong capitalist country is not automatically made easier by its high level of economic development. The monopoly capitalist class in such a country is certainly equipped with more means to repress or avert a revolution than that in the weakest capitalist country.

Nevertheless, revolution always remains a possibility in any capitalist country so long as the conditions of crisis are there and the proletariat is prepared to overcome the ruling class.

Marx and Engels in their time always watched where the actual focus of revolutionary ferment was. They acknowledged the shifting

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of this focus and they observed both objective and subjective factors at work that bring it about. While the social means of production in England were good for the proletariat to take over, was the proletariat ready ideologically, politically and organizationally to depose the capitalist class? With regard to Germany, a country with a large backlog of feudalism then, they said after the revolutionary tide there ebbed that for the proletarian movement to surge forward again a second edition of the peasant rebellion was needed.

The truth of Marx' critique of capitalism as well as Lenin's critique has been resoundingly proven by the victory of the first socialist revolution in the wake of World War I. The results of World War II have been even more disastrous to capitalism and imperialism: several countries have become socialist and revolutionary movements for national independence and democracy have surged forward as never before. All these have progressively constricted the area for exploitation and oppression by imperialism.

C. Decline of Capitalism and US Imperialism

Capitalism has basically followed the path of growth and decline theoretically mapped out by Marx. Thirteen years after the publication of the first volume of *Das Kapital*, the accelerated concentration of capital and elimination of free competition among a multitude of small enterprises were already too conspicuous to be denied. Before the end of the 19th century, monopolies were already dominant in the leading capitalist economies.

In only 14 years also from the publication of the monumental work of Marx, the proletariat of Paris was able to seize political power and establish the Paris Commune in the wake of the Franco-Prussian war. In only fifty years from the same point of reference, the Marxist Bolsheviks were able to seize political power and launch a socialist revolution. In terms of historic time, especially when it pertains to so fundamental a transformation of society as the elimination of private property in the means of production, the validity of Marx's theory has been proven in a relatively short period of time.

The victory of the first socialist revolution proves that capitalism, in developing further to modern imperialism, had only enlarged and worsened the basic class contradictions that Marx saw in capitalist society. One-sixth of the world became emancipated from the clutches

of capitalist exploitation. That was no small reduction of the capitalist world.

After World War II, several new socialist countries emerged in Eastern Europe and Asia. The country with the largest population (one fourth of the world) turned socialist. One-third of the world population embraced socialism. This is a massive reduction of capitalism's stomping ground.

The capitalist powers could no longer return to so many colonies and semicolonies in Asia and Africa in order to restore the status quo antebellum. Powerful national liberation movements were surging forward. In the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin American, anti-imperialist movements were set on reducing the scope of the capitalist world.

Among the capitalist countries themselves, one half of a major capitalist power—Germany—could not be returned to the capitalist fold. In other major capitalist countries, like France and Italy, the Communist Party emerged as a major political force.

The advance of the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations to gain political power was not simply the result of the interimperialist wars. In periods before such wars, persevering work had been done in order to develop them as the capitalist system, went through one economic crisis after another of increasing severity.

Long before World War I, the trade union movement and working class parties worked indefatigably to strengthen themselves, broaden democracy and oppose the monopoly capitalist class. Long before World War II, communist parties worked indefatigably to develop the revolutionary forces. In China, a long drawn armed struggle was carried out against the imperialists and their local puppets.

During World War II itself, the Soviet Union effected the turning point for the whole of Europe and the world by defeating the German invaders at Stalingrad and rolling them back all the way to Germany. In Asia, the Chinese revolutionary forces led by the Communist Party tied down the bulk of Japanese troops and defeated them. In so many countries, communists took the lead in guerrilla warfare against the fascists.

World War II was created by the series of severe economic crises after World War I that culminated in the Great Depression. The capitalists and other reactionaries in countries that found themselves squeezed by the crisis resorted to anticommunist demagoguery and

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supporting fascist movements. Thus, Mussolini, Hitler, Tojo, Franco and so on were lifted to power.

Great Britain, the United States and France were also caught in the squeeze between overinvestment and underconsumption. But they had a wider area of maneuver to deal with the economic crisis.

The Great Depression and then World War II resulted in the massive destruction of productive forces and in political upheaval as no other economic crisis and war could in the past. The world capitalist system as a whole weakened more profoundly than ever.

After the war, however, the United States emerged as the No. 1 capitalist and imperialist power, replacing Great Britain from that position. It was the only country not damaged by the war, except for the Japanese flea bite at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. As in World War I, it had gained enormous war profits and poured its own manpower and means into the war only in the last stage in order to pick up the spoils.

It could benefit tremendously from the reconstruction of the devastated capitalist economies. It put under its hegemony both allies and former enemy. It gained dominance in those colonies and semicolonies still vulnerable to imperialist penetration or colonial reoccupation. To cite a few examples, it was able to take over British oil interests in the Middle East and the Dutch oil interests in Indonesia; and such colonies as South Vietnam from France, and South Korea, Taiwan and the Pacific island territories from Japan.

It was able to put together the widest ever capitalist empire, larger than the British empire. The wealth and political bluster of the United States gave the Philistines the illusion that the world capitalist system was strong and invincible. Despite all its advantages over its kindred capitalist countries, the United States was faced with the problem of having to rapidly reconvert its military plants into civilian ones. At the same time, it was politically concerned with the rise of the socialist countries and national liberation movements.

Thus, it launched the Cold War in 1947 to justify a slower rate of reconvertng its military plants to civilian ones. It boasted of its monopoly of the atom bomb and provoked incidents in Europe, Asia and elsewhere. It sought justification for the maintenance of increasing US military bases around the world. It was not until 1949 that the Soviet Union successfully tested its atom bomb to break the US nuclear monopoly.

In 1950 the United States launched the Korean war but this ended in a stalemate, exposing the limits of US military power. Not only were the high US casualties politically untenable. But even Eisenhower saw that the whole adventure as profitless and inflation-causing; and the military-industrial complex as becoming too powerful for civil comfort.

Kennedy reversed the austere policy of Eisenhower and started a “military” policy of heavy government spending for military purposes. Overseas military bases were beefed up. Military production and space research were intensified. US launched a war of aggression against Vietnam and suffered a historic defeat a decade later, after using up a total of \$150 billion in war expenditures. All these rising military expenditures created a gross imbalance in the US economy.

In one respect, these have been an outlet for capital glut in the United States. But at the same time, these have grossly misallocated economic resources and have created an ever mounting inflationary spiral. Military contracts, notorious especially for gold-plating, are responsible for what bourgeois economists call cost-push inflation, although they blame it solely or mainly on a high wage level and high wage demands in the United States.

The military industries draw resources to themselves and boost wage standards. Despite the lopsidedness of the US economy, the consumer industries could still expand for quite some time. A very wasteful kind of consumerism has even flourished. In addition to the inflationary activities within the American economy, the United States has been able to maintain military bases and forces abroad and conduct an extremely expensive war like the Vietnam war.

Aside from the relative exploitation of the US working class, two reasons can be cited for the US being able to go its profligate and inflationary ways for some time. One is that it has been making a lot of profits and getting cheap raw materials abroad, especially in third world countries. Two is that it has been flooding the world with its currency through so-called aid programs, multinational firms and military bases.

There are limits to US monopoly profit-taking and abuse of currency abroad. US capitalist allies and third world countries, including client states, are increasingly at odds with US monopoly interests.

The capitalist economies destroyed or severely damaged in the last war have fully recovered since the late 1950s and are now competing with the United States in a limited world capitalist market. The point has been reached that protectionism is on the rise and the US dollar

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is often denounced as abusively being used for takeover purposes or unfair trade practices. The capitalist world is now often upset by a crisis of overproduction.

Recessions are occurring more often than before. Production is curtailed in order to bring the monopoly capitalist class a higher rate of profit. Though recessionary policy is intended to cut down the inflation rate, it does not achieve the purpose. But when an inflationary policy is resorted to, neither does the economy perk up from stagnation. There is now a long-drawn economic disease called stagflation, both stagnation and inflation going on at the same time. The fiscal and monetary remedies of Keynesian economics have been inefficacious.

The curtailment of production in the capitalist economies has a disastrous effect on the colonies and semicolonies like the Philippines. These are so dependent on the export of raw materials and yet a stagnation or recession in the capitalist economies results in the absolute reduction of exports or in the depression of prices of exports. At the same time, they have to pay for the ever rising prices of imported manufactures.

As a result of the economic crisis in capitalist economies and the constant attempt to shift the burden of crisis to the underdeveloped colonies and semicolonies, the exploited people become restive and even client-states begin to make demands on the United States. Thus, there is the demand for a new international economic order and the confrontation in the North-South dialogue.

But the most powerful economic action so far undertaken by some developing countries to counteract the capitalist economic crisis has come from the OPEC. No longer can capitalist countries get oil, the lifeblood of industries, at extremely cheap prices as before. A by-product of OPEC action, however, is the intensified difficulties of other developing countries which do not produce oil. These difficulties will press on them to assert their own independence from the imperialists in the long run.

A point has been reached in the capitalist economic crisis that the capitalist countries are competing to tap new markets in socialist countries. The latter are now purchasing new technologies previously banned from them. Even the dependent countries have been allowed to seek new markets. As early as 1969, US policy makers had seen the necessity of having economic relations with a country like China.

This was perceived in close connection with the need to wind down the futile war of aggression in Vietnam.

The US and other capitalist economies are now faced with an economic crisis far worse than the depression of the 1930s which started with the stock market collapse in 1929. It is becoming more and more obvious that bourgeois political economy, especially Keynesian economics, has never really solved the basic problems of capitalism that Marx and Lenin pointed out. It has only succeeded to cover it up during certain periods and at the same time prolong and deepen it.

Too much credit has been given to Keynes. The economists of Mussolini in the 1920s and Hitler in the 1930s have a prior claim to the idea of pump-priming. Hoover started it in 1932. Richard T. Ely, chief economist of Roosevelt, laid out the pump-priming program of the New Deal. Despite its seeming recovery in 1935-36 due to pump-priming, the US economy again plunged until the outbreak of World War II. It was really the war that brought about a recovery and big boom in the US, as all the other capitalist countries busied themselves with destroying each other.

Since the end of World War II, the United States has always been faced with the problem of overinvestment and overproduction. Until the Vietnam war, recessions and recessionary trends were solved by increasing military expenditures. But the Vietnam war has already demonstrated that, while for a time the war industries reap profits at a satisfactory rate, the whole economy suffers soaring inflation.

At the moment, the United States is caught in a dilemma, whether to shy away from activities reminiscent of the Vietnam war and suffer depression or whether to face up to Soviet social-imperialism increased military expenditures and suffer inflation. The problem is complicated by increasing competition from other capitalist economies and the adoption of anti-imperialist attitudes by third world countries. One thing is sure the United States is on the path of decline. It is now turning out that the American empire is practically a flash in the pan in comparison to prior empires.

Bourgeois economists always try to "disprove" Marx by dogmatically cutting off Marx from Lenin and by onesidedly celebrating capitalist prosperity during boom periods in the 20th century. They should not fail to see that the world capitalist system has been disrupted and reduced by economic busts and wars that are worse in the 20th century than in the 19th century. At this very moment, the whole capitalist system

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is once more on the eve of a colossal depression far worse than the one in the 1930s. The danger of a world war also looms.

No genuine Marxist has yet dared to say when capitalism will collapse. But since Marx there has always been the contention of Marxist economists that the capitalist crisis will keep on recurring and becoming graver. It is not true as claimed by anti-Marxists who have not even read Marx, that he predicted that world would become socialist in one big bang during his lifetime or soon after. Capitalism has declined through a series of worsening crises and wars.

Socialist economies might even prolong capitalist economies for sometime by using them as a special supplementary source of capital goods and new technology. But when socialist economies become stronger both by their own self-reliant efforts and through trade with capitalist countries, capitalism will eventually have a narrower market and find itself in a more difficult situation. The nonsocialist developing countries also tend to cut down the privileges of the capitalist countries by defending their legitimate interests.

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries can prolong to some extent the life of capitalism in the world but in the long run will not stop the decline of capitalism and the demand for socialism. After suffering the restoration and full play of capitalism, the people would rebel someday in order to reinstitute socialism. With the emergence of the Soviet Union as a social-imperialist power, the longstanding capitalist countries can only find themselves in an even more tightened world situation. The danger of war between the two superpowers is rousing countries to choose nonalignment and peoples and nations to assert independence and wage revolution.

Chapter 4. Scientific Socialism

Scientific socialism is the theory and practice of the modern industrial proletariat for revolutionary class struggle to emancipate itself, together with other oppressed people, and become the ruling class in lieu of the bourgeoisie; to bring about and develop a society in which the means of production are under public ownership and planned production is for the good of the people rather than for the private profit of a few; and thereby to prepare the way for the classless communist society.

The Communist Manifesto, drawn up by Marx and Engels for the Communist League in 1848, laid down for the first time the comprehensive theoretical foundation of scientific socialism. Previous to this, socialism was a loose term referring to various trends of thought denouncing the abuses of the bourgeoisie on the proletariat and seeking to ameliorate the condition of the latter.

The Manifesto in its third section identifies three forms of socialism preceding scientific socialism: 1) reactionary; 2) conservative and bourgeois; and 3) critical-utopian socialism and communism.

The reactionary socialists included the feudal socialists, the petty bourgeois socialists and the German or "true" socialists. In common, they reacted to and opposed the new historical conditions brought about by the bourgeoisie and proposed some backward model of society. Marx and Engels regarded them as foolhardy and reactionary for wanting to turn back the wheel of history.

The feudal socialists were characteristically members of the decadent aristocracy and the clergy who took up the grievances of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in order to advocate a return to the feudal system. The petty bourgeois socialists were representatives of the independent peasants and artisans who were in the process of dissolution and hankered for the restoration of the craft guilds and patriarchalism in agriculture. The German "true" socialists were intellectual pedants who imported French socialist literature only to rephrase this into idealistic bombast bereft of concrete analysis and obscuring the class struggle; they proposed the Philistine German intellectual of the Middle Ages as the model of humanity in general.

The conservative and bourgeois socialists included a number of economists, philanthropists and petty do-gooders who believed that the grievances of the proletariat could be redressed within the capitalist system and that anything good for the bourgeoisie was good for the proletariat. The proletariat was urged not only to stay within the bounds of bourgeois society but also to cast away all ideas of class struggle so that it can enjoy the bourgeois system as the New Jerusalem. Political movement among the workers was depreciated because it was held that mere changes in economic conditions and mere administrative reforms would suffice to improve the lot of the proletariat.

The critical-utopian socialists and communists included Henri St. Simon, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen and others who acknowledged the class antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat

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but who could not as yet see in the infant industrial proletariat of the early 19th century a force capable of historical initiative or political movement. So, they believed in their separate ways that individuals like them from the ranks of the educated could transcend the class struggle and invent some form of social organization into which the workers would spontaneously and gradually enter for their own good and for the sake of social harmony. They therefore appealed to the sense of charity and philanthropy of the bourgeoisie to either support or emulate their ideas and projects of class reconciliation.

St. Simon made the most panoramic proposal for the reorganization of society. He envisioned not only a new French society run by the industrialists, philosophers, physicists, chemists, astronomers, mathematicians and other men of modern scientific learning for the benefit of the poor and actual producers in society; but also a federation of European states run along the same line.

Fourier conceived of the phalanx, a productive community where industry and agriculture were integrated, where the workers would live in harmony with the capitalist and where the proletariat would receive the largest share of the profits. For several years, he kept office daily solely to await the capitalist who would support the project. No charitable capitalist ever came.

Robert Owen was a successful capitalist himself who proved that he could increase his profits by improving the working and living conditions of his workers. He gave higher wages, shorter working hours (ten and a half hours) and better housing than was the standard followed by other capitalists. He later conceived of the home colony, a voluntary productive organization similar in many ways to that of Fourier.

Followers of Fourier and Owen put up in America several isolated communities along the lines designed by their masters. So did the followers of the utopian communist Cabet and Weitling who had previously experimented in France and Germany, respectively. All these experimental societies broke up under the pressures of the surrounding capitalist society.

Marx and Engels described the foregoing conceptions and projects as utopian building of castles in the air and fantastic pictures of the future of society, painted at a time when the industrial proletariat was still in a very undeveloped stage. But at the same time, they noted that these corresponded with the first instinctive yearnings of that class for a general reconstruction of society.

They pointed to the critical element that made the utopian socialist and communist publications full of the most valuable materials for the enlightenment of the working class. These criticized every principle of bourgeois society and in this regard proposed quite a number of practical measures such as the abolition of the distinction between town and country and of the carrying on of industries for the account of private individuals; the conversion of the functions of the states into a mere superintendence of production; and so on.

At the time of Marx and Engels, the socialists and communists of the utopian kind had degenerated into narrow religious sects, pedantically repeating the outdated writings of their departed masters, fanatically opposing political action by the workers and becoming more reactionary as the very conditions for socialism became apparent. They could not keep pace with the growth of the proletariat and the development of historical conditions.

Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (actually a section of *Anti-Duhring*) elaborates on scientific socialism as the diametrical opposite of utopian socialism. Marxist socialism is scientific because it analyzes capitalism and grasps that law of motion that leads to its socialist transformation. Of all pre-Marxist forms of socialism, utopian socialism came closest to the yearnings of an infant industrial proletariat but fell far short of the theory of scientific socialism.

Scientific socialism was formulated at a time that capitalism had developed sufficiently to reveal not only its past and present but also its future. The very growth of modern industry and the proletariat could already be observed as contradictory with the capitalist relations of production. As the forces of production grew, the capitalist mode of production became increasingly marked by crisis. The Communist Manifesto avers that capitalism creates its own gravediggers—the proletariat and modern industry.

The most incontrovertible proof for Marxist socialism as a scientific theory is the series of victories that the proletariat has achieved under its guidance. The ceaseless advance of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat has continuously enriched and developed such a theory. The correctness of scientific socialism is today best demonstrated by the actual building and progress of socialism in several countries.

It is commonly said that class struggle is central to the theory of scientific socialism. This requires further qualification to show the full scope of Marx' development of the theory of class struggle. In a letter

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to J. Wedemeyer dated 1 March 1852, Marx wrote: “no credit is due me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) that this dictatorship of the proletariat itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to classless society....”

A. Class Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The chief overall requirement for the establishment of a socialist society is the class dictatorship of the proletariat. This simply means that state power must be in the hands of the proletariat as the ruling class.

Marxism or scientific socialism frankly admits that the proletariat or socialist state is a class dictatorship, unlike the bourgeoisie which misrepresents its own state power or class dictatorship as a supraclass instrument for the common good of all classes, groups and persons.

As a class dictatorship, the socialist state is definitely turned against the bourgeoisie and other enemies of the people. The coercive apparatuses of the state are used to guarantee, consolidate and defend the socialist revolution and construction against internal and external enemies.

The socialist revolution deprives the bourgeoisie of its political power and its private ownership of the means of production. The determination of the bourgeoisie to retain these or, upon defeat, to recover these can never be underestimated.

Before a socialist society can be established, the bourgeoisie does everything in its power to prevent the victory of the proletariat. The strength of proletariat at the inception of its rule is developed and acquired through difficult struggle.

The class dictatorship of the proletariat against the exploiting classes means at the same time a socialist democracy for the proletariat and all other exploited people who have emancipated themselves. Without being able to put reactionaries and counterrevolutionaries in their proper places, the proletarian state would be incapable at the same time of guaranteeing democracy for the entire people.

The socialist constitution expressly upholds the class leadership of the proletariat on the basis of its alliance with all other democratic forces, like the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the like. Decisive practical measures to favor the formerly exploited classes are spelled out in such a constitution.

The best of bourgeois liberal constitutions completely refrains from pointing to the existence of classes and class struggle. It deliberately uses abstract and universalistic references to individual rights, without class distinctions of any kind, in order to cover up and promote the effective legal right and freedom of the exploiting classes to exploit the great masses of individuals belonging to other classes and accounting for more than ninety percent of the population.

While dictatorship of the proletariat may sound terrifying to some and evoke images of indiscriminate acts of violence, it is a well established principle of scientific socialism to remove the political and economic basis of class oppression and exploitation and to give even the members of the erstwhile exploiting classes the amplest opportunity to remold themselves and contribute what they can to the progress of socialist society. Only in specific cases of criminal offense are offending individuals called to account according to law.

On the basis of theory and actual experience in the building of socialism, not only exceptional individuals but entire sections of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes abandon their class standpoint and join the revolution. The class dictatorship of the proletariat makes political allowances for them. It has never occurred that the proletariat has ascended to power without allies. And the legitimate interests of these allies are respected; concessions are given to them in many respects for the sake of advancing the democratic and socialist cause.

Even the general run of officers and men in the defeated bourgeois army are amnestied and are provided with suitable means of livelihood upon demobilization. Enemy troops who are workers and peasants receive the same benefits that go to other members of their class. Enemy officers and men who join the revolution any time before victory are considered bona fide troops of the revolution.

The ultimate objective of any revolutionary party of the proletariat is to establish a socialist society. Therefore, its longterm interest is to establish the class dictatorship of the proletariat. But the fulfilment of such a longterm interest cannot be attained by a mere subjective wish of anyone or any party.

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There are immediate conditions and immediate interests to attend to before the question of socialist revolution can be taken up. Even in an advanced capitalist country, where the issue of socialism is closer at hand than elsewhere, there are those immediate conditions and immediate interests that must be attended to before the socialist revolution becomes possible. In a semifeudal country, the more is it pressing and definite that the bourgeois-democratic revolution is a stage that must be dealt with for a considerable period of time before the socialist revolution becomes possible.

Under conditions that the ruling class in a capitalist country is willing to allow the Communist Party to operate legally, said party does not reject the opportunity. After all the main interest of such a party is to raise the level of consciousness of the proletariat and other people and to organize them. Reforms can also be won from time to time. Without certain conditions favorable to armed revolution, to wage it would be disastrous to the party in view of the highly urbanized character of the country and the highly centralized character of communications.

Even in a semifeudal country whose terrain is sufficiently wide for a protracted armed struggle, a communist party does not reject the opportunity to engage in legal political struggle, when such opportunity exists. Conditions can easily arise that it is to the immediate interest of promoting national independence and democracy that the Communist Party unites with the bourgeois government and the national bourgeoisie against imperialism and feudalism.

In either capitalist or semifeudal country, armed revolution is justified and is likely to succeed when objective conditions favor it and the subjective factors of the revolution are strong enough.

Objective conditions refer to the situation of the ruling system. A political and economic crisis of that system can become so serious as to violently split the ruling class and prevent it from ruling in the old way. The ruling clique engages in open terror against a wide range of people and is extremely isolated. The people in general, including those unorganized, are disgusted with the system and are desirous of changing it.

The subjective factors of the revolution refer to the conscious and organized forces of the revolution. These are the revolutionary party, the mass organizations, armed contingent, and so on. To gauge their strength fully, one has to consider their ideological, political and organized status and capabilities.

The objective conditions are primary over the subjective factors. The former arise ahead of the latter and serve as the basis for the development of the revolutionary forces. The Communist Party cannot be accused of inventing or causing the political and economic crisis of the bourgeois ruling system.

At any rate, it is possible for the objective conditions to be favorable for armed revolution but the subjective factors of the revolution are weak. Sometimes also, it is possible for subjective factors to be strong but the objective conditions are not favorable for armed revolution. In either case, it is foolhardy to rush into strategically decisive armed confrontation with the bourgeoisie. Let us take examples of armed revolution waged by the proletariat.

Even before the Communist Party could take root anywhere, the proletariat spontaneously launched armed uprisings in many countries in continental Europe in 1848. Their actions coincided not because of any international coordination but because of a severe political and economic crisis that swept Europe. The ideological, political and organized strength of the proletariat was still very inadequate. Thus, the bourgeoisie was able to take advantage of their actions to serve its own end against the aristocracy even as it also quelled the proletariat in the name of law and order.

In 1871, the political and economic crisis of France was exacerbated by its defeat in the Franco-Prussian war. The workers of Paris dared to seize power from the bourgeoisie with the very same arms given them as national guardsmen. They were able to hold power for two whole months and thus proved for the first time the capability of the proletariat in acting as a progressive ruling class. They passed many progressive measures.

The Paris Commune that they established fell because of those weaknesses and errors Marx would subsequently analyze. Among these were that they were not able to link up with the rest of the French people, they did not completely reorganize the state machinery, their Central Committee passed power too soon to a popularly elected representative assembly, they did not pursue immediately the weak bourgeois government in retreat, they overlooked the possibility that the bourgeois armies of France and Prussia would unite against them, and so on.

Until the outbreak of World War I, the bourgeoisie of all capitalist countries appeared to be able to put the proletariat under control and

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assuage the class struggle, notwithstanding the worsening economic crisis. It also appeared that the development of capitalism into modern imperialism had already given the bourgeoisie the leeway for mollifying the proletariat at the expense of the colonized peoples in the East. (Even previous to modern imperialism, Marx and Engels had also noted temporary solutions to the economic crisis in the destruction of commodities, exploitation of new markets or intensified exploitation of old ones, emigration of surplus labor to America and other colonies, etc.)

Developing Marxism further, Lenin pointed out that capitalism was in for bigger trouble of its own making by becoming monopoly capitalism or modern imperialism. He said that the recurrent crisis would become bigger and more disastrous and would affect not only the capitalist countries themselves but also the whole world. Indeed, a series of severe economic crises would occur soon causing a violent split among the capitalist countries and the outbreak of World War I.

Russia, the weakest capitalist country, plunged into the war and sent millions of its ill-equipped troops to the front. As two million of them died in the battlefields, the people at home increasingly suffered from starvation and deprivation of freedom. Thus, the bourgeois-democratic revolution occurred in February 1917, with the active participation and full support of the Bolsheviks. The Bolshevik-led workers of Petrograd were the vanguard in bringing down the Tsar and the Tsarist troops started to form solidly under the banner of the Bolsheviks.

The bourgeois leadership of the government succeeding the Tsarist regime committed the fatal error of continuing the war policy of the Tsar. The Bolsheviks raised the outcry for bread and freedom and for turning the imperialist war into a civil war. The workers and peasants rallied to the call and the bulk of the government troops joined the Red Army. The first Red Army was drawn from the reactionary army. Thus, the socialist revolution of October 1917 occurred.

The Bolshevik party and the people withstood and won against the reactionaries in the civil war and subsequently against the foreign interventionist forces sent in by Germany and then by the former allies of Russia.

World War I upset the balance of power. In the peace settlement following it, China was one of the backward countries where the perfidy of the winning imperialists was completely exposed to the people. The allies awarded to Japan, instead of to China, the German spheres of influence in China. This roused the Chinese youth and people to

launch massive campaigns of protest against the Versailles Treaty. These actions nurtured revolutionaries who would ultimately emerge as the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party.

After the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, it became clearer than ever that a democratic revolution is a distinct stage preparatory to the socialist revolution in a country where vestiges of feudalism are significant. Marx and Engels had earlier pointed out that in such countries as Germany, Poland and Russia that had considerable vestiges of feudalism, agrarian revolution would have to be dealt with in a revolution led by the proletariat. They also observed that in Poland the struggle for independence would have to be based on agrarian revolution.

The Chinese Communist Party was founded in 1921. It united with the Guomindang in 1924 in order to fight the northern warlords and assert the authority of the Chinese Republic which had been betrayed by Yuan Shi-kai. After the Revolution of 1911, Sun Yat-sen had relinquished the presidency to him, who subsequently turned himself into an emperor. The KMT and CPC agreed on fighting for national independence and democracy and were supported by Soviet Russia. At that time, no Western imperialist power was willing to support the KMT.

But after the death of Sun Yat-sen, the British and American imperialists intensified efforts to woo Chiang Kai-shek. He succumbed to the seduction and betrayed the KMP-CPC alliance by massacring hundreds of thousands of Chinese communists and workers in 1927. In Shanghai alone, 300,000 communists and suspects were massacred. The CPC was therefore compelled to fight back and launch uprisings.

A number of communist-led divisions broke away from the National Revolutionary Army under KMT-CPC joint command and Mao started to form peasant guerrilla units in the ChingKang Mountains. The decision of the Chinese Communist Party to wage armed resistance was not a sudden one-sided decision but was preceded by the violent acts of Chiang in the service of the Anglo-American imperialists.

For the first time in the history of the revolutionary proletariat, the CPC demonstrated that armed struggle could successfully be waged against the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie in the specific conditions of China. Mao explained that this was possible because the imperialists were plunged in crisis and were divided against each other and that was also the situation of their respective warlord puppets in China.

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However, in 1936 when the Japanese invaded Manchuria and made clear its intention of conquering the whole of China, it was the Chinese Communist Party which took the initiative of calling on the KMT to come to an anti-Japanese alliance and set aside the internecine warfare. Chiang refused until he was arrested by his own commanding generals in Xian and they compelled him to enter into a truce agreement with the CPC.

In the anti-Japanese resistance, the CPC became strong because it fought the Japanese hard. The KMT grew weak because it avoided battles against the common enemy. Chiang adopted the policy of “letting the tigers fight” (the Communists and Japanese) and launching an anticommunist onslaught whenever he had a chance. These policies proved unpopular. Popular support went to the CPC.

When the CPC and KMT went into another round of civil war from 1947 to 1949, the conclusion was clear beforehand. At the beginning, Chiang appeared strong because he had eight million troops and the CPC had only one million troops. But any well informed observer could see that Chiang’s army was conscripted and only US money and equipment propped it up while the troops of the people’s army were volunteers for the revolutionary cause and were battle-tested in the war of resistance against Japan. Inflation was raging and KMT officers cheated their men of pay and rations. No wonder that entire large units of the KMT kept on shifting to the revolutionary side.

We have paid special attention to China because it accounts for a quarter of humanity and because the victory of the proletariat there has profound effects on the life of the world capitalist system in the long run. Also, we should not fail to see that the economic crisis of the 1930s brought about World War II and in turn this war led to a tremendous weakening of the capitalist system, the rise of several new socialist countries and national liberation movements.

In the period after World War II, the victory of the Indochinese peoples against US imperialism has demonstrated one more thing. The people of a small country can successfully wage a protracted armed struggle against the strongest imperialist power even under conditions where the country is not involved in a world war.

The proletarian parties that have waged armed struggle are the ones that have succeeded in completing the democratic revolution and then making the socialist revolution. The army that they have built in

the course of the democratic revolution becomes eventually the main component of the socialist state or the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In countries where the Communist Party has won power after World War II, the class dictatorship of the proletariat has taken the form of a people's democratic republic. Such a state must complete the bourgeois revolution and must therefore carry out bourgeois democratic reforms, especially land reform, but at the same time begin the socialist revolution.

All political parties that have supported the revolution are represented in a coalition arrangement, usually a people's consultative council, and in the people's parliament. Although the Communist Party is recognized as the leading party because of its proven political leadership and capabilities in the revolution and its command of the revolutionary army, it makes it a point to continue encouraging the participation of allies in governmental responsibility because that is the necessary democratic and effective way of knowing problems, resolving differences and uniting the people.

Each one of the patriotic and progressive parties that continues to exist in a socialist society can propose any measure and contest the proposed measure of any other party. The Communist Party itself is bound to put its proposed measures under the test of a collective discussion. Persuasion is the rule among the representatives of the various currents of public opinion. But the coercive apparatuses of class dictatorship are applied on those who have no desire but to destroy or subvert the socialist society.

There is yet no proletarian party that has won political power and built socialism without building an army and waging armed struggle. But certainly there are also proletarian parties that operate legally under the bourgeois state and are not any less revolutionary because they cannot overstep the immediate conditions under which they can still work for the immediate interests of the proletariat and people and also under which they need to strengthen themselves, whatever the future may hold in the ever recurrent crisis of imperialism and reaction.

The Bolsheviks participated several times in the Duma even under Tsarist rule. The Communist Party of China went into a united front twice with the Guomindang government. The Laotian communists went into coalition with the neutralists and rightists in a certain period and then only with the neutralists in another period. In capitalist countries, Marxist-Leninist parties just like the revisionist parties operate legally.

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Every proletarian party and state must be guided by proletarian internationalism. But this does not mean that revolution can be imported or exported from one country to another. Every revolutionary struggle must take a national form because the proletariat in one country has to settle matters first of all with the bourgeoisie in the same country. The Communist Manifesto points this out.

Marx and Engels observed that the revolutions of 1848 were not fought in vain even as these called mainly for national independence. These pushed forward the conditions under which the proletariat of every country would struggle against the bourgeoisie within defined national limits. Proletarian internationalism was unthinkable in the conditions before 1848. The national struggles of the working class in various countries are the building blocks of proletarian internationalism.

The socialist state is a defender of the sovereignty of the nation and people. Within its national boundaries, the class dictatorship of the proletariat has all the right to deal appropriately with the bourgeoisie or with any other local class; and ward off the aggression, intervention, interference and other extraterritorial acts of an imperialist power. The assertion of national sovereignty and independence by the proletariat in power or not yet in power is a just weapon against imperialism.

At this stage of world history, only the people within each country can best know their own situation and have the right to determine their destiny. The hegemonism of the United States or the Soviet Union today is an unjust imposition on other peoples.

When the Soviet Union speaks of an "international proletarian dictatorship" it is a complete violation and a gross distortion of the Marxist theory of class dictatorship and proletarian internationalism. No state whatsoever has the right to arrogate unto itself the right to determine the fate of other states or peoples.

B. The Socialist Economy

The socialist economy has been made possible in world history by the growth of modern industry and the proletariat in capitalism. These forces of production outgrow and rend asunder the capitalist relations of production which have become their fetters. They therefore become liberated and can grow at an accelerated rate.

In a socialist society, social or public ownership of the means of production replaces private ownership. The new relations of production

are made to correspond to the social character of the means of production. The entire mode of production is revolutionized.

The proletariat uses its political supremacy to wrest step by step all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, and increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible.

The Communist Manifesto lists down a number of measures for revolutionizing the mode of production in the most advanced countries but at the same time point out that these measures will be different in different countries. These measures are the following:

1. Abolition of private property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of wastelands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a general plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labor, establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equitable distribution of the population over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labor in the present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc.

Marx' *Critique of the Gotha Program* shows how the total product of society is divided. There are the funds for 1) wages; 2) capital reproduction; 3) public welfare; 4) administration; and 5) defense. The wage system is retained but the essential difference between capitalism and socialism in this regard is that there are no more gross disparities in income and that the average level of income is deliberately made to rise above mere subsistence level. The surplus product (above wages) is no longer appropriated as private income by any exploiting class

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but used for capital reproduction, public welfare, administration and defense.

In the payment of wages, the principle to be followed is “from each according to his ability, to each according to his deeds.” There are wage or salary differentials according to differences in productivity. A manager or an engineer will still get a higher wage than a skilled worker; and the latter will get a higher wage than an unskilled worker or apprentice. For sometime, the industrial proletariat will get higher wages and more benefits than the peasants. But at the very start, steps are taken to remove the gross disparities in income in the old society. The long term objective is to raise the productivity of one and all through education and training; and to actually expand production in order to steadily raise the general level of income and social services.

In considering wage differentials, we can see that the socialist society at the early stage bears the birthmarks of the old society. This cannot be avoided. Socialism has to start from the productive forces inherited from the old society. Any damage to the productive forces in case of civil war or imperialist war prior to the establishment of socialist society has also to be overcome and rehabilitated.

With social profit taking the place of private profit, a tremendous and ever increasing amount of the surplus product is released every year for the reproduction of capital. Such ills endemic to capitalism as misallocation of resources, the anarchy of competition, conspicuous consumption, the business cycle and excessive military expenditures are done away with.

National economic planning takes the place of the conflicting calculations by various private firms in the market. Production is for use rather than for private profit. The most essential and necessary commodities and projects are given priority. The internal balanced and self-reliant development of the socialist economy is carried out.

Economic planning is effective because all economic factors are under unified control and all active components of the economy at all levels report the information and recommendations to serve as basis for the plan. An economic plan is the result of the open interaction between the central planning body and lower levels. National goals are related to actual capacities. Economics acquires the precision of an applied science. In a capitalist society, economics as well as economic planning is really a far more imprecise field of knowledge and is often a guessing game as the individual capitalist firms keep from

each other and from the public production, trade, technical and other secrets in the name of private ownership and competition. Only partial information is given publicly by private firms when it serves their ends.

The expansion of public welfare facilities augments the wage system. These include public schools, theaters, libraries, housing, health care, recreational facilities, means of transport and communications, electricity, and so on. The state at various levels, economic units and mass organizations maintain initiatives in the buildup of public facilities.

In a capitalist society, the best of facilities maintained at a great cost to society are available only to the ruling classes and a few hangers on. One needs only to be reminded of exclusive schools, private hospitals, mansions, country clubs, private cars and so on in the face of mass unemployment and poverty, a large mass of out-of-school youth, shabby and limited public hospitals, slums and shanties, overcrowded parks, inadequate public transport and the like.

The cost of administration or management in the political, economic, social and cultural institutions and organizations of socialist society is quite low. That is because simplicity of administration is maintained. There are no unnecessary organizations and functions as those proliferating in a capitalist society. Political leadership and economic management are closely related in general and are actually unified in basic units of production and at a number of higher levels.

In a capitalist society, there is an administrative separation of government and the economy; and each side has a proliferation of unnecessary organs, offices and functions. On the side of government, bureaucratism is the rule. On the side of the economy, there is the anarchy of production and marketing among a number of firms which are actually involved in the same line. Worst of all, exploitation of the working people is the rule.

Defense is a necessary concern in socialist society as we have already pointed out in our discussion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without defense, socialist society would be destroyed by its internal and external enemies. But the cost of defense in such a society is relatively far, far smaller than in capitalist society. Especially in the case of imperialist powers, their military expenditures are astronomical in magnitude. Worst of all, the police and military forces are used for the purpose of repression and aggression.

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The military policy of a socialist state is truly defensive and is opposed to aggression from its own side or from another. The military forces are built according to the principle of the people's army. In connection with the economy, military units are actually productive units, aside from being military, political and educational units. Periodically beefing up the standing army, the youth are rotated into military service and training. The people in general are politicized and trained as militia units and are not detached from production.

With the exception of the eastern part of Germany which was mainly agricultural, none of the major capitalist countries has yet become socialist. So far only the weakest capitalist country—Russia—became socialist in the wake of World War I.

It is obvious that the sheer high development of a capitalist society does not automatically lead it to socialism. On the contrary, a strong capitalist country when afflicted with crisis is in a better position than a weak capitalist country to pass on the burden of crisis to others and prevent the overthrow of its bourgeoisie by force and deception. Thus, Marx and Engels never declared that the more advanced a capitalist country is the more it would become socialist, although they recognized that the forces of production available there would be the best possible basis for socialism.

The socialist countries that have so far arisen and developed can best be appreciated by knowing their starting point and how far they have advanced from there in so short a time. Socialism on the stage of world history is still in its early stage and yet its achievements are already astounding.

The first socialist country Russia was the weakest link in the chain of imperialist powers. It had the rudiments of a capitalist economy, especially the production of steel, coal, oil, textiles and the like. But its few large cities were surrounded by a vast countryside where feudal and semifeudal relations still existed. Moreover, it suffered greatly from the effects of Tsarist participation in World War I, a civil war and the war of intervention waged by all the capitalist powers.

As soon as the Bolsheviks were able to win power, the socialist revolution began with the nationalization of land and all major industries in Russia. The soviets (committees of workers, peasants and soldiers) took charge of the economy. But because of continuous warfare, production was often disrupted and requisitioning from producers and rationing to the people became the rule.

Socialist Russia could survive only by relying on the people and playing off the capitalist powers against each other. After the war of intervention by several capitalist powers, the main point was to reconstruct and revive production immediately even if it meant taking a pause in the drive to socialize the means of production. Thus, the New Economic Policy was decided on to give concessions to rich peasants, small and middle entrepreneurs and traders.

As soon as the economy was reconstructed and revived, the first of the five-year plans started. As the pioneering socialist country, Russia found it necessary to put the stress on heavy and basic industries. In agriculture, the state and collective sectors were developed. Within the collective sector, cooperativization and the introduction of farm machines were considered as the key factor in dissolving private ownership of land among the peasants. In certain areas for a short while, the rich peasants opposed the agricultural collectivization by slaughtering animals and destroying facilities. But the combination of socialist industry and the agricultural collectivization and mechanization prevailed.

To get new technology from abroad, Russia during the 1920s dealt with private American companies which were hungry for expanded sales and also with the continental European countries which continued to suffer from economic crisis. Great Britain the No. 1 defender of capitalism then was the most stubborn in opposing the growth of socialism in Russia. In the 1930s because of the great depression, Soviet trade with the capitalist countries expanded tremendously. But in the total effort at developing socialism, the benefits from foreign trade constituted a small and supplementary part. It was the great political and economic mobilization of the people that built socialism.

By the time that Germany invaded the Soviet Union, the industrial and agricultural capacity of the latter had already been developed in depth. Even as the invaders occupied large chunks of Soviet territory, the Red Army could build up the strength to roll them back. The American lend-lease came late and was a mere drop in the bucket compared to the armaments turned out by Soviet industries.

The Soviet counteroffensive against the German war machine was the most decisive factor in defeating Nazi Germany and the scourge of fascism and liberating the people of Europe and beyond. As a result, people's democracies and socialism could be established in Eastern Europe and East Germany.

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The biggest blow that capitalism and imperialism suffered in the aftermath of World War II was the liberation of China. Socialism arose and the capitalist spheres of influence could no longer be restored. The country with the biggest population went out of the orbit of capitalist exploitation.

Free distribution of land to the landless tillers was thoroughly carried out all over China. The modern industries, capitalist farms and sources of raw materials were taken over by the state. These immediately placed the state in a commanding position in the entire economy. These had been owned by the imperialists and comprador big bourgeoisie before liberation.

In the case of imperialists like the British and French, who were willing to negotiate payment for their assets, China accommodated them and made satisfactory settlement. They stood to gain more from continued trade than demanding high compensation or the right to own property within China. On the other hand, the United States took the attitude of rabid anticommunism at all costs and declared a policy of embargo on China.

Practically all capitalists closely tied up with the Chiang ruling clique, fled China and there was absolutely no reason to talk business with them. As they were traitors and participants in corruption in government, their properties were liable for seizure. But capitalists who supported the anti-Japanese struggle and also the struggle for liberation were given concessions.

They were encouraged to enter into joint venture arrangements (the so-called joint state-private enterprise) with the government. The main interest of the state was to keep the industries going and expanding, without any disruption, especially because the work of reconstruction coincided with the Korean war.

Eventually, after some years, the policy was adopted to freeze private capital and to give the capitalists fixed interest payments rather than profits. All that the state would need to do is to enlarge the share of the state in the joint enterprise and to apply the law abolishing the inheritance of capital funds and means of production. In his lifetime, the law-abiding capitalist can live in comfort and send his children to school and see his children get jobs appropriate to their merit and ability. There was no need for them to depend on inheritance.

Petty and middle entrepreneurs have also been encouraged to go into joint enterprises with the state. Just as in the case of large

joint state-private enterprises, the entrepreneurial and managerial skills learned in the old society are properly channeled and further developed. The state provides credit and additional equity for the development of these enterprises until the capital of the private investors becomes a very small portion of total capital. Phasing out private capital is the ultimate objective, at least within one generation.

The inheritance laws allow the bequeathal of durable articles of consumption but not of means of production and large amounts of capital. The petty and middle entrepreneurs are assured, as were the bigger entrepreneurs, that their children get free education and appropriate jobs within socialist society.

After the distribution of land in land reform, agricultural cooperation rose from the stage of mutual aid and labor exchange through the stage of cooperatives to the stage of the people's communes. Dissolution of private ownership of land among the peasants was done through the development of cooperatives, capital construction, introduction of machinery, development of rural industries and side occupations and absorption of peasants trained to become workers into modern industries beyond the commune level. Ownership of the redistributed land would pass from individual ownership to shares in the cooperative and further on to the commune at its highest level of development.

Apart from the land worked in common at the commune, the peasants were allotted private plots on which they could produce what they want and which they could dispose of in any manner to augment their incomes. There are free markets where they can sell their surplus private produce.

The long-term objective of any socialist society is to develop the forces of production to the point that all industries and agriculture are along the line of modern industry and are under public ownership. One five-year plan after another has been adopted and carried out to rapidly develop a modern economy.

Improving on the Soviet experience, the Chinese assert that agriculture is the base of their socialist economy while industry is the leading factor and have been consciously developing light industries to address immediate consumer and producer needs and bridge the gap between heavy industries and agriculture. Pricing policy has been used consistently to ensure rising income for the peasants though still lower by some small degree than that of the proletariat on the basis of productivity.

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It took China only three years to reconstruct itself from the ravages of the last world war and the civil war. This was accomplished despite the requirements for the Chinese volunteers in the Korean war. From 1952 to 1958, the basic socialist transformation of the relations of production was accomplished. At the same time, the forces of production grew rapidly.

China made still larger strides in all-round economic development by following the strategic line of the Great Leap Forward. This enabled China to overcome the natural calamities, the imperialist blockade and the Soviet revisionist sabotage of hundreds of industrial projects. Because it pushed socialist development forward, it was viciously attacked as a failure by the capitalist West and the Soviet Union.

From then on, the rapid progress of the Chinese socialist economy could no longer be denied. During the period of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, still greater progress continued to be made in socialist revolution and construction. The cultural revolution under proletarian dictatorship involved class struggle against the residual and recrudescing bourgeoisie and caused the revolutionization of the mode of the production and superstructure in order to combat revisionism, prevent capitalist restoration and consolidate the factors of socialism.

The ratio of industry in industrial-agricultural output value has increased from 30 percent in 1949 to 74.4 percent in 1978. Steel output has increased 200 times since 1949. The machine-building industry supplies 80 percent of the equipment of the basic industries. Oil-fuel-power industries are self-sufficient. Grain output has increased 2.5 times since 1949; and cotton output, 4.9 times since 1949.

With its present drive for modernization of industry, agriculture, science and defense, China expects that in another two decades it shall be in the front ranks with the United States and the Soviet Union. Its industrial capacity has already gone past the level of Great Britain. This is being premised on the rejection of the achievements of the Great Leap Forward and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Grave dangers loom ahead for the cause of socialist revolution and construction because the capitalist-oriented reforms being undertaken and the integration of China in the world capitalist system can bring about the full restoration of capitalism and the bourgeois class dictatorship in China. Mao pointed out a long time ago that the ascent to a higher stage of social development from a lower exploitative kind of

society involves revolutionary violence but a descent from a higher to a lower of social development can occur through peaceful evolution.

C. Transition to Communism

Scientific prediction is possible only on the basis of the available facts and the laws of motion that can be drawn from them. In social science, a prediction can only indicate the general direction of events in view of many variables. To venture into details about a long future could easily result in wrong guesses or even fantasies.

Marx and Engels could only indicate the general direction of events on the basis of the facts of capitalist society and the laws of motion that they discovered therefrom. They defined the basic principles of socialist revolution and construction and anticipated the general outline on the basis of their study and critique of capitalism and imperialism. With regard to the transition of socialism into communism, they prognosticated the withering of the state, the emergence of classless society, the massive and rapid growth of productive forces and the all-round development of human civilization.

The withering of the socialist state or class dictatorship of the proletariat means the steady dissolution of the coercive character of political authority. By then, there shall have been a lessening and finally a disappearance of the need for a distinct class, the proletariat, to hold in check another class, the bourgeoisie, with the use of the coercive apparatuses of the state like the army, police, courts and prison.

The advance of socialism, especially in its mode of production, is expected to dissolve the very conditions that create such antagonistic classes as the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. A generalization and equalization of conditions occur for the benefit of one and all. It is not an impossible dream to anticipate the growth of productivity to the point that all members of society need to work for a far lesser number of hours than now and have more time for other creative endeavors in private and in public.

One knows exactly how the bourgeoisie is differentiated from the proletariat in capitalist society. By their right of ownership of the means of production and by extracting profits for themselves, the bourgeoisie lives a more comfortable and even luxurious life while the proletariat is consigned to the drudgery of a long daily work routine and the coarse conditions of poverty and misery. Certainly, one cannot fail to see the

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benefits derived by the working class by succeeding through struggle to reduce the working day progressively from 16 hours to eight hours, although the worker still remains exploited in capitalist society.

The attainment by all of the material conditions enjoyed by an educated middle class family relying on high salaries and not on private ownership of the means of production is not an impossibility. While this is an impossibility for the working class under capitalism, socialism can bring this about because the growth of productive forces and all-round social development are no longer restricted as in capitalism.

Modern industry is capable of wiping out poverty overnight. But capitalism would rather manipulate and restrict the forces of production in order to exact a high rate of profit.

Marx pointed out clearly the problems that socialism in transition to communism would have to solve. These are the contradictions between the vestiges of the past and the new socialist society, between town and country or industry and agriculture and between mental and physical work.

The contradictions between the vestiges of the past and the new socialist conditions can be solved by further developing the achievements of socialist revolution and construction. The contradiction between the town and country or industry and agriculture can be solved by bringing mechanization and the amenities of urban life to the countryside and building smaller cities integrated with rural life. The contradiction between physical and mental work can be solved by expanding educational and other cultural facilities, increasing real wages and reducing the workday for all.

Since Marx, it has been generally understood that the mode of production can be developed to such a point that the income of producers will no longer be decided according to their productivity. There will be such a superabundance of public facilities and articles of consumption that it will become embarrassing for anyone to talk or think of being deprived and disadvantaged regarding these things.

By then, the principle of distribution in society shall have become “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.” Needs here means all kinds —economic, social, cultural and so on. The productive level of society is such that the satisfaction of needs will no longer be restricted by one’s earning capacity.

There is the reactionary argument that in socialist society people would become lazy because they can never hope to own the means

of production. Those who argue this way forget that in an exploiting society like capitalism it is those who work the hardest who do not own any means of production. And it is those who do no work that own these.

There is as well the argument that in communist society people would also become lazy because all their needs will be satisfied. Those who argue this way think that money grubbing in capitalist society is the best possible kind of life. These are certainly more worthwhile challenges and more fulfilling endeavors than working for one's subsistence. People do not become so much more stupid when their daily necessities are satisfied that they would refuse or fail to do their assigned work at greatly reduced hours. In fact, work is no longer a drudgery in communist but a joy like study or sports.

The logic and pretensions of the bourgeoisie should not be confused with the communist milieu. In communist society, the average man has the opportunity to develop a well integrated personality by daily having enough time for work, study and leisure which may be used for cultural activity, entertainment, sports, further study or scientific experimentation.

The law of contradiction will continue to operate in communist society. It will have its own problems to solve. For one thing, the struggle to understand, wisely use and harmonize with nature will continue. There will be a struggle between correct and incorrect ideas and between the old and the new. To the extent that man still remains ignorant of many things, because of the infinitude of matter, man will still have to struggle for greater freedom from that ignorance. Man will continue to be challenged by problems and moved by a desire to solve them.

Those who say that Marxism envisions communism as a final form of society, which is Eden regained, do not actually know Marxism. It is simply impossible to have a final society of perfect harmony. New forms of struggle in communist society will arise. Communism itself is destined to be supplanted by a new form of society.

The actual building of socialist societies since 1917 has made clear that there is no smooth sailing from socialism to communism. It is not a simple case of developing continuously the forces of production.

The development of the socialist mode of production is indeed the basic part of the preparation for communist society. But there are problems involving the class dictatorship of the proletariat and the

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entire superstructure of society. To obscure these problems would even adversely affect the mode of production.

Lenin was the first to say categorically that socialism entails a whole historical epoch, not a brief transitory period. The building of socialism itself is not a simple case of unilaterally doing what is to be done in the mode of production in one's own country. The dictatorship of the proletariat must be consolidated to guard against dangers and to put limits on the concessions that still need to be given to backward elements.

The defeated bourgeoisie in a country multiplies its resistance to the rule of the proletariat tenfold and retains countless connections with the international bourgeoisie. Old ideas, old customs and old habits persist for a long time. Petty production which is allowed for sometime engenders the bourgeoisie anew. Bureaucrats in the state are also liable to divorce themselves from the masses and become a new bourgeoisie.

In 1936 Stalin made the mistake of proclaiming that classes and class struggle had ceased to exist in the Soviet Union and that a classless society of the whole people had been achieved. This was quite a grave error because it obscured the problem that there were still classes and class struggle and because it supported the tendency to misconstrue contradictions among the people as contradictions between the people and the enemy.

Because it became very easy to misrepresent any contradiction on issues as a contradiction between the people and the enemy, it also became very easy to adopt harsh administrative measures against a considerable number of people also became very easy. An injustice could be easily committed. Even when a measure was justly taken, it was something performed by the state organs above the masses who should have been involved in class struggle.

Stalin also said, "Technique decides everything." This depreciated the role of political mobilization. It encouraged the idea that the cadres and experts knew what was best and the people could be simply told what to do. This undermined the role of the proletariat and other working people in decision-making. There is no substitute for a democratic interaction between leaders and masses, even as centralism holds after a decision has been made. The principle of democratic centralism means that centralized authority is based on democracy.

Under the notion that classes and class struggle no longer existed in the Soviet Union the modern revisionists were able to gradually usurp power in the organs of the state, public organizations and in the superstructure as a whole. It was too late when Stalin realized his error in 1953, a year before his death. In 1957 the modern revisionists were able to openly seize power for themselves under Khrushchov. They declared that the Soviet state was no longer a dictatorship of the proletariat but a state of the whole people and the Communist Party, a party of the whole people. The proletarian class standpoint was abandoned.

Subsequently, they put out an overextended 20-year program to build the material and technical foundation of communism. They said that it was all a matter of economics and technology that communism would be achieved and that the international communist movement should be subordinated to the accomplishment of such a program. They put out the line of peaceful coexistence, peaceful transition and peaceful competition to the chagrin of revolutionary forces fighting for national liberation against colonialism and imperialism.

In 1965, Brezhnev replaced Khrushchov. He maintained the line that inside the Soviet Union there was no more need for the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the Soviet state was only for defense against imperialism. He pursued further the Khrushchovite line of restoring capitalism in the Soviet economy. He recentralized the economic activities that Khrushchov had decentralized in order to promote bureaucrat monopoly capitalism and the arms race.

State officials continued to raise their salaries, allowances and luxury facilities. Industrial and farm enterprises were individually put on a profit-for-itself basis. Managers could get large salaries and bonuses for themselves and were given the power to hire and fire workers on such a basis. The private plots of peasants were enlarged and free markets were increased and encouraged. The effect was neglect of collective farms and Soviet agriculture went into shambles. Eventually private teams could operate large farms for their own private profit.

The means of production in the Soviet Union are still in the main owned formally by the public. But the bureaucrats, particularly the monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie, are now running a state monopoly capitalist economy and are privately aggrandizing themselves in many devious ways. Their incomes can compare with capitalists in capitalist

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countries, while workers find the level of their income decreasing. Unemployment has also been increasing.

As early as during the time of Khrushchov, the Soviet Union exposed the pernicious character of its foreign relations. Unable to make China submit to its ideological stand, it withdrew its experts from China and tore to pieces the blueprints for hundreds of projects. It was discovered subsequently, however, that the Soviet Union had been delivering shoddy and overpriced capital goods and other commodities to China.

The worst in foreign relations came when Brezhnev took over. Unlike Khrushchov, he has been openly bellicose. In 1969, the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia and openly installed its puppets. Since then, the Soviet Union has been called social-imperialist. Social-imperialism means socialist in words but imperialist in deeds. This corresponds to its domestic social-capitalism and social fascism, that is to say, capitalism and fascism in the name of socialism.

Learning from the experience of the international proletariat, especially in the Soviet Union, Mao Zedong wrote a thoroughgoing class analysis of socialist society, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People*. He stated categorically that in socialist society classes and class struggle persist and showed how these could be handled, making a distinction between contradictions among the people and those between the people and the enemy. He laid stress on the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ideological remolding of the intellectuals among others.

Subsequently, he put forward the theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and put it into practice in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in order to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism. The key point in this theory is the proletarian class struggle and the repeated revolutionization of the entire socialist superstructure so as to prevent modern revisionism or the restoration of capitalism.

Mao held that as in the Soviet Union the revisionists first subvert the superstructure and prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. Subsequently, it takes only a coup to seize political power. Thus, the restoration of capitalism can be undertaken in a relatively peaceful way. To put back the proletariat in power would entail an armed revolution.

The revisionists in socialist society belittle and oppose the proletarian class struggle and revolutionization of the superstructure. In

the Soviet Union, they claim that the proletariat has already fulfilled its historic mission of building socialism by way of saying that there is no more need for struggle. In China, they claim that there is already a withering away of the class struggle and that the people are practically through with it. They consider the sheer development of the productive forces as adequate in the march towards communism.

To bring about communism, not only the mode of production should be revolutionized but also the superstructure. The revolutionization of the latter would enhance the former, and vice versa. The interaction of the two would bring about the rapid progress of socialism towards communism. As socialist society is continuously revolutionized, the only other condition to consider would be the external factor of imperialism.

Communism cannot arise so long as imperialism exists. No socialist state can bring down its guard so long as the bourgeoisie abroad can choose to launch aggression, intervention and the like. An important objective of the theory of continuing revolution under the proletarian dictatorship is also to frustrate the hope of the imperialists that on the third or fourth generation after a successful revolution there is a restoration of the old society.

Imperialism is definitely declining. But the rise of modern revisionism can result in the restoration of capitalism and in the temporary defeat of the socialist cause. The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere does not really reinforce the world capitalist system but can aggravate its crisis in the long run.

The phenomenon of modern revisionism and the gradual restoration of capitalism can afflict the former socialist countries and can result in worse conditions for exploitation and oppression for the working people of the world. Worse conditions of crisis, repression and aggression will arise. But precisely these shall generate a new wave of revolutions led by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The epochal struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue until imperialism is defeated and the cause of socialism can advance towards communism.

Appendix 1: Pre-Marxist Materialism and Idealism

In the history of western philosophy, there has been a constant struggle between materialism and idealism. The starting point of materialism is matter, going on to consciousness. That of idealism

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is consciousness. The objective idealist goes so far as to say that consciousness, in the form of supernatural beings, is capable of independent existence from material reality. The subjective idealist affirms only that which is humanly perceivable and denies or doubts the existence of God but at the same time has the same attitude towards the material object.

Rudimentary materialism dominated pre-Socratic philosophy, with its proto-scientific hypothesis. The rudimentary materialist in the pre-Socratic period who is most appreciated by Marxists is Heraclitus for his hypothesis on the process of change internal to matter. In post-Socratic philosophy idealism as propounded by Plato and Aristotle prevailed.

Plato posited that a hierarchy of ideas topped by the Absolute Idea is the original reality from which things are mere copies. Although he engaged in more empirical studies, Aristotle also posited that “substantial forms” take precedence over matter. However, he pointed out that the form resides in material things.

Although Plato and Aristotle prevailed in the post-Socratic period, the materialist philosopher Democritus taught the hypothesis that atoms are the building blocks of matter. He is the other rudimentary materialist most appreciated by Marxists.

In the Middle Ages, from the fifth to the 13th century, adoption of Platonic metaphysics (through the writings of Plotinus) by Augustine into Christian theology prevailed. In its purest form, this was called realism, which posited that the universal idea precedes the thing. Opposed to it was nominalism, which asserted that the universal idea as name comes after the thing.

As if to strike a balance between the two, Aquinas adopted Aristotelianism into Christian theology. In the 13th century this would only serve to increase the philosophic ferment within the Church. Nominalism would later develop into Ockhamism, verging on the empiricism of the modern era. William of Ockham advocated the discarding of realism because it created too many things from one thing.

For instance, if you have one horse before you, you could speak of its animal-ness. That is supposed to be one ideal entity. Then you can speak of horse-ness; that is another entity. This business of claiming too many essences before the actual horse is confusing, according to Ockham. The so-called “substantial form” of Aristotle was used to perpetuate Platonic idealism.

Christian Platonic-Aristotelian philosophy came increasingly under the attack of more outrightly materialistic philosophies in the 17th century. These coincided with the series of scientific experimentations of Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, etc.

In England, there was the empiricist philosophy of Francis Bacon and John Locke. Both assumed the existence material objects even as they asserted that human perception and observation lead to knowledge. It is for this that they are the empiricists better appreciated by Marxists than the empiricists Berkeley and Hume who asserted that reality consisted only of sense data and denied the material object.

In 17th century continental Europe, it was rationalist philosophy which emerged, spearheaded by Rene Descartes who affirmed the existence of matter as the object of scientific investigation and cast doubts on the philosophic authority of the Church beyond the spiritual realm. He depicted the universe as a clock made by God to run on its own. In the 18th century, the philosophes of France ranged from the deistic rationalism of Voltaire to the atheistic, mechanical materialism of Holbach.

Marxist materialism would subsequently criticize mechanical materialism as too narrow for reducing all material things and processes to mechanics, underestimating the all-round capability of man and thus giving room for the intervention of some supernatural being.

But this mechanical materialism which described man himself as a machine was progressively significant in that it affirmed the capability of man to explain the world in scientific, materialist terms. The mechanical materialists were influenced and limited by the level of scientific achievement in their time, especially the experiments of Galileo and the mechanical laws of Newtonian physics.

In the 19th century, Marxism would be able to avail of a far greater amount of scientific achievements in various fields and at the same time learn from the most radical and advanced progress of idealism in Hegelian dialectics.

Appendix 2: On Preindustrial Capitalism and the Primitive Accumulation of Capital

Though Marxists give full credit to capitalism as an economic advance on feudalism, it exposes the gross inhumanity by which it first

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accumulated its capital. The primitive accumulation of capital is dealt with in *Das Kapital*. But the focus is on industrial capitalism, when commodity production has become dominant in society.

The seed of capitalism grew within the womb of feudal society. Within a predominantly natural economy (mainly dependent on land), commodity production developed gradually for a long period.

Before commodity production in the form of industrial capitalism became the dominant mode of production in the 19th century, it went into two stages: the handicrafts stage; and the manufacturing stage of several hundreds of years in Europe.

The craft guilds were the basic producing units in the towns that emerged during the Middle Ages. Under the direction of the guild master in a small shop, each of the artisans made a complete product with simple handy tools which he personally owned.

It was in the late Middle Ages, particularly in 13th century Italy, that preindustrial manufacturing started to develop. The basis was still handicrafts but these were brought to a higher level of productive organization or division of labor. Day in and day out a set of workers would do one limited part of the whole process as other sets of workers did their respective parts of the whole process. Production was faster and larger in scale in comparison to the craft guild.

As manufacturing gained ground, the craft guilds were elbowed out. The artisans lost hold of their petty tools and were compelled to join the assembly line in the factory system.

Manufacturing matured and started to glide into industrial capitalism in the late 18th century. This was hastened by new inventions like the steam engine and spinning jenny.

The handicraft and manufacturing stages may be lumped together as the period of the primitive accumulation of capital. The historical origins of the industrial capitalist class and the working class could be traced to this. The manufacturing capitalist effectively deprived the artisan of his tools and amassed capital from the most inhuman forms of exploitation.

The period of the primitive accumulation of capital did not simply mean the adoption of more efficient means and organization of production. There is a whole expanse of inhuman exploitation perpetrated by the manufacturer and merchant.

In the factory system, men, women and children were made to work for as long as 16 to 18 hours on the average and even 20 hours in

extreme cases. Down to the first half of the 19th century, this work time standard was extended. The wages were extremely low so that even children far less than ten years old had to work. The work place was unsanitary and so cramped that workers could easily be killed or injured by machines. Physical punishments were inflicted on workers. Their living quarters were like pig sties.

The growth of preindustrial manufacturing caused the enclosure movement. Peasants were forced out of the land as this was turned into pasture lands for sheep (wool was the object of interest) and specialized production of technical crops (cotton, beet, potato, etc.). As the peasants were forced out of the land, they had to compete for jobs from the manufacturers. There were always too many for a few jobs, thus depressing their wage conditions. Paupery and banditry were rampant from the 16th century onwards. Large-scale peasant rebellions also occurred in the 17th century.

The manufacturing class and the feudal monarch cooperated in carrying out a mercantilist policy. The manufacturer was interested in the consolidation of the national market against competitors in other countries and also against unruly feudal barons who exacted tolls at so many points on the road and in water ways. The interest of the manufacturer coincided with the king's interest in a consolidation of his political power and in financial support from the manufacturers and merchants for his wars.

Mercantilism was also the main economic motive of the colonial expeditions since the 16th century. At first, the object of interest in the colonies were gold, spices and other exotic products. Subsequently, the metropolis decided to produce commercial crops in these colonies for its benefit.

Not only the native peoples were forced to cultivate the commercial crops (like tobacco, sugar, cotton, pepper and the like). But in South and North America where there was a shortage of native Indians willing to work under the whip, slaves had to be gotten from Africa by force by all the colonial powers. Incidentally, even in this the fine excuse was to expedite the Christianization of the black heathens. The Portuguese Jesuits became very active in the slave trade, especially after they caused the death of thousands of Indians in Brazil when they put them in concentration camps.





Views on the Manotoc Affair

February 11, 1982

This is the full text of a letter to Atty. Juan T. David, the legal counsel of the author, dated February 11, 1982. Here Sison explains why the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army had nothing to do with the Manotoc kidnapping not only in terms of CPP and NPA principles and policies but even more extensively on the basis of the publicly known facts about the Manotoc kidnapping and subsequent controversial "rescue."

This letter of Sison could not be published earlier because of his circumstances as a political detainee under maximum security detention. Despite the fact that military authorities and the controlled mass media were implicating Sison explicitly and implicitly in the Manotoc affair, they did not give him a chance to make a timely reply before they decided to put a news clampdown on the entire affair four days after the so-called rescue.

According to Sison, the highest authorities of the establishment obviously wanted to let their lies about the Manotoc case prevail and be unchallenged by timely replies from the victim of slanders. The delay in the publication of Sison letter therefore makes it even more interesting and fresh. After all, it is never too late to clarify the truth, especially in view of so many questions that continue to jolt and puzzle people. Sison brings on many new points never before presented to the public concerning the Manotoc case.

Despite the lapse of several weeks since the so-called rescue of Manotoc, no single kidnapper has yet been hailed to court. What happen to the reported encounters between the AFP and the kidnappers in the backyard of the Philippine Army's Second Infantry Brigade? This question alone keeps the Manotoc affair alive. People are not satisfied with the premature closing of the case.-Publication Note

In view of the blatant misrepresentations made by Tommy Manotoc's kidnappers and the raging military propaganda based on such lies against the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and four leading detainees, including me, I deem it necessary to formally express to you my position and views regarding the Manotoc

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kidnapping case and to ask you to help me ventilate the content of this letter.

I believe that Tommy Manotoc was kidnapped and maltreated by men pretending to be members of the NPA. As I told you in our conversation during your visit last January 9, the NPA does not on principle kidnap anyone for any kind of ransom and in fact has never done so. I challenge the fascist dictator to contradict this statement by citing a single case in the whole period of thirteen years before the manipulation of the Manotoc kidnapping and release.

Led by a correct party, the NPA does not kidnap or snatch individuals without appropriate charges. It arrests only the enemies of the people and other public wrongdoers in accordance with revolutionary law and justice. Moreover, there is a firm policy that the NPA should avoid making arrests in the Manila-Rizal region before reaching the stage of strategic offensives in the people's war. That stage is still relatively far away because the NPA now is in the stage of strategic defensive, the protracted stage, and will still have to traverse the stage of the strategic stalemate.

Manotoc is not an enemy of the people or a public wrongdoer by any stretch of the imagination. That he was kidnapped in the Manila-Rizal region and even severely maltreated subsequently is the surest sign that his kidnapers do not belong to the NPA but are imposters out to discredit the NPA and related entities and cover up the real author of the kidnapping and his motives.

There is the unmistakable element of personal spite in the brutal treatment of Manotoc. Even common kidnapers avoid maltreating their captives when they can do so. I believe that Manotoc could have been killed were it not for the prompt exposure of his disappearance by his own family and his uncle the oppositionist Raul Manglapus who had to seek the aid of the press abroad.

Whether any member of the Marcos family was responsible for the kidnapping or not, the finger of suspicion pointed so much to Mr. and Mrs. Marcos themselves that they were compelled to produce Manotoc with apparently the same extent of power as he had been kidnapped. If I were Manotoc, I would be most deeply grateful to my own family and my uncle Raul for their prompt exposure of the kidnapping rather than to Mr. Marcos for a cheap imitation and dubious parallel of the Dozier rescue.

Let me cite a number of facts, circumstances and considerations which continue to strongly indicate or prove that Manotoc was kidnapped and released by the agents of a powerful entity who had been harassed by a family problem of no mean proportions and who has had the bad habit of trying to make the CPP and NPA scapegoats whenever he is in a terrible fix.

1. The “mountainous area” of the Rizal-Laguna boundary where Manotoc was reportedly kept for so long a time is not an NPA area and is far from any reliable area of the NPA. On the other hand, it is actually of the training grounds of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, especially the Second Infantry Brigade of the Philippine Army, based in Tanay, Rizal. Manotoc was kept for 31 days in what is practically the backyard of the Second Infantry Brigade.

Said area consists of foothills of the Sierra Madre. It is sparsely covered by small trees and bushes in some parts and is cogonal in other parts. It is cut off from the heights and jungles of the Sierra Madre by several parallel and intersecting roads ideal for AFP control. The people living closest to his area include quite a number of AFP soldier families doing kaingin work and agents of landgrabbers who are in power. This is an extremely unsuitable and exposed area for any purpose of the NPA at the present state of its development.

2. There was obviously cooperation between the so-called MIG teams and the Manotoc kidnapers. According to Manotoc himself, some ten minutes after he was conveniently placed in a grassy area by his kidnapers, the so-called firefight occurred and he was “rescued.” It is very revealing that where the vehicle carrying Manotoc and his guards developed engine trouble the MIG teams were already practically lying in wait. It took them a ludicrously short period of time to approach and fight the armed “enemy” and reach the kidnap victim despite the uncertainties due to darkness, foliage and open space.

According to Manotoc, he did not see the “firefight.” He merely heard the firings. There could have been only a mock fight, with the men on both sides firing in the air. Despite the supposed precision, well-preparedness and overwhelming size of the MIG teams, they claim to have bagged and killed only one of the kidnapers. The full identify and background of this supposed casualty are not available for public scrutiny and verification. He is supposed to be unidentifiable. His face in a published photo is deliberately messed up and partly

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concealed. It could as well be the photo of anyone killed elsewhere or someone made up.

3. If the kidnapers were not cooperators of the MIG teams, there can be no explanation for the former's repeated use of a motor vehicle or motor vehicles in an area where these could be the only ones at night and could be easily spotted and blocked at any time. Three nights previous to the "rescue" on the night of February 8, the kidnapers also used a vehicle and had a "firefight" with the MIG teams (on February 5). Strangely, the kidnapers were never discouraged with using a vehicle again on the night of the "rescue." Obviously, they were all friends of the MIG teams. The suggestions that there was an intelligence asset among the kidnapers is pure hogwash. There is yet no live kidnapper caught whose voice might be identified by Manotoc who says that he never saw the kidnapers because he was often blindfolded.

If it were not for some lousy zarzuela script to be followed for the benefit of Manotoc's ears and the controlled mass media, the five kidnapers would have been taken together with their victim even much earlier than February 8 because of the February 5 incident and the character of the area. At least one live kidnapper would have been captured. As pointed out in the foregoing No. 1, the area is so easy for the AFP to seal off and saturate subtly or overtly because it is an old reliable training ground of the AFP with sparse cover and with roads for cutting-off and cutting-up purposes.

What is most absurd is that the fascist authorities continue to this day (three days after "rescue") to issue press releases about "heavy fighting" and about "heroics" of the AFP jungle fighters in this area against four remaining kidnapers and ambiguously against a phantom horde of the NPA. In this backyard of the Second Infantry Brigade, a few stragglers or even a whole company can be easily trapped and apprehended by the AFP within hours. But entities concerned with civil liberties and human rights should be allowed to examine and verify the full identity and background of any "enemy casualty" since February 8. The AFP should be willing to prove that there is no fakery like transfers and frame-ups of dead bodies.

4. The very terms of the January 2 ransom note, which was extracted from Manotoc under coercion, indicate that they emanated from a person who is politically imaginative but who, in a state of tension or even panic as a result of a full-blown scandal, unwittingly

showed his contempt for the CPP, NPA and for the four detainees in his formulation.

The terms of said ransom note are so preposterous and are calculated more to discredit the CPP, NPA and four detainees than anything else and to cover up some stink of his own. A politically naive victim would not be able to see through the falsity and self-derision of the terms, especially if he was beaten up or threatened when he was forced to write them by the brutish impostors.

First, the kidnappers were asking for amnesty for their group or themselves when in fact they were scot-free, unidentified and probably gloating over their successful operation. Second, they placed so much value on Manotoc as to ask for “unleashing” (*pakawalan*) the four detainees; they did not even use a better term like *palayain* (free). It is ridiculous that my release was demanded but not the release of my wife Julieta de Lima-Sison. Because of this, among other facts, I have always told my visitors including you that the ransom note came from impostors who were unwittingly revealing their antagonism towards me. But above all, by what miracle did the kidnappers come to the idea that Manotoc could be so precious to Marcos. Third, they were asking for ₱20 million, despite the well-publicized liquidity problems of the Manotoc family.

5. That Manotoc became a son-in-law of Marcos on December 4 at Arlington, Virginia was a secret known only to the Marcos and Manotoc families before the public exposure of the kidnapping. The NPA could not have had any access to such a secret. It had absolutely no ground to speculate that Manotoc had any value that could serve as leverage on Marcos.

If the NPA was clairvoyant as to know the secret marriage of Manotoc and Imee, it could have also known that Manotoc was an unwanted son-in-law and was actually a poor leverage on Marcos for anything. It was absolutely impossible for any entity outside of the Marcos family to make any estimate of Manotoc's value, go through the process of decisionmaking and planning and make the elaborate and costly preparations for the kidnapping between December 15 (reported date of his return from the US and December 29 (date of his kidnapping).

6. The precision by which Manotoc was kidnapped was as astounding as the precision by which he was “rescued.” The NPA could not have had the foreknowledge of his date with Imee on December 29 and had the ready personnel and facilities to monitor and trail him

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from a point (Las Conchas) where Imee's security men were at work before the interception of his car.

If they were not cooperative with Manotoc's kidnappers, all or some of Imee's security men (especially the look-out perimeter men) were not only incompetent but literally blind. Certainly, it was necessary for the kidnappers to monitor Manotoc all the time at Las Conchas to achieve precision. It still remains interesting question as to who told Manotoc to show up along at Las Conchas during or after the Saigon Pearl date the previous night. This question becomes important if someone told Manotoc to show up alone. Sometimes, even powerful persons are so *segurista* that they would rather handle Manotoc alone than him and his driver together.

7. If the kidnappers of Manotoc did not have any cloak of power or authority, they would have been foolish in dropping the January 2 ransom note in the mailbox of the Manotoc residence and could have been trailed and sooner apprehended. As early as December 30, the day following the kidnapping, the Manotoc family was already alarmed by Manotoc's disappearance and the telephone calls of Imee and Marcos.

Before the delivery of the January 2 ransom note, Marcos had already told the Manotoc family not to talk about the disappearance of Tommy to other people and that he and his most trusted military agents were in charge of the case. But still the kidnappers could freely deliver the January 2 ransom note to the very gate of the Manotoc house.

8. The use of the name "Commander Ulopong" is a clear sign that Manotoc's kidnappers were impostors ignorant and contemptuous of the NPA. However, a politically naive person who has a conception of the NPA drawn only from the reactionary newspapers would think that there could be such a name in the NPA and that it is an indication of authenticity.

In the NPA, one has to be at least a company commander to be formally called a commander. But even a real NPA commander is normally called Ka or Kasama by his men and shies away from being called a commander because it is taboo and considered pretentious to have any title brandished around. It is the MND, AFP and other reactionary entities which have the habit of referring to mere squad or platoon leaders or even suspected ordinary members of the NPA as "commanders," especially in the course of boasting about some anti-NPA achievement in their press releases.

Also, it is unbelievable to one who really knows the ways of the NPA that an NPA commander or even an ordinary NPA fighter would be so self-abusive, self-deprecating or lacking in self-respect as to allow himself to be called “Commander Ulopong” because the word “ulopong” in Tagalog is an extremely pejorative term which suggests treacherousness and cowardice. Obviously, an anti-NPA person in authority had scripted the kidnapping scenario and invented the name “Commander Ulopong.” The name “Commander Ulopong” is something apparently impressive to Manotoc but to the knowledgeable it is a sure mark of falsity and misrepresentation.

9. Another thing that might have been very impressive to Manotoc was that he was given lectures or reading materials on “the teachings of communism and Mao Zedong.” He should be aware of the fact that the military establishment of Marcos has plenty of counterintelligence agents who can pretend to be CPP or NPA members by some shallow phrasemongering and displaying reading materials captured from real revolutionaries in order to deceive the politically naive.

It violates the principle and style of the CPP and NPA to maltreat a captive and then make and allow him to read communist reading materials. There can be no more effective way to turn a person into a rabid anti-communist and an enemy of the NPA. It would be worthwhile for Tommy Manotoc to consult a fairly knowledgeable person who is not a communist but who has a fair understanding of the theory and practice of the CPP and the NPA. I am sure that he will understand how the impostors actually caricatured NPA members in their actions and language. AFP counterintelligence agents are easily detected by the NPA because their actual hatred of the NPA is easily seen through the disguise.

In view of Manotoc’s level of political understanding and experience, real NPA members would have discussed intelligently with him the democratic and antifascist movement and the positive roles of his two uncles Raul Manglapus and Eugenio Lopez, Jr. in the united front. They would have talked to him in a down-to-earth manner. They would not bamboozle him about “communism and Mao Zedong.” To start with, Manotoc is a political innocent, not a communist and not even a mass activist.

10. Manotoc also appears to be impressed about his kidnapers explaining to him that he was kidnapped because of the supposed need for the NPA for funds and the release of four leading detainees.

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A politically naive person would certainly be impressed if he were not aware that it is incorrect, impolitic and immoral ab initio from the viewpoint of the CPP and NPA to kidnap and maltreat anyone.

The CPP, the NPA and all related organizations have taken deep roots among the people on a nationwide scale. The limitless source of voluntary support in every form comes from the people. Just consider how much and how sufficient for the NPA is the support it gets from the peasant masses in the course of revolutionary land reform and production campaigns. The NPA is composed completely of volunteers and is not on any salary system, unlike the AFP. It gets its arms basically through ambushes and raids against enemy units and thus increase its fighting capability in every region in the country.

As regards the detainees like me whom Marcos will likely never set free, they will be liberated through the steady growth of the revolutionary mass movement. A united front victory in a few year's time is possible. Even before that political negotiations for the exchange of prisoners of war among other things are possible. When revolutionary victory is won, it will be the people's army arresting, jailing and punishing the people's enemies according to revolutionary law and justice. There is absolutely no need for kidnapping innocent civilians at any time for ransom.

11. Manotoc appears not to have been given by his kidnapers any CPP or NPA document to read which states that kidnapping and maltreatment of captives are severely punishable. There are such documents. It is understandable why the devilish impostors did not give him these. They would have been exposing their falsity.

In the most basic documents of the CPP and NPA, it is stated as a major point of discipline not to maltreat captives even if these are enemy military officers and men or individuals still subject to trial by the people's court. A battle is a battle but when it is finished a victorious NPA unit is obliged to deal decently with the defeated enemy officers and men, treating the wounded, feeding the captives with food no different from that of the NPA fighters, explaining the cause in down-to-earth terms, giving them a choice between leaving or staying with the people's army, etc. The brutality inflicted on Manotoc who is a completely innocent civilian can only be done by impostors. The beatings, shackling, blindfolding and bad food are abominable. I have experienced these myself in the hands of the fascist.

There is a great ocean of difference between fascist terrorists, small anarchist groups and common criminals on the one hand and a truly revolutionary party of the proletariat and people's army on the other hand. Marcos should stop trying to confuse his fascist terrorism (wholesale attack on democratic rights, massacres, forced mass evacuations, kidnapping, tortures, etc. with the just struggles and accurate offensives of the revolutionary movement that is deeply rooted among the toiling masses and is waging a protracted people's war for the cause of national freedom and democracy.

Going far beyond the proper limits of his peculiar problems about Manotoc, Marcos seeks to use the kidnapping, the pseudo-rescue and the blatant misrepresentations of Manotoc kidnapers as pretext for destroying the names and persons of detainees like me who are already under brutal conditions of detention and for launching more massive campaign of fascist abuse and terrorism against the people in both cities and countryside. Already the controlled mass media are being used to spread as gospel truth the still unfounded claims of the fascist military and the disinformation systematically given to Manotoc by his kidnapers.

I would like to appeal through you to all organizations and persons concerned with civil liberties and human rights to do the following:

1. Take up the kidnapping and maltreatment of Manotoc as a case involving the violation of his rights, demand that the real kidnapers be brought to light on the basis of solid evidence and scrutinize and verify the evidence, especially the identity and background of dead bodies and living persons who might be unjustly implicated due to flagrant attempts to cover up the real kidnapers;

2. Send representatives to Manotoc and convince him to hold a series of conversations with responsible and competent private persons who can analyze his experience and assess with him who could have been his real kidnapers even if only in general and why or convince him at least not to lend himself to any baseless propaganda that can only help disguise and conceal the identify of the real kidnapers.

3. Demand that the fascist authorities and the controlled mass media desist from making propaganda against any entity before the presentation of any solid evidence and also from manipulating Manotoc's objective narration of the misrepresentations of his kidnapers.

In conclusion, I wish to express my elation over Tommy Manotoc's release from his kidnapers and abusers whom I condemn absolutely. I

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also give him my best wishes in his athletic and worthwhile endeavors. He happens to be my favorite among young basketball coaches although he comes from La Salle and I spent time at the rival school Ateneo.

I have a piece of friendly advice for him. Even as he is known to be indifferent to political matters, he should never underestimate the facts that he is the nephew of two (Manglapus and Lopez) of the most determined and formidable enemies of his parents-in-law. What are really the strongest objections to him as son-in-law are that (1) he could be an avenging penetrator, a serious breach on the physical security of the most guarded family; and (2) he would be in a position to know the intricate web of property holdings and secrets of this family.

In the course of his captivity, Malacañang press releases pictured him as a conspirator in "emotional terrorism" and an unreliable worldly-wise man who had deceived Imee, when the secret marriage could no longer be denied. In no uncertain terms, he was being condemned as a political agent of his uncles. He and Imee therefore are not simply faced with the moral and legal questions posed by conventional parents. He should learn well from the bitter lesson from his harrowing and almost fatal experience. I believe that he and Imee are sincerely in love with each other and I sympathize with them in that respect. But they must know what they need to surmount for their romance and marriage to succeed.

Please give Manotoc a copy of this letter so that he can thoroughly study it. He owes it to himself and others who continue to be the most maligned about his disappearance to study further his experience. Incidentally, Mr. Marcos was never maligned by the local controlled mass media but he used them as he continues to do so against his enemies. Otherwise the people would not have known anything about the kidnapping.

With my highest regard and best wishes.

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Letter to Atty. Juan T. David on Manotoc Kidnapping

February 22, 1982

Dear Sir:

In my long letter to you dated February 11, I expressed deep sympathy for Tommy Manotoc over his harrowing and almost fatal experience. I did so to the extent of giving him the benefit of a doubt that his real kidnapers and transparently fake rescuers had been able to consistently play tricks on him although I could surmise that he had agreed to play-act according to a prepared script the moment that he was offered his release.

I am happy to know lately that certain publications have been able to tap sources close to Manotoc himself for the information that he has been play-acting according to a script and that he was maltreated by his kidnapers categorically for “messing around with the President’s daughter.”

I still believe that Manotoc is a tragic character played upon by a powerful force and he deserves some continuing commiseration. But he who is a victim should cease to be the instrument for victimizing others by continuing to be quoted as saying that communists and the NPA were responsible for his kidnapping. He seems not to realize that his statements are being used to further persecute and harm those four detainees who were supposed to stand to gain from his kidnapping. General Ver no less is already accusing them of continuing to be active CPP leaders and is therefore implying that they have something to do with events outside of prison (see *Bulletin Today*, February 21).

By helping to disguise and cover up his real kidnapers, Manotoc is actually continuing to victimize himself. He continues to place himself at the mercy of his real kidnapers. Who will stop them from killing him and claiming again that the NPA is responsible for it? The latest synchronization of press releases for him and his supposed rescuers repeating the misrepresentations of his kidnapers draw public scorn to himself which he does not deserve.

To turn a bad thing into a good thing, I suggest to Manotoc to proceed with his libel suit against the publications he wants to charge but

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he should use it as an occasion to put on public record his complete and detailed experience. After making a truthful statement, he should be allowed to leave the country by the Marcos government. I am confident that his testimony will completely expose his real kidnapers and deter them from further victimizing him. In the first place, he was saved by the prompt public exposure of his kidnapping.

As regards the supposed rescuers of Manotoc, I suppose that their best course of action is not to threaten filing a libel suit against anyone or any publication but to bring out at least one credible live kidnapper, instead of keeping the Manotoc kidnapping case closed and suppressing further inquiries into it. I believe that if the kidnapers were not in cahoots with the “rescuers” at least some of them would have been trapped alive in what is literally the backyard of the Second Infantry Brigade of the Philippine Army,

What really happened in those “fierce firefights” on February 5th and 8th and even up to February 11th? The military authorities were issuing a lot of press releases about their combat and intelligence prowess and claiming all the time without verifiable proof that the kidnapers were NPA members. The news reporters could have watched the AFP jungle fighters fight against their own shadows from the vantage point of the Second Infantry Brigade headquarters, the Foremost Farms or any of the helicopters that frequently hover above the hilly and sparsely covered area.

In view of the continuing attacks against the integrity and honor of the four detainees, including me, what recourse do we have? Does the law under the present state allow any person to libel or slander us with impunity? Can we not file charges against those (including Manotoc) who unjustly offend us? Are we not being tried by publicity? Is not a climate being prepared for the railroading of our cases before the military commissions? Are not Marcos and his military minions preparing to do away with us soon?

I will appreciate very much your answers to these foregoing questions. Should we not also consult Messrs. Buscayno, Ocampo and Agcaoili on what course of action to take?

With my highest regard and best wishes.

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Prospects of the Revolution in the Philippines⁶

March 22, 1982

The prospects of the revolution in the Philippines can be outlined only after an understanding of the status of the revolutionary forces and the essential characteristics of the objective conditions. To speak of said prospects is to speak of trends that can be seen through accomplished and current events. We base ourselves on the facts; otherwise, there would only be wishful thinking.

The Revolution in Progress

The interrupted Philippine revolution has been once more resumed since 13 years ago on a comprehensive basis: political, military, economic and cultural. It is in progress at a far more accelerated rate in the present decade than in the previous one. The revolutionary forces have overcome the difficulties of starting from scratch and have advanced in the face of a full-blown fascist counterrevolution. Having accumulated experiences and victories, the revolutionary forces are taking full advantage of the political and economic crisis of the ruling system which is worsening at a far more accelerated rate.

The ongoing revolution has a national and democratic character of the new type. It carries forward toward full realization the Filipino people's aspirations for national independence and democracy in the era of modern imperialism and socialist revolutions. It is led by the proletariat through its revolutionary party, the Communist Party of the Philippines, rather than by the liberal bourgeoisie as in the old democratic revolution through the Katipunan and then through the Aguinaldo government. The broad masses of the people are ranged today against the forces of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism which are concentrated in the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

⁶ Distributed in mimeographed form under the penname Patnubay Liwanag.-Editor

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The organized revolutionary forces are now at their strongest from the time that the Philippine revolution was defeated by US imperialism at the beginning of the century. The achievements of the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines are far greater in an all-round way than those of the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties. To use one telling point of reference, the New People's Army has already accumulated on a nationwide scale more than thrice the number of rifles (automatic and single-shot) than the old people's army (Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan-HMB) had in a far smaller area at its peak in 1950. The NPA guerrilla fighters continue to increase at an accelerating rate.

The Communist Party of the Philippines has steadily strengthened itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. It integrates the universal theory of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. It has successfully rectified the errors of the Lava revisionists and their unremolded successors and has remained alert to erroneous tendencies of the Right and "Left" varieties. It is a party that militantly arouses, organizes and mobilizes the broad masses of the people around itself and the people's army along the line of an antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal united front. Party cadres and members are drawn from the most advanced elements of the revolutionary mass movements.

From only a few scores in 1968 and 1969 and only 2,000 in 1972, there are now so many thousands of communist cadres and members who come from the ranks of the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie. They are capable of leading the millions of people and performing a wide range of work in the revolution. There are a few thousands of Party branches and groups in rural and urban localities, in units of the people's army and in mass organizations. These are competent and tested cadres working effectively at various levels of leadership: group, branch, section, guerrilla zone, guerrilla front, district, provincial, regional and central committee. The Party is in all provinces, except a handful of small island and Moro provinces. It is far more widespread than the people's army whose way it often prepares.

The New People's Army is in every region and in the overwhelming majority of provinces. In several dozens of guerrilla fronts, there are hundreds of well-developed and less-developed guerrilla zones, each of which comprises several municipalities. The NPA has acquired great depth and breadth in terms of popular support and terrain. The

membership of the full-fledged guerrilla fighting units run into some thousands, armed with automatic rifles. The armed propaganda units have even a far larger membership (about thrice) armed with a combination of automatic and singleshoot rifles and handguns. These figures are a far cry from the initial armed strength of 35 guns (9 automatic rifles and 26 inferior arms) in a few guerrilla zones in 1969. In 1972, there were only about 250 automatic rifles. The claim of the reactionary armed forces that there were 10,000 to 12,000 NPA "regulars" on the eve of martial law is a complete fabrication to justify the martial law proclamation.

The guerrilla fighters are applying the correct strategy and tactics of people's war. They are still at the stage of strategic defensive but are relentlessly launching tactical offensives. They muster superior strength and use the element of surprise to overwhelm small enemy units they can wipe out or simply disarm. Close to 100% of NPA arms have been seized from the CHDF, police, army and other AFP units through ambushes, raids and arrests. The NPA can now launch nationwide, interregional and intraregional coordinated attacks according to the principle of centralized leadership and decentralized operations. It can lure in the enemy in so many deep ways. It can attack an enemy element or unit only to bait and crush the reinforcing or investigating enemy unit or attack an enemy unit elsewhere. The wiping out or disarming of an oversized enemy squad or platoon is now commonplace.

The militia units supporting the full-fledged guerrilla units and armed propaganda units have a membership running into some hundreds of thousands. These include all able-bodied members of mass organizations with varying degrees of training in local self-defense. They are armed with bolos, spears and homemade guns. They do essential police work and detect the covert and overt actions of the enemy. They are the largest reserve force of the people's army and are eager to be armed with better weapons. In organizing CHDF units and dispersing small regular detachments, the enemy is practically delivering arms to the NPA.

Even while the reactionary state still exists, the people's democratic government has steadily grown in the countryside. Local organs of democratic political power have been established, even while the facade of barangay councils and the like is retained or allowed to exist. The barrio organizing committees and the barrio revolutionary committees are flourishing. These have such special committees as

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those for organization, economy, defense, justice, health and so on. Supporting the people's government are the basic organizations for workers, or farm workers, peasant, women, children and cultural enthusiasts. Each type of mass organization performs general functions linking it with the other types as well as special functions specifically suitable to its members.

The people under organs of political power and mass organizations constitute the mass base of the revolution. Today, this mass base runs into millions, mostly in the countryside. This number is a far cry from the initial mass base of 50,000 people in the second district of Tarlac province and 15,000 in Manila-Rizal in 1969; and some 350,000 in Northern, Central and Southern Luzon and 100,000 in Manila-Rizal and other urban areas in 1972. The progressive trade unions are schools for revolution. The workers comprehend that their struggles are part of the revolution. An increasing number of them, especially in the extensive areas where production for export is depressed, have joined the armed revolution.

Where they reside, the workers have played an important role in forming community organizations and linking up with other urban poor. They protect and promote the interests and welfare of the entire community. Like the peasants, they try to put under their control or influence the local organizations of the reactionary government. Where they cannot, because the fascists pay special attention to the area, the struggle become more bitter against the fascist officials and thugs. Among the most notorious case of fascist oppression are those involving the mass eviction of the slumdweller on the pretext of relocation and urban renewal.

The urban petty bourgeoisie is not exempted from the ravages of the economic crisis and the fascist acts of oppression. The masses of students, teachers and other professionals and small businessmen are increasingly involving themselves in the democratic movement. The masses of students and teachers have so far been the most militant in carrying out mass actions to express their protests and demands regarding their immediate plight of fast rising tuition fees and depressed wages of school employees as well as regarding the worsening national situation.

The national democratic cultural revolution, which started in the anti-CAFA demonstration in 1961, steadily grew during the entire 1960s and assumed gigantic proportions during the early 1970s, is vigorously

resurging openly. It is carrying forward a national, scientific and mass culture at the core of which is Marxism-Leninism. It runs against the decadent fascist, pro-imperialist and feudal culture. As before, the democratic movement of the intelligentsia is linked with the struggle of workers and peasants. Many revolutionary intellectuals continue to participate directly in the actual struggle of the toiling masses.

Among the entire people, the revolutionaries are promoting the line of economic independence as the substance of genuine political independence and national industrialization as the necessary complement of agrarian revolution. In accordance with their own legitimate interests, the national bourgeoisie and its spokesmen are being encouraged to take a patriotic and democratic stand against the political and economic subservience of the fascist dictatorship to foreign transnational corporations, chiefly US and Japanese. The national bourgeoisie has long been suppressed in favor of the foreign monopoly capitalists who have been getting all kinds of extraordinary privileges and gobbling up businesses through loans, direct investments and trade privileges designed to prevent national industrialization and an independent economy.

The organized revolutionary forces under the direct and effective leadership of the CPP so far come to only a few million people. But through a united front under the National Democratic Front and beyond and also through effective revolutionary propaganda, the influence of these revolutionary forces extend to the entire Filipino people in their tens of millions. Outside the guerrilla fronts, the communists and their allies are promoting the general line of the national democratic revolution and preparing for the advance of the armed struggle. Party cadres and members are at the core of so many kinds of organization of varying scope in the areas outside of the guerrilla fronts of the NPA.

The Moro people's struggle for national self-determination and democracy is revolutionary and just. So far, the strongest armed ally of the CPP and NPA is the Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army. The NPA has owed a lot to the BMA for tying down at least one-third of the combat effectives of the AFP, especially from 1973 to 1978. Now that the NPA is far stronger than it was in the past, it can reciprocate in a large way the favor done by the BMA. The BMA can intensify its armed struggle as the NPA in their respective areas can eat up the strength of the AFP piece by piece in a protracted people's war.

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Allies who are not yet armed or whose armed force is still small always have the important role of expanding and condemning the pro-imperialist puppetry, barbarism, bankruptcy and corruption of the fascist dictatorship. But more than ever, conditions for these allies to undertake their own armed struggle improve as the CPP and MNLF win greater political and military victories through their respective armies. Ideological, political, religious, ethnic and other differences are subordinated to the single task of uniting to overthrow the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

Deteriorating Fascist Position

The fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique is the desperate outcome of the insoluble and worsening crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal society. Instead of saving a republic, the Marcos coup d'état of 1972 has destroyed all tokens of it and put up a blatant autocracy that is justly hated by the sovereign people. Instead of forming a new society, the despotism has worsened and made far more intolerable the evils of the continuing old society. The old ruling system is moving toward its destruction even as the fascist dictator is overweening with his ill-gotten power and wealth.

The open rule of fascist terror has incurred heavy debts from the people in terms of life, limb and property. Instead of being cowed into submission, the broad masses of the people have fought back. Abuses inflicted on them have only served to make the ground for armed revolution more fertile. On the eve of martial law, the NPA was very small and weak militarily in a few areas in the country; it had only about 250 rifles. But now it has thousands of these rifles. In his martial law proclamation, Marcos was completely ignorant of the MNLF and BMA. But as a result of martial law, these mass organizations arose with several thousands of well-armed fighters.

The fascist acts of terror and the rapidly worsening economic crisis goad the broad masses of the people to wage armed struggle. But this has to advance step by step against the fascist dictatorship's headstart of 250,000 troops. It is gratifying to see that the average number of arms seized by the NPA from the enemy within one year during 1970s can now be seized in only a few weeks. The rate of arms seizures by the revolutionaries is ever increasing.

By the most conservative estimates, the fascist dictatorship is one of the bloodiest regimes in Philippine history. In the ten years of civil war unleashed by the fascist, there have been at least 150,000 casualties. Death casualties reach up to some 70,000. Most of those killed and injured are civilians because of the blind actions by the enemy such as the round up and massacres of entire barrios and neighborhoods, the torture and murder of suspects and indiscriminate bombings and shootings during military campaigns. On their part, the guerrillas of the NPA and BMA know their targets well and are precise in their military operations.

In central and southwestern Mindanao, there have been some 60,000 killed and some 50,000 injured. Most of these are civilians. Among the combatants, the AFP has lost some 20,000 killed and some 10,000 injured and the BMA some 5,000 killed and another 5,000 injured. In the NPA areas all over the country, some 18,000 have been killed and some 16,000 have been injured. Again most of these are civilians victimized by the enemy. Among the combatants, the AFP lost some 8,000 killed and some 5,000 injured and the NPA some 2,000 killed and some 1,000 injured. It is the consistent pattern of the enemy to try to even up the score in military casualties by taking out their defeats on the innocent civilians.

The NPA has already gained enough strength and experience to prevent its armed propaganda units from being put into defensive tactical position by the AFP search and destroy operations. The MNLF has also cast away the old tendency to hold and defend fixed positions even against a superior enemy force. Thus the ratio of military casualties against the AFP is rising even as these do not stop to torture and kill captives and abuse civilians in trying to root out the guerrillas.

About three million people in the countryside have been displaced and dispossessed of their homes, farms and livestock or made refugees by forced mass evacuations and reconcentration or regrouping of entire populations by the AFP in the course of protracted campaigns of encirclement and suppression, lasting from one to four years per campaign. Some 2.2 million of victims come from central and southwestern Mindanao including Moros and non-Moros. As early as 1976, these victims were estimated at 1.8 million by agencies of the reactionary government. In NPA areas (Isabela, Sorsogon, Aurora, Samar, Quezon, Camarines Norte, Cagayan, Davao provinces and

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Agusan—in chronological order), there have been some 800,000 people forced to evacuate or regroup.

Large numbers of the refugees have spontaneously moved from their homes to other areas and spread the message of the revolution rather than be humiliated and starve in enemy evacuation centers and regrouping camps. However, 300,000 Moros have taken refuge in Sabah and are aided by the Islamic countries, especially Saudi Arabia and Malaysia, while Mr. and Mrs. Marcos make a lot of propaganda for themselves about the far lesser number of Vietnamese refugees in the country.

Great numbers of people in the Moro and NPA areas have gone through the process of being herded against their will for fake surrender ceremonies before AFP authorities in so-called peace rallies. About 100,000 people have been arrested, maltreated in fascist jails for at least one day on suspicion of supporting the armed revolutionaries; about 25,000 people have been detained and maltreated in fascist jails for at least one month without charges being filed. These have ranged from masses of workers, peasants, youth and women to prominent individuals, like leaders of political parties, journalists, publishers, businessmen, religious leaders, educators, writers and leaders of labor, peasant, youth, women and other organizations. So many cases of barbaric tortures have been documented by civil libertarian and human rights associations. But these are only a small fraction of the total number of cases.

The ruling system is now far more incapable of ruling in the old way than before Marcos grabbed all governmental powers in 1972. He is more than ever compelled by his colossal crimes to continue repressing the entire range of organized political opposition and the broad masses of the people. He keeps on threatening to unleash more bloody acts of fascist terror. The so-called lifting of martial law and normalization consist only of negligible tokens and shallow gimmicks calculated to institutionalize and whitewash the continuing fascist dictatorship. In one more contradiction of terms, the autocracy is dished out as a new republic.

The autocratic and antidemocratic provisions of the Marcos constitution remain intact. The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus continue to operate against all political opponents of the fascist regime. The fascist decrees have remained in force and are perpetuated in the National Security Code, Public Order Act and the like. The

Anti-Subversion Law and other laws against political offenses have been made more arbitrary and harsher. The electoral laws are stacked up against every party outside of the fascist party, the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan. Elections since 1978 have been no different from the fake plebiscites and referenda as mockeries of the people's sovereignty.

The interim *batasang pambansa* is a mere rubber stamp of the fascist dictatorship and is subordinate to the lawmaking powers of the one-man legislator. The courts are completely under the power of this fascist dictator. The Supreme Court no less has consistently proven itself a willing tool and accomplice of the fascist dictatorship. The schools have been used as instruments of fascist and imperialist propaganda. All major media of information are either owned or controlled by the fascists, and are used for their propaganda.

In making calls for national unity and reconciliation, Marcos simply means to tell the people and all his political opponents to surrender to his monopoly of political power. More vicious campaigns of fascist terror are being carried out throughout the country, especially in the countryside. But even in the urban areas, massacres have been occurring against peaceful demonstrations. Despite their attempts to remain legal, organizations and individuals critical of the regime are continuously threatened with punitive action, which often occurs. So, more than ever the broad masses of the people are waging revolutionary struggles. A broad united front for armed struggle is rapidly developing as fascist abuses and economic crisis mount. These are excellent conditions for a broad antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle.

Shorn of all its embellishments, the fascist dictatorship is clearly kept in power by brute force against the people. But the AFP has fatal weaknesses. First of all, it is a vicious antinational and antidemocratic instrument of the fascist dictatorship which knows no end in oppressing and exploiting the people. Acts of fascist terror have only served to multiply the number of people determined to fight and defeat it through a protracted people's war.

Despite the worsening economic crisis, it was possible for Marcos to beef up the AFP from 65,000 to 250,000 troops during the 1970s because of heavy foreign and local borrowings that puffed up unproductive business activities. Large amounts of taxes could be collected from this kind of activities and large appropriations could therefore be made for the military. It was the gargantuan foreign loans far more than the increasing direct US military assistance (grants and credit sales)

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that allowed Marcos a wide path for beefing up the military and supporting its futile operations. But foreign borrowing is becoming more and more difficult and onerous. New loans can no longer cover even only the debt service and trade deficit.

The AFP is a parasitic and nonproductive entity which has grown too large. It is a major cause of inflation. And the inflation recoils upon it. Funds for its maintenance and operations are inadequate. Mass discontent among enlisted men is increasing because of inadequate pay and because of rampant corruption among the officers. Steadily the grave discontent among the people is already finding its way in among the troops because they come mostly from worker and peasant families. Increasingly the troops have begun to recognize that their abusive military operations are victimizing their own relatives and friends.

It is only a matter of time before the men and officers of the AFP become receptive to revolutionary propaganda to a significant extent. Their families beyond their camps and formations are not exempt from the facts of the people's sufferings. They are bound to be demoralized by the fact that they are facing more combat risks now in the service of an oppressive and exploitative system and yet they are not adequately compensated. Because it is run as a private army of the fascist dictator, the AFP is wracked by internal jealousies and dissensions, especially among officers. Favoritism, nepotism and regionalism are rampant.

At any rate, there are not too many combat effectives against the armed revolutionaries. Only about one-third of AFP personnel are readily deployable for counter guerrilla action. A large number are tied down to offices, garrisons, presidential security and urban trunklines. The navy and air force are largely unfit for direct ground action. There are units that are unavoidably dispersed and vulnerable to guerrilla actions. These are the CHDF, police, PC and even some Philippine Army units. The guerrillas can seize plenty of arms from them long before any large military operation or campaign can be launched by the enemy.

The guerrilla fronts of the people's army are already so many all over the country and so wide and deep individually that the reactionary armed forces can never hope to swoop down on all of them at the same time or destroy them one by one. Any superior armed force on a short-term "search and destroy" mission can only punch the air and waste effort and resources. Any protracted enemy campaign eventually

yields plenty of opportunities for guerrilla actions in the area. Even when the bulk of guerrilla forces in a certain area are obliged to shift temporarily, they leave enough units to keep the enemy tied down. By getting tied down in a certain area, the enemy unwittingly allows the guerrilla forces in many other areas to grow.

The fascist dictatorship has deepened the bankruptcy of the Philippine economy and caused inflation to spiral through rapid and excessive expenditures for nonindustrial and unproductive programs and projects. The infrastructure and energy projects are financed with foreign loans from the imperialist banks willing to provide loans because these result in the sale of steel materials, construction and motorized equipment, engineering services, etc. from the transnational corporations but are consumption-oriented and at best merely serve to reinforce the colonial pattern of production and export of raw materials and import of finished products. The fascists like these projects because they are supposed to have strong propaganda impact and are easy source of graft. The hierarchy of corruption is so greedy that all these construction projects are overpriced and have serious structural defects.

Completely unproductive are the huge expenditures for bloating the bureaucracy and the reactionary armed forces and the acquisition of office vehicles and equipment for them. So are the luxury constructions along Manila Bay (reclamation, convention center, cultural center, folk arts center, film center) and government-financed private construction of five-star hotels, high rise condominiums and the like. The funds poured into these luxury constructions alone would have been enough to set up several complexes of metal, chemical, instruments and consumer industries based on the comprehensive natural resource base of the country.

Excess capacities have been created in the production and slight processing of raw materials for export (coconut oil, raw sugar, copper concentrates and the like). Beyond these only reassembly and repackaging industries or "gypsy industries" (garments, electronics, car manufacturing, etc.) have been put up by the US and Japanese transnational corporations and their local partners merely for purposes of local and regional market penetration and utilization of cheap local labor. As the capitalist countries have gone into deep recession, the raw material exports of the country as well as the reassembly and repackaging industries have become depressed, resulting in massive

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unemployment and social unrest in both cities and countryside. The unemployment rate is now at least 15% beyond the chronic rate of 25% characteristic of a semifeudal economy such as that of the Philippines.

Due to the fascist dictatorship's economic subservience to the transnational corporations and imperialist banks, the Philippines is reeling from the aggravatingly lopsided character of the economy, locally generated inflation, shifted recession and inflation from the capitalist countries and the increasing burden of foreign debts. While the prices of Philippine exports are being pressed down, the prices of imported finished products are inflated and imports are being pushed hard into the country under a one-sided trade liberalization policy in favor of the capitalist countries. The imperialists are gobbling up superprofits through the process of direct profit remittances, transfer-pricing and loans interest. However, after surpassing the \$15 billion level of foreign debt, the Philippines has reached the point of not being able to get enough foreign loans even at far higher interest rates to cover debt service and trade deficits.

Completely proven false are the expectations of the local revisionists that the US is truly interested in using Marcos to restructure and industrialize the Philippines. More than ever the Philippine economy remains agrarian and semifeudal, a producer and exporter of raw materials and importer of finished and semifinished products. There has been no significant industrialization, whether this be owned by Filipinos or by foreigners. The fascist regime has always adhered to the imperialist concept of development for subservient developing countries, which is the prevention of industrial development.

The so-called 11 major industrial projects are a belated lip service to industrialization. These plans are dependent on the wishes and purposes of transnational corporations which are far more interested than before in discouraging industrialization in a semicolon because of recession afflicting industries in the capitalist countries. The imperialist banks have been telling Marcos through his own technocrats that there is no funding for industrialization and that there is some only for infrastructure, energy projects, agriculture and forestry, education and reequipment of some local industries.

Contrary to the hopes of the local revisionists that the US would use Marcos to break feudalism, the Marcos land reform program limited to rice and corn lands has essentially been a hoax. Hundreds of thousands of land transfer certificates have been distributed to tenants

only for propaganda effect. Only a few token expropriations of landed estates have been undertaken and offered for sale to tenants at a price they cannot afford. The prevalent fact is that old style landlords have been goaded to charge a higher fixed land rent under the so-called leasehold system when they cannot evict their tenants by using any of the many loopholes in the reactionary land reform law.

The token expropriation of landed estates for the supposed benefit of rice and corn tenants are negligible in comparison to the massive transfer of land ownership or control from the old landlords to the new ones (especially the fascists and the local and foreign agrocorporations), the land dispossession of poor settlers and homesteaders under the cover of pasture leases, corporate farming and agro-industrial development. Not all lands grabbed are developed. A sizeable portion are held for speculation because of their proximity to infrastructure projects. The former owner-cultivators are often forced to submit to the oldstyle tenancy system.

The “miracle rice” and Masagana 99 programs have not facilitated but on the contrary have been obstacles to land reform. Fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation facilities, agricultural equipment and petrofuel from the transnational corporations have spelled ever rising agricultural production costs. The peasants have been forced to become dependent on landlords and merchant usurers. The fascists have become the biggest agents of the transnational corporations and have used the rural banks to inflict a camouflaged form of usury on the people through price manipulation of inputs, official service charges and bribes and obligations such as those under the samahang nayon. While the costs of production and subsistence for the peasants have risen rapidly, the prices of their produce have been pressed down.

The so-called KKK livelihood program is a new signboard for small industries and sideline occupations. It has been conceived of so as to deflect attention from the monopolization of colossal loans from the industrial financing fund by corporations owned and controlled by Marcos and his cronies. Rather than promote economic progress, this program dissipates resources through salaries and allowances for superfluous bureaucrats, expenses for propaganda campaigns and dole outs for local leaders of the KBL in time for the barangay elections. The fascists are far more greedy than the general run of merchants as middlemen for both products and loans.

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The new oligarchy of big bureaucrat-comprador-landlords is today on top of the heap of reactionaries serving the foreign monopoly capitalists. It is so greedy in manipulating and cutting into loans, construction and purchase contracts and business privileges and in grabbing lands and other properties that it is hated by the rest of the big comprador and big landlord classes. The contradictions within these exploiting classes have become sharp as a result of the dwindling of foreign exchange for debt service and import payments and the tendency of the new oligarchs to grab the available financial resources and the earnings from exports. Some political rivals of Marcos are drawing considerable support from the disgruntled big comprador-landlords.

The workers are vigorously asserting their democratic rights and pressing their long pent-up demands for higher wages and other benefits due them in the face of the soaring prices of basic commodities and widening unemployment. The strike movement today is on an unprecedented scale. The consistent attempts of the fascist dictatorship to curtail the political and economic rights of the workers through violent means are driving the workers to raise higher the level of their class consciousness and organized resistance. Workers laid off from their jobs are finding their way into the ranks of the armed revolutionaries.

The peasant masses are disgusted with the false promise of land reform by the fascist dictatorship, the increased feudal and semifeudal exploitation, the soaring costs of agricultural production and of subsistence, the military campaigns being carried out by the reactionary armed forces and the flagrant acts of landgrabbing by the fascists and the agrocorporations. Everywhere the peasant masses are receptive to the armed revolution and form the main mass support for it. Most NPA fighters are peasants.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the masses of workers and peasants are allied and serve as the basic foundation of the national democratic revolution. Further on, the toiling masses are allied with the increasingly militant urban petty bourgeoisie which is also oppressed and exploited. And still further on, they are allied with the national bourgeoisie which is pressed down by the fascists and imperialists. There is no way out for the broad masses of the people but to unite in order to overthrow the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

Revolutionary Prospects within the Decade

The objective conditions for waging armed revolution in the Philippines will become even more excellent within the decade. The economic and political crisis of the domestic ruling system as well as that of the world capitalist system will continue to deepen and worsen. The local reactionaries cannot expect any lasting and significant respite from the general crisis and decline of the US and the world capitalist system. The crisis of the ruling system during the 1980s will be far worse than that during the 1970s.

The persistence of the fascist puppet dictatorship will increasingly move the broad masses of the people to resist it and participate in the armed revolution. Such basic forces of the revolution as the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie will undergo far more intolerable conditions of political oppression and economic exploitation and will be drawn further into armed resistance. Marcos' fixation on a continued monopoly of power issues from his fear that were he to relax his grip on it, he would surely be called to account for his fascist reign of terror and greed. The violent split between his clique and other reactionary cliques will certainly intensify.

The Philippine reactionary government will further come under the control of the US government and its imperialist interests. These will manipulate the Marcos fascist dictatorship for as long as possible. The acute need of this dictatorship for a greater amount of loans will be used by the US as a lever for extracting wide-ranging privileges before it considers the replacement of Marcos. The US will continue to prop Marcos up politically, militarily and financially for as long as the revolutionary struggle has not reached the point that he shall have become more of a liability than an asset to US interests.

The Philippine revolution will definitely make great strides. The Communist Party of the Philippines will further grow in strength ideologically, politically and organizationally. Under the firm leadership of this party, the NPA will expand and consolidate its armed strength and organized mass base. The guerrilla fronts will multiply at an accelerated rate. Within the first half of the decade, platoon-size operations of the people's army will become widespread and frequent all over the country; and within the second half, company-size operations will also become so. Three levels of cooperation will develop: intraregional, interregional and national.

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The stage of the strategic defensive will mature on a nationwide scale before the end of the decade. Stalemate will also emerge in many extensive areas. It is even possible that before the end of the decade the stage of strategic stalemate will mature and lead to the general offensive that will overthrow the fascist dictatorship. The advance of the armed revolutionaries will be very rapid by the time that they shall have accumulated a number of automatic weapons equivalent to even only one-tenth of the AFP's 250,000 troops. In view of the present strength of the NPA, it is no longer difficult to accumulate 25,000 automatic rifles within the present decade. In the course of acquiring this strength, the NPA will severely bleed the enemy through guerrilla operations and campaigns of annihilation and attrition.

The Bangsa Moro Army under the leadership of the MNLF will increasingly find that it can deal fiercer and more effective blows against the fascist enemy as the NPA wins more victories in its own areas of operation. Likewise, the NPA will increasingly find that the victories of the BMA are beneficial to it. Thus, there will be a heightening of unity, cooperation and coordination between these two revolutionary forces. The MNLF will very likely give more and more attention to both the national and democratic aspirations of the Moro people and will train more revolutionary cadres from the toiling masses. As a result of the successes of the MNLF and BMA against the AFP, even the present Moro collaborators of the fascist regime will tend to become independent and dissatisfied with the Manila government and many of them will support or join the armed struggle.

The principal opponents of Marcos within the ruling system like Aquino, Manglapus, Lopez, Osmeña and others will continue to be obliged to prove their political worth in the field of armed resistance. They will amount to nothing either to Marcos or the US if they are unable to relate themselves properly to the armed revolutionaries by cooperating with and extending logistical support to them, organizing their own armed groups and developing influence within the reactionary armed forces. They are liable to completely lose whatever is left of their following if they do not make any significant contribution to the armed struggle.

Within the decade, an antifascist united front for armed struggle can be sure of toppling Marcos. This can include any armed organization of whatever ideological, political or religious persuasion so long as it is antifascist. The single unifying element is the determination

to overthrow the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Any attempt to imitate the Marcos concept of unity, which is monopoly of political power by a single person, clique or party, is anathema to the antifascist or democratic cause. Those who learn to unite in the antifascist movement will easily agree to belong together in a democratic coalition government. Democratic power shall be shared according to the basic interests of the people and the relative strengths of the participating parties and groups.

Other than the armies led by the CPP and MNLF, there are already several armed organizations at various stages of preparing for or waging armed struggle. They can fight according to their best lights. The important thing is to direct the fire against the enemy. At best, all antifascist armed organizations will eventually coordinate their efforts. The conditions for armed struggle are so excellent that even the pro-Soviet Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas are already claiming to have disengaged from their collaboration with the fascist regime (from "critical support" to "constructive opposition") and to be making preparations for armed struggle, notwithstanding their old discredited theory that they would conduct a general military offensive only after other entities have done for them the prior stages of the people's war.

The legal opposition parties tend at the moment to concentrate on the question of elections and to demand concessions from the fascist regime in that regard. But they will continue to play a more serious role in exposing and condemning the antinational and antidemocratic character of the fascist regime when they develop their cadres and members through political training courses, publications and various types of meetings without having to wait for the electoral campaign period. The most important task of the legal opposition parties is not to unify as a single party but to coalesce and have as many organized initiative as possible to oppose everyday the reign of terror and greed. As far as the electoral laws stand, the fascist dictatorship will continue to control the process and outcome of elections in 1984, 1986 and 1987. Marcos will not be budged an inch from his arrogant position without the growth of the legal democratic movement and, more importantly, the armed revolutionary movement.

Together the legal organizations of workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, especially the students and teachers are showing the way to wage a comprehensive legal democratic movement. The trade union and strike movement will intensify on a wide scale. A series

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of general strikes is possible within the decade. The peasant movement will increasingly carry out concerted mass actions in connection with both the democratic movement in the cities and with the armed struggle in the countryside. The youth and the student movement will be increasingly linked with the workers and peasants and will carry out mass actions dwarfing the mass actions during the early 1970s.

As the legal parties, mass organizations and publications against the fascist dictatorship become stronger, they will be repeatedly subjected to threats and actual punitive actions. The fascist dictatorship will continue to be a naked fact, with or without another formal declaration of martial law. By his threats and punitive actions, Marcos will compel an ever increasing number of activists from the legal democratic movement to join the ranks of the armed revolutionaries.

As the armed struggle and the legal democratic movement progress, the regime will become more and more ferocious. But the point shall be reached when the US will have to seriously consider withdrawing support from Marcos in favor of another figure, when it shall have been proven by the armed struggle that he is already bringing US interests down with him. Only at that point will the US be willing to ease him out. Among the effective measures that the US will use to pressure him will be delays in the approval of loans and threats to reduce these drastically. Marcos will try to cope with these pressures by amending the electoral laws and giving concessions to his political rivals. From his viewpoint, he will at the worst offer to step down in 1987 in favor of someone he will choose.

But the big question is whether it will still be possible for the US and Marcos to simply mollify or even satisfy his political rivals who will derive direct or indirect support from an armed antifascist united front. Even at the moment, Aquino and other such opponents of Marcos find it necessary to affirm publicly the important and decisive role of the CPP, MNLF and other revolutionary forces in the settlement of the most crucial issues in the country. It is possible that by the time the US is willing to replace Marcos, his political opponents shall have come to a position of demanding nothing less than the punishment of Marcos and even the US shall have become impotent in the face of the armed antifascist united front.

Recognizing his own vulnerability as a US puppet in economic distress and anticipating the ultimate dangers pose by the development of the antifascist united front for armed struggle, Marcos has been

making some signals that he is willing to accommodate the progressive forces and widen the path for cooperation with some third world and socialist countries which can give substantial assistance to his regime. But at the same time, he is still confident that he is Washington's favorite boy, especially under the Reagan administration and that he has plenty of time both for giving in to US demands in exchange for his retention of power and for making a wider area of maneuver in additional directions.

Marcos even entertains the illusion that in the meantime in combination with his mailed fist policy against the revolutionary movement he can play tricks at the least to confuse and split the revolutionary ranks and the antifascist united front and at the most literally disarm the people's army before the slaughterhouse. Indeed, if he succeeds in this regard by some significant degree, he will delay his downfall for a long time. But unfortunately for him, the CPP knows his game well enough. If the CPP were to merely agree having a dialogue with him, this would have a strong divisive impact on the ranks of the revolutionaries and the united front.

Marcos will have to show sufficient proofs in advance that he is willing to shift toward an anti-imperialist and democratic position before a truce becomes negotiable. But even then the CPP will not even consider the idea of talking to him without prior consultations with its good allies and without consideration of their interests. He cannot succeed in simply trying to split the antifascist united front by talking to its participants one by one. At any rate, if he has some good intention no progressive force will stop him from adopting anti-imperialist and democratic measures before any dialogue with him. There are more than enough conditions and reasons for him to veer away from his position as the chief Filipino puppet of the US and save himself from the most severe verdict of history, a verdict reserved only for the Spanish colonizers, the US imperialists and the Japanese fascists.

Marcos has declared that the CPP can become a legal party but on the condition that it renounces armed struggle. No genuine self-respecting revolutionary party will ever renounce the people's right to wage an armed revolution against tyranny. This right is held sacred by both liberal democrats and Marxists. Under certain conditions, truce can become negotiable but surrender, never. The CPP will never surrender and humiliate itself as the pro-Soviet revisionists did in 1974 and some Moros who betray the cause of the Moro people. Moreover,

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the CPP has become strong through armed struggle and the conditions for armed revolution are increasingly excellent.

Because US imperialism props up the fascist dictatorship with colossal amounts of direct and indirect military assistance, it is just and appropriate for any antifascist force to secure arms from any friendly source abroad or simply purchase these from the international open market. After all, such arms will but be a tiny fraction of the massive military supplies provided by the US to the fascist regime. Whatever is the amount of arms that they can secure from abroad, the antifascist forces will maintain independence and remain self-reliant as they will continue to seize more than 90% of their total arms from the fascist enemy.

More than any other entity, it is the political rivals of Marcos within the ruling system who need to secure rifles from abroad in order to arm their following and try to do best their share in the antifascist armed struggle. They need to catch up with the revolutionary tide. Even their own followers complain of being impotent before the fascist enemy. Within any month, they can be armed by the tens. Within six months, they can be armed by the hundreds. Within a year, they can be armed by a few thousands. At every level of armed strength, more arms can be seized from the enemy. By not arming their own followers and possibly their allies, Marcos' political rivals are allowing him to prolong his rule.

As far as the CPP and MNLF are concerned, their respective armies have sufficient arms to be able to advance steadily and cumulatively. But they want their allies to be armed in order to hasten the process of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship. More blows from more directions will certainly accelerate the process. The revolutionary forces will feel the more compelled to seek military supplies from friendly sources abroad the more that the US intervene in support of the fascist dictatorship.

The US can no longer be as powerful as it used to be. There is nothing awesome about its support for the fascist dictatorship. The revolutionary movement has already made great strides. The US and its puppet Marcos will get their just deserts. What is good about the fascist dictatorship is that it has created the conditions for the Philippine revolution—frustrated by US imperialism at the beginning of this century—to surge forward again at a time that world conditions favor its success.

Within the decade, the US will further decline as a world power. Its internal and external economic and political crisis will worsen. The attempt of US President Reagan to stimulate the US economy through intensified high-technology military production will further weaken the US and create social unrest among the American people. The US will be bogged down in the arms race and confrontations with its first world rival, the Soviet Union. Europe and Middle East will continue to preoccupy the two superpowers. At the same time, US competition with the second world of lesser capitalist countries will sharpen and further constrict the profitable areas for US investments and market for US civilian and military products.

In the third world, the independent countries will become even more assertive of their anti-imperialism and anti-imperialist revolutionary movements will surge forward as never before seen in the unliberated countries. Even reactionary governments will find themselves increasingly at odds with the US because of the growing virulence of the world capitalist economic crisis and the excessive US demands for debt payments and extraordinary privileges. Even now, it has difficulties attending to so many trouble spots. After its great debacle in its war of aggression in Indochina, it has been impotent before the revolutionary upheavals in Africa, Iran and Central America.

Certainly, within the latter part of the decade, the US will have great difficulties in propping a strictly pro-US puppet regime in the Philippines because of the strong revolutionary movement of the Filipino people and because of many other turbulence elsewhere. Escalation of US intervention in the Philippines will not only be futile but will possibly mean a total elimination of its imperialist interests here.

The American people have learned unforgettable lessons from the US war of aggression in Vietnam. They will oppose every act of US intervention in the Philippines and extend greater political and moral support for the Filipino people. The considerable number of Filipinos in the US and elsewhere abroad will play an important role in gathering international support for the revolutionary movement in the motherland.

There have been no conditions domestically and internationally better than now for the advance of the Philippine revolution since its defeat by US imperialism at the beginning of this century. The sovereign Filipino people will continuously win greater revolutionary victories against fascism, imperialism and feudalism within this decade. The

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correct leadership of the CPP over the NPA and other revolutionary forces is the guarantee for great victories to be won.

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Statement on my Solitary Confinement

November 18, 1982

I am making this statement in order to provide the people with an update on my detention conditions and extend factual support to the urgent motion of my defense counsel Atty. Juan T. David for my relief from solitary confinement.

Current Detention Conditions

After more than five years of detention, I am still in solitary confinement in a single cell with a shuttered window and a double-locked door of iron bars that allows no view of the outside beyond an adjacent guard post.

My confinement cell is 4.5 meters long, 3.5 meters wide and 3.5 meters high. But the floor space is further limited by a big cabinet, a typing table, another one for eating, a bed, stacks of cardboard boxes and other things.

Day in and day out, I am cooped up in this cell. I am deprived of social intercourse with my fellow detainees. Convicted prisoners in the national penitentiary are in a far better situation insofar as they have prison community life among themselves.

The limited air that comes into the cell is polluted by dust and gas fumes churned up by some motor vehicles. The shuttered window is alongside a road and some officers and is diagonally opposite the main gate of the Military Security Unit compound.

The ventilator in the cell circulates the stale and polluted air. This gadget was provided only after I suffered 18 months (including two summers) of searing heat. However, even with the ventilator, the cell always has a temperature far higher than that outside.

The high temperature and polluted air inside the cell are such that my wife and our young child who come to visit me here every week always get afflicted with respiratory and related illnesses. The abrupt change of atmosphere for them at every visit is too much.

Everytime I do some lengthy writing, my military custodians harass me by cutting off electricity and water. When the former is cut off and

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the ventilator stops, the heat becomes unbearable. It is obvious that the authorities are hell-bent on stopping me from writing at ease.

Whenever I am brought out for military commission hearings or to meet my lawyer at the reception room, I undergo a thorough body search and even papers pertaining to my legal defense are taken from me.

The range of visitors I am allowed to receive is extremely limited. I can only receive only immediate relatives and my lawyer. But it is only my wife and our youngest child who can come regularly every week. The rest of my permitted visitors come very rarely.

They are discouraged from visiting me more often because they are often made to wait for hours before being allowed to see me and are made to undergo excessive body searches and have their picture taken like criminal suspects. Even my lawyer is often given the run-around for days or weeks before he gets an appointment to visit me. When he comes, he is made to wait for hours and then is limited to half an hour of consultations with me.

I am blindfolded whenever I am brought out of my cell for sunning, military commission hearings or to receive visitors. The blindfold is removed only at the destination. Again, I am blindfolded on the way back to my cell. This practice of blindfolding is humiliating and degrading.

Since the second year of my detention, I have always suffered severe respiratory or pulmonary illnesses or infections requiring heavy doses of antibiotics. My teeth have also deteriorated rapidly.

It is not only my physical health but also my mental health that is in jeopardy due to solitary confinement. Consider the tremendous mental stress on someone like me in isolation for several years already. This is psychological torture. Even if you have access to more people and the open air, just consider how you would react if people in your house or your office do not talk to you even only for one week.

Social life—conversations, work, study, recreation and other common activities with one's fellow detainees—is a basic human necessity. To deprive a political prisoner of this in the regular daily mode of his detention is to inflict cruel and unusual punishment on him. Even convicted common criminals are entitled to community life among themselves.

After all these years of my detention, the fascist dictatorship obviously wants to coerce me and break my will or simply wants to destroy

my mind. The solitary confinement so viciously applied on me is a clear proof of the wickedness of Marcos despotism.

Previous Detention Experience

The full cumulative weight of solitary confinement as a form of torture on me can be better understood and felt if my present circumstances are seen as proceeding from a series of physical and psychological tortures applied on me through the years.

At close to midnight on November 10, 1977, I was put under solitary confinement. The door to my confinement cell was solid wood and the window was shuttered as it is now. The cell was extremely hot from ten o'clock in the morning to midnight. It was extremely cold sometimes when it was past midnight.

On the evening of November 13, 1977, I was subjected to interrogation and physical torture by punching. I had two thick layers of blindfold and my hands were cuffed from behind. I was strapped to a chair and hit like a punching bag for about an hour. The hard fist blows on my floating ribs and my solar plexus hurt the most.

Subsequently, one of my feet and one of my hands were shackled to my cot with the use of a pair each of handcuffs. I was kept awake by interrogators and deprived of food and water. A beam of light was constantly directed at my face.

I was subjected to further interrogation and torture by water cure from 4:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. on November 14, 1977. This time, I was again blindfolded. Both my feet and my hands were shackled to the cot, each by a sharp-edged pair of handcuffs that bit into my flesh as I strained and struggled for air against the suffocating rushes of water down my throat and nostrils.

The water cure was done this way. A towel was laid on my nose and my mouth and then water was ladled into my nostrils repeatedly. Now and then, someone poked the barrel of a gun into my mouth as I gasped for air. Someone sat on my belly to keep me down.

There were close to a hundred questions that I was repeatedly asked. As a result of the water cure, I was in a daze for six days; my eyes felt terribly strained, my chest was extremely painful, both my hands and my feet were numb and remained so for at least a month and my wrists and ankles were wounded. For more than a month, I was deprived of light in my cell.

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All throughout my physical torture during tactical interrogation, I was subjected to death threats and taunts aside from repetitious questions, including the most foolish. I retained my wits and integrity. The psychological aspect of the torture was futile.

Were the punching and water cure sessions the worst experience of torture that I had? No! What proved to be the most excruciating was my being shackled to my cot by a pair of handcuffs each on one foot and one hand—this on a 24-hour basis for more than seven months from November 13, 1977 to June 18, 1978 and then on a 12-hour basis for another 11 months from June 18, 1978 to May 26, 1979.

In the latter period, I was detached from the cot during the day but my feet were bound together by a single pair of handcuffs. I could only toddle around the cell.

As I was shackled to the cot day after day, week after week month after month, season after season, I did not know when the torture would end. The uncertainty intensified the mental agony even as there was extreme physical strain on my ever prostrate body.

I was literally in a tomb. The confinement cell was completely sealed, except for the venticles on the shuttered window. The door of iron bars would replace the solid wooden door only on May 26, 1979.

Everytime I was detached from the cot for a few minutes for my lousy prison meals and other necessities, the enlisted man who stood guard inside the cell insulted and harried me to get done with whatever it was that I was doing.

I was deprived of my eyeglasses for several months and I suffered severe headaches as a result. I was not given reading materials for so many months. I had to rely completely on my mind and will power to fight the physical and mental stress as I was strapped to a cot.

I was not allowed the visit of immediate relatives until August 7, 1978. I was not allowed access to legal counsel until the same date despite the fact that I had repeatedly asked for one since my arrest on November 10, 1977.

Not only were my letter to Task Force Detainees, Civil Liberties Union, Attys. Tañada, David and Diokno not delivered by my military custodians but that during the long water cure session my tormentors tried to make me bear false witness against these good people.

Of course, I was also terribly worried about the fate of my wife but I trusted her absolutely. It was only two full years since our arrest that we were allowed to have weekly conjugal meetings.

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My wife was confined with me starting March 1, 1980 only after she suffered a miscarriage due to emotional stress in solitary confinement and bad prison meals. When we were together until her temporary release as a nursing mother on March 30, 1982, we were isolated in my cell from other political prisoners.

When we were in separate and then in joint confinement, there were long periods that we did not have airing and sunning.

The military doctor did not care enough about our physical and mental wellbeing or if he did at all, his recommendations were easily ignored by our custodians and higher military authorities. The military dentist was far worse. He often did not heed our requests for dental treatment. When he went through the motion of treating me, he merely aggravated the defect he was treating and even busted a number of my good teeth.

Constitutional and Legal Grounds for Relief

I have gone through quite a number of physical and psychological tortures and extreme difficulties. And right now, I suffer the cumulative stress of prolonged solitary confinement—essentially psychological torture attended by so many physical restraints and difficulties.

Even before I can be convicted of any alleged crime, I have already been punished with extreme and unusual cruelty. The intensity of punishment has been such as to extract from me so many years for every year that I have remained in detention.

I am glad that my defense counsel Atty. Juan T. David has focused on my prolonged solitary confinement. He has filed with Military Commission No. 1 an urgent motion to relieve my co-accused Bernabe Buscayno and myself from the cruel and unusual punishment of solitary confinement. The motion was filed last November 11 and is based on certain constitutional grounds.

Atty. David asked that my co-accused Bernabe Buscayno and I be granted bail or at the least transferred to the Bicutan detention center where we can have community life with fellow political prisoners.

In response to the motion, the military commission formed a special committee to investigate my detention conditions, especially my solitary confinement. The special committee is composed of representatives of the military commission, the prosecution and the defense panels.

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The special committee came to look into my conditions the other day (November 16) and verified that I am indeed confined alone in a solitary cell and deprived of social intercourse with my fellow political detainees.

According to my lawyer, the report of the committee carries the recommendation that I be transferred at best to the Bicutan detention center where I can have social life with fellow detainees or at the least to the detention center where my co-accused Bernabe Buscayno is confined, provided that there be social intercourse among detainees as in Bicutan.

But the question as to whether I will get my relief still hangs. Under the fascist dictatorship, any kind of abuse or violation of rights is permissible in the name of "national security," antisubversion and anticommunism.

At any rate, let us go over the constitutional and legal grounds for my relief from solitary confinement.

1. It is obvious from the facts of the continuing and prolonged solitary confinement imposed on me that I have been subjected to cruel and unusual punishment which is prohibited by Section 21 of Article IV of the 1973 Constitution. This is a provision carried over from the 1953 Constitution. Solitary confinement alone for several years is already a despicable kind of torture, essentially psychological torture. The mind is constantly put under severe strain. Psychological torture can be even more vicious than physical torture. My solitary confinement has also made it opportune for physical torture to be inflicted on my person and for the violation of my rights.

2. I am not a convicted prisoner. I should therefore be presumed innocent in accordance with Section 19 of Article IV. I should not be treated worse than a convicted prisoner. I should be treated better in all aspects of detention. Even convicted prisoners are entitled to social life—work, study, recreation and other common activities among themselves. According to the prison law and the rules of the national penitentiary, "close confinement" for a brief period of one week to one month—not years—is meted out as a disciplinary measure only and after a hearing where the erring convict can air his side.

3. Section 1 of Article IV entitles everyone to the equal protection of the law. I should not be subjected to conditions worse than those imposed on political detainees who are charged like me in the same cases. I should be able to enjoy social life with them and like them. In

fairness to them, however, I do not say that they are enjoying paradise at the Bicutan detention center. I know that their conditions were made worse after the so-called lifting of martial law. But certainly they have social life and use their cells only as quarters for rest and personal study.

4. Section 3 of Article II of the Constitution adopts the generally accepted principles of international law as part of the law of the land. Pertinently, Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions (I to IV) requires that prisoners in any kinds of armed conflict within a country (howsoever each opposing side regards the legal status of the other) are not to be subjected to murder, torture, any form of degrading and humiliating conditions, etc.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Minimum Standards of Detention and the United Nations Declaration Against Torture prohibit all forms of physical and psychological torture, including solitary confinement.

5. President Marcos' Letter of Instruction No. 621 gives assurances of humane treatment, access to legal counsel and due process. All these were negated by my solitary confinement and other tortures inflicted on me. Against my rights and wishes, I was deprived of legal counsel and did not properly undergo formal investigation, inquest or preliminary investigation.

In comparison to the Quirino regime, the Marcos regime is far more brutal in the treatment of political prisoners who are leading communist suspects. No one of the so-called members of the Politburo in 1950 was subjected to physical tortures and solitary confinement as I have been. Soon after their arrest, they were allowed access to legal counsel and were allowed social intercourse among themselves in prison.

In view of the cruel and unusual punishment long inflicted on me for the obvious purpose of breaking my will or simply destroying my physical and/or mental wellbeing, people concerned with human and democratic rights now place me in the category of a prisoner of conscience worthy of immediate release.

Right now, however, I am most concerned about the danger of worse harm coming to me if I am not removed from solitary confinement. In view of the malice, cruelty and sadism behind my prolonged solitary confinement, I have reason to be alert to the possibility that I am already or will be subjected to cumulative poisoning, infection or other devious ways of destroying my person.

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And so, in case I die in solitary confinement or sometime thereafter, let this statement serve notice to all that my body be autopsied by my own brother Dr. Ramon C. Sison or a medical representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross whom he or my closest relatives may appoint so that the cause of my death be accurately determined by thoroughgoing tests.

To close this statement on a positive note: I am confident of staying alive and well so long as the people are alert to the wicked ways of the fascist regime. I value my physical and mental wellbeing and my life like every normal human being. But my special reason is to be able to contribute more of what I can to the national democratic revolution and thereby to the progress and wellbeing of my people.

I am always inspired by the increasing victories of the national democratic movement. And I urge the broad masses of the people to wage more battles and win more victories for the great cause of national independence and democracy. I am certain that total victory will be ours.

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Intrigues against Democratic Forces⁷

Circa December 1982

There is today an absurd notion being systematically spread that any entity that dares to fight the Marcos dictatorship is actually a tool of Marcos and that the harder one fights, the more one is its witting or unwitting tool.

Let us cite examples of this absurdity (more precisely, a string of intrigues) that denies the determination and free will of democratic forces—the forces opposing one-man rule—as well as their leaders.

1. The Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are accused as mere tools of the Marcos dictatorship even while they are waging a life-and-death struggle against it. They supposedly give Marcos the excuse to perpetuate a reign of terror.

2. Whenever the detained Jose Ma. Sison, alleged former CPP chairman, attacks the shenanigans of his powerful persecutors, he is maliciously pictured by some elements as being allowed or being used by the regime in order to prove that there is democracy or freedom of speech or to draw attention away from things more damning to Marcos.

3. The democratic mass organizations and their mounting mass actions are slandered as supposedly helping Marcos give substance to his claim of maximum tolerance and of democracy in his domain.

4. The current boycott movement against a rigged election for a sham parliament is denounced as a big help for Marcos for supposedly splitting the opposition ranks.

5. The existence of independent publications like *Malaya* and others is regarded as incontrovertible evidence of the freedom of the press and the democratic character of the present regime.

Shall the entire democratic movement and all its leaders now fall silent and fold their arms to avoid the ignominy of being called tools of their enemy or should not shallow intriguers be exposed for what they are?

⁷ These were notes slipped out to both aboveground and underground progressive and revolutionary forces through co-accused detainees during one of the hearings of the rebellion case before Special Military Commission.-Editor

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The witting and unwitting sources of intrigues such as the above can be identified:

1. The chief witting sources are propagandists and psywar experts of the regime. They want to sow confusion in the ranks of the organized democratic forces and the people.

2. Another witting source are pseudorevolutionaries who are in cahoots with the regime and who specialize in spreading intrigue in professional circles in order to prettify their collaboration with the regime and their isolation from the democratic mass movement.

3. Some Marcos oppositionists participating in the sham electoral process who want to rationalize their position are also witting and unwitting sources.

4. Another source finally are well-meaning people who unwittingly pick up and spread the absurd notion from the above three witting and unwitting sources.

Those who do not have a grasp of the law of contradiction and the dialectical process can be easily misled. A narrow, one-sided view of things for example is bound to misinterpret that the very struggle against tyranny is the tyrannical regime's reason for being.

The truth can be drawn only by an analysis of the facts, including the objective and the subjective factors, in an all-sided way. And the development of things firm up the truth against outright lies.

For instance, how can it be said that the CPP and NPA are tools of the regime when these organizations are resolutely fighting it at no little sacrifice in order to strengthen the revolutionary movement and lay the basis for a people's democratic system of government?

Again, how can it be said that Jose Ma. Sison is being used by the regime for its vile purposes when in fact he is subjected to cruel and unusual punishment through solitary confinement in an attempt to silence him and he is constantly maligned in the controlled media and in fly-by-night publications churned out by the regime's psywar experts propagandists? The positive occasional exposure he gets comes from the independent media through independent-minded media people who dare assert their freedom to speak out the truth at great risk to themselves.

How can it be said that democratic mass organizations are tools of the present regime when in fact the gains of the democratic mass movement have been won at the cost of incalculable sacrifices, difficulties and risks?

How can it be said that *Malaya* and other independent publications substantiate the claims of the Marcos regime to press freedom and democracy when in fact these publications are being subjected to all sorts of assaults, restrictions and harassments, including the sequestration of *We-Forum* and the arrest and detention of its editor and writers?

Intriguers and plain cynics cannot just credit the achievements of the democratic forces to the Marcos regime. These achievements have been won through struggle and sacrifices.

Democracy will triumph only through the advance of all democratic forces waging all forms of struggle and mobilizing the entire people. We cannot achieve a democratic form of government by simply folding our arms and watching the present tyranny rot through its sheer bankruptcy.

Mr. Marcos is not some Manichean god who can place himself on all sides—that of his regime and that of those opposing his regime—and claim all credit for his everlasting life and glory. He is categorically on the side of tyranny. Every word or deed against this tyranny contributes to the inevitable victory of democracy.

The political and economic crisis of the ruling system is not something that will blow over after a short while. It continues to weaken the system to the core.

The so-called economic recovery program and the intensified campaign of fascist terrorism merely serve to aggravate the crisis, cause further social unrest and incite more people to take up arms.

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Interview with Jose Ma. Sison⁸

Circa February 1983

What is your perception of the current Philippine situation?

The economy is in extreme crisis and there is going to be no letup. Massive unemployment and soaring inflation are wreaking havoc on the lives of the broad masses of the people. Colossal deficits in government budget, foreign trade and the balance of payments are laid bare by the increasing difficulties of the regime to get new foreign loans. Marcos himself has announced austerity measures, except for the military. The peso is also being daily devalued due to the increasing scarcity of foreign exchange.

All the major export sectors of the economy (coconut, sugar, mining, logging, etc.) are far more depressed than ever. The reassembly and repackaging industries for the domestic market are hardpressed by the tariff reduction on imports. The much-favored enterprises for reexport, like garment and electronic, are also in dire straits and of course bring in very low net export earnings as usual. Even local food production is now assailed by the rising costs of farm inputs and depressed market.

Marcos in anticipating the intensification of social unrest has obviously chosen to preempt and stop it by sheer force of arms. Thus, he has practically run amuck. He has cracked down on workers, peasants, students, journalists, religious, intellectuals and others who dare to criticize his policies and make democratic demands.

The worst forms of fascist attacks are being carried out in the countryside, mainly against peasants and farm workers. The attacks include massacres, summary executions, tortures, forced mass evacuations, reconcentration of entire villages, fake surrenders, arbitrary mass arrests and detention, bombing, rape, looting and arson.

It seems fashionable nowadays in some Manila intellectual circles to speak of a post-Marcos era as having begun. What do you think of this view?

⁸ Interview prepared for publication by the Free Jose Maria Sison Committee.-Editor

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Definitely, Marcos is already on his way down if his situation in the 1980s were compared with that in the 1970s. But there is still a lot of hard struggles ahead for the people before he is finished either by outright overthrow or by inducing the US to change horses. Even if the US decided now to ease Marcos out, the process could extend to Marcos' retirement in 1987. Four years is still a lot of time.

The US will not go out of its way to replace Marcos if the antifascist forces, especially the armed revolutionary movement, do not show enough strength to really worry the US. At the moment, the political agents of Marcos are spreading the rumor that he and Reagan had made a secret agreement to "modernize" or further beef up the military and to seek the destruction of the revolutionary movement before accommodation can be given to the legal opposition.

Lately, however, the US State Department and US embassy officials in Manila are quite busy in inviting prominent figures in the legal opposition and cultivating friendships. Maybe the US wants to start washing its hands or simply pick the brains of the oppositionists for limited purposes. The larger fact today is that Reagan makes a lot of anti-Soviet noise against Poland but keeps quiet and does nothing about the far graver human rights violation in the Philippines.

Marcos is still serving US interests very well. There is yet no reason for the US to yank him out of power immediately. Marcos' economic difficulties are more the result of his own subservient economic policies and the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system.

Will polarization continue? How will it proceed?

So long as Marcos gets enough support from the US, he will continue to get tough and will not give away a single inch of his autocratic powers. The people have no choice but to resist intensified exploitation and oppression. And so polarization continues.

The legal opposition is severely persecuted and is always on the brink of being illegalized. The main current among the people is therefore to support the revolutionary armed movement against the fascist dictatorship. The CPP, NPA, NDF and other antifascist forces are gaining strength as fascist terror and the economic crisis continue to assail the people.

What do you think of Marcos' offer of dialogue to the opposition forces?

As far as I know, the Moro National Liberation Front has long been disgusted with the outcome of the Tripoli Agreement and is determined to wage armed struggle for the Moro people's right to self-determination. Now that the NPA has drawn the bulk of AFP contingents, the Moro areas are relieved and the Moro people can better intensify their armed struggle.

After his return from the US, it was obvious that Marcos made an offer of compromise to the legal opposition. But when UNIDO and other parties made their proposals, which were quite reasonable, these were dismissed as mere fantasies by Marcos. It will really take some further deterioration of the ruling system and the growth of the revolutionary movement before the US decides to require Marcos to come to terms with the legal opposition.

I can make only an educated guess about the Communist Party of the Philippines. It can easily see through the Marcos offer of dialogue as a divisive ploy complementary to all-out military attacks by the AFP against the NPA. This is proven by the use of fake mass surrenders as the psywar supplement to vicious military campaigns and atrocities.

I suppose that the CPP is very confident that the legal opposition cannot be inveigled into capitulation or any anti-communist compromise. Without the armed resistance of the CPP/NPA, Marcos will become more arrogant in persecuting and destroying the legal opposition. The legal opposition cannot enter into any agreement with Marcos even under the auspices of the US without taking into consideration the views and interests of the CPP, NPA, NDF and other national democratic forces. To do so would be to undermine their own interests.

How should national reconciliation proceed if polarization is to be avoided or reduced?

Marcos should give up the notion that it suffices for him to make occasional calls for national reconciliation and that he can borrow time by dangling offers to the various opposition forces and then playing off one against the other.

All the opposition forces know what it takes to make the US drop Marcos like a hot potato. At best, they are determined to fight for national independence and democracy. They know that they need each

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other and that their unity against the enemy reflects the national unity of the oppressed and exploited people.

For a start, Marcos should be ready to give up his autocracy and comply with the basic democratic demands of the UNIDO. 1983 is the year for Marcos to take significant steps away from tyranny and the monopoly of political power if he does not want the economic crisis and the armed resistance to consign him irrevocably to unmitigated historical damnation. Even the US seems to want credible elections in 1984.

Do you have any idea of CPP and NPA strength at the moment? How are they coping with the all-out military campaigns against them?

According to the most serious estimates made by the Ministry of National Defense and AFP officials, the CPP has so many thousands of members and the NPA so many thousands of rifles. My own estimate based on newspaper reports is that the NPA riflemen are now a number of times more than the hardcore riflemen of the Bangsa Moro Army of the MNLF.

The all-out AFP campaigns against the NPA are obviously futile. Even the controlled press gives reports that the NPA is making successful raids and ambushes where they seize as many as ten to twenty rifles per operation. These are occurring so frequently almost all over the country.

The highest AFP officials are now worried about the armed resistance reaching a critical mass soon. Maybe, if the NPA accumulates even only ten percent of the AFP riflemen, the beginning of the end for the US-Marcos regime or even the entire ruling system would occur.

The organized mass base of the CPP and NPA can easily run into millions of people under organs of democratic power and in mass organizations. And of course, revolutionary propaganda reaches the entire Filipino people.

To what extent do you think does the US still support Marcos?

I think that Marcos has been emboldened to become more tyrannical by what his agents claim to be a secret agreement between him and US President Reagan for the Armed Forces of the Philippines to be modernized (that is, further beefed up) with substantial US aid, of course; and for Marcos to effectively crush the Left before real

normalization (from the abnormalcy of autocracy and fascism) and accommodation to the legal opposition can be made.

As a result of some secret Marcos-CIA consultations during Marcos' US state visit, "Operation Katatagan" will be carried out, as has been announced lately, in 1983—of course with US logistical support. This operation has obviously been designed by the CIA and is patterned after the infamous "Operation Phoenix" in the Vietnam war. Appropriations for the AFP have been increased despite the austerity measures for all other government departments.

In exchange for US support for the military, Marcos will continue to intensify anticommunist hysteria and attacks against democratic forces in 1983 in order to divert the people's attention from his responsibility for the deepening economic crisis and in order to weaken or destroy the legal opposition. In so many words, Marcos has been boasting that he does not need the UNIDO as opposition in 1984 because he can always have Roy's Nacionalista Party as the "opposition."

The broadest range of opposition must unite even more effectively. The traditional oppositionists in the US have the special function of weakening US support for Marcos and taking advantage of the rapid decline of Reagan's political stocks. The opposition in the US should continue exposing to the American people principally and to the US Congress US administration support and responsibility for the fascist autocracy in the Philippines.

How do you expect to be released from prison under the Marcos regime?

As a prisoner of conscience, whose constitutional and human rights have been grossly violated through torture and other abuses, I should be released immediately if the regime had any correct sense of law or moral conscience.

But frankly speaking, I do not expect to be released from prison under the Marcos regime. How can I expect to be released when Marcos himself refuses even only to transfer me from solitary confinement to a regular detention center where I can have social life with fellow political detainees? Even after five years of detention, I am still being subjected to solitary confinement which is psychological torture essentially and constitutes cruel and unusual punishment.

I think that the intention of the fascists is to undermine my physical and mental health and then subject me to cumulative poisoning

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or infection in order to kill me. You know that where I am detained, the Military Security Unit compound, quite a number of political prisoners—including former Senators Benigno Aquino and Eva Estrada Kalaw—have suffered heart attacks.

I do not mean to discourage the Free Jose Ma. Sison Committee and other human rights organizations seeking my release. All efforts to obtain my freedom help to effect improvements on my conditions and forestall dangers to my person.

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On Women's Liberation: Address to the Founding Congress of GABRIELA

March 8, 1983

I congratulate you for holding this multisectoral convention of women, which you have fittingly called the General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Independence, Equality, Leadership and Action (GABRIELA). This comes as the most significant event in a ten-day celebration of International Women's Day.

It is admirable that you are determined to bring together into a broad democratic alliance, the women of all patriotic and progressive classes, sectors, organizations and circles. It is of urgent necessity for women from the working class, the peasantry, the middle strata, the upper classes and the various professions to unite and fight for democracy against the fascist dictatorship.

We are confronted with a tyrannical regime that is hell-bent on perpetuating the semicolonial and semifeudal system with the most barbaric means. The political and economic crisis of this ruling system is daily worsening, imposing intolerable suffering and misery on the broad masses of the people. We are confronted with a tyrannical regime that reduces the overwhelming majority of women, especially those of the working class and the peasantry to abject poverty, stagnancy and deprivation. We are confronted with a tyrannical regime that takes pride in selling women as cheap labor and hospitality girls in the country and abroad.

The women's liberation movement is definitely a vital and integral part of the overall democratic movement. Women's rights are an inseparable part of the national and democratic rights that the entire Filipino people are fighting for. Without the militant participation of women—half of the full force of the people—in the common struggle, victory cannot be won.

I am told that this convention is intended to sum up and consolidate the efforts of the Filipino women to liberate themselves through their militant participation in the people's struggle for national independence and democracy. I am told that you are to create new mechanisms and

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formulate new tasks for carrying forward the women's movement in the context of the struggle for national democracy.

Aware of your purposes, I am exceedingly pleased to give this message on women's rights in relation to the struggle for the restoration of democracy. I hope that I can shed light on the work of your convention as well as your future work.

The Struggle for the Restoration of Democracy

My understanding of restoring democracy is upholding, asserting and realizing the sovereign will of the people, their national independence from foreign interests and entities, and their civil and political rights as individuals, organizations and classes.

All of us are acutely aware of the urgent necessity of uniting and fighting for democracy against an autocracy, a fascist dictatorship that euphemistically calls itself "constitutional authoritarianism". But we know that this despotism, this open rule of terror by a narrow bureaucrat-military clique, is the desperate outgrowth and concentrated expression or manifestation of foreign and feudal domination.

To restore democracy, it is necessary for us to be comprehensively antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal. While the immediate and common target is the Marcos fascist dictatorship, it is becoming increasingly clear to the people that this monstrosity is a creature of the most oppressive and exploitative foreign monopoly and feudal interests.

There can no longer be restoration of that type of democracy existing before the Marcos coup in 1972. The ruling system dominated by the big compradors and big landlords in subordination to the US imperialism is dying. The fascist dictatorship is a manifestation of its impending death.

There can no longer be a complete restoration of the merry-go-round of political parties and politicians mainly and essentially in the service of US imperialism and the local reactionary class interests. Instead of quelling the revolutionary mass movement, the fascist dictatorship has unwittingly served to strengthen it. Oppression engenders resistance.

The people have grown in strength through revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary party of the proletariat, a people's army, organs of

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democratic power and mass organizations, legal and underground, are flourishing.

We affirm basic democratic principles and our democratic heritage. We are struggling to complete the struggle for national independence and democracy so valiantly started by our revolutionary forebears. To restore democracy is to establish it on a new and higher level. We are carrying out a new democratic revolution.

Under the leadership of its most advanced detachment, the working class wants nothing less than total victory over exploitative foreign and feudal interests and a complete transformation of society. The fatal crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system provides the people with the opportunity to complete the democratic revolution frustrated by US imperialism and its local lackeys since the beginning of the century.

The peasant masses want nothing less than the complete solution to the land problem. This solution is the main content of a genuine democratic revolution in a semicolonial and semifeudal country like ours. The worker-peasant alliance has found expression in a rapidly growing revolutionary movement.

Such middle strata as the urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie are joining a broad united front with the toiling masses and asserting their legitimate rights and interests as the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique increasingly subjects them to oppression and exploitation.

Even among the big compradors and landlords, there is an increasingly conspicuous trend to condemn the fascist dictatorship, especially after the Aquino assassination and the telling effects of the excessive debt burden and economic subservience. But the Marcos clique is hell-bent on holding on to its monopoly of political power and economic loot by force of arms. This clique is willing at the most to dish out rigged voting exercises under the most undemocratic conditions.

The Philippines is on the eve of a great social upheaval. The political, economic, cultural and moral crisis of the entire social system is becoming fatally worse. The fascist dictatorship and its foreign masters refuse to heed the just and reasonable national and democratic demands of the people. They collude in undertaking gimmicks and exercises of deception while unleashing a rising wave of violence.

Women's Rights and the Democratic Movement

In these times of crisis and revolution, women—daughters of Gabriela Silang—have become acutely aware of the fundamental problems of society and have found the opportunity to assume militant roles and realize in a big way their long suppressed potential. The men themselves have become increasingly aware that important tasks are effectively carried out only with the conscious and active participation of the other half of the people.

In fighting for the restoration of democracy and, in effect, the establishment of democracy at a new and higher level, women have the opportunity not only to prove that they are as capable as the men in the general effort to liberate the country from fascist, foreign and feudal oppression and exploitation but also to achieve the basic conditions for their liberation from male domination.

Male chauvinism is the outgrowth of unjust social formations through the ages and finds concentrated expression today in the feudal-patriarchal values and the decadent bourgeois values of colonial and semifeudal society. Women are supposed to be the objects of the actions and decisions of men.

But in the course of the new democratic revolution, the women enlighten themselves, cast away the prejudices against them and promote their right to an equal status with men. From formerly passive ranks of women arise organizations such as yours to fight for a common cause with the men and assert their distinct rights as women.

When women become more politically conscious and organized along the national democratic line, they can act more effectively to smash the strictures of the present society, gain democratic reforms in their favor and, together with the men, bring about an entirely new political and economic system that provides ever rising levels of economic, political, social and cultural opportunities.

In a truly democratic society, women's organizations ensure that women's interests and rights are safeguarded and promoted; and that women are significantly represented and assume positions of leadership in public and state organs.

National industrialization and land reform liberate the women, especially the overwhelming majority who belong to the working class and peasantry, in a big way. They are freed from the misery of poverty,

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stagnation and consignment to humdrum chores of the household. All fields of social activity open up to them.

Women can freely choose their course of study, profession or occupation according to their ability and the needs of society. They enjoy the right of equal pay for equal work and yet enjoy special rights corollary to their special functions of childbearing. They can stand up against any discrimination and sexual harassment.

Laws and customs prejudicial to women in marital, family, professional, occupational and other social relations are cast off in favor of democratic laws. A new milieu shall arise where man and woman willingly discuss and decide matters of mutual concern, from division of household chores to more weighty concerns. Women cease to be the economic dependents or customary captives of men.

Women are entitled to free choice of spouse, freedom from dowry requirements and costly ceremonies, the primary right to take care of her children, the right to be consulted on all matters involving the family, the right to equality and security in matters of property and income, and the right to seek every appropriate means to settle family and marital problems.

Of course, women are entitled to certain special rights because of their biological peculiarities and special service to humanity. They are entitled to maternity leave with pay, accommodations for breastfeeding and childcare, exemption from strenuous physical work during menstruation and pregnancy, and so on.

Apart from these special natural considerations, women are equal to men in almost everything. The oldest basis for some temporary or constant division of work has been the sex factor. But this has been abused and unjustly elaborated on through millennia of class exploitation.

The completion of the new democratic revolution necessarily means the inception of socialist revolution and with it, the eradication of the worst forms of degradation of women. Prostitution and its root causes will be removed.

Class Analysis and the Women's Liberation Movement

In the main, I have been discussing women's rights in general. I urge you to do some class analysis of the different categories of women and their conditions. At least 90% of Filipino women belong to the

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downtrodden masses of workers and peasants. They are the most exploited women in our country. They suffer from unemployment and the rising costs of living.

What they need is a fundamental change in their social condition. Some reforms can help them. Push for these reforms not just to improve their present condition but also to raise their capabilities in fighting for a radical transformation of the society as well as of the specific conditions of women. Nothing less than the victory of the new democratic revolution will lift them up in a lasting manner.

Because of their needs and their number, the women from the toiling classes can become the most powerful female force for the democratic revolution. Through your convention, alliance and varied organizations, you must address yourselves to the women of the toiling classes in both urban and rural areas.

You must pay critical attention to the concrete conditions and problems of factory-employed women, the housewives and the peasant women. You must conduct educational campaigns, organize chapters, establish self-help projects and mobilize them for democratic actions.

You must be quick to act in defense of women who belong to the toiling masses or who side with them when they are subjected to the most brutal abuses of the fascist dictatorship such as arbitrary arrest, detention, torture, rape, murder, forced evacuation and so on.

You can support the grossly exploited women workers in the garment, electronic, and other enterprises. You can help establish production cooperatives among urban and rural women who are unemployed and underemployed. You can help establish puericulture, day care and elementary medical care centers.

Even while prostitution cannot be eliminated under the present social system, you can study and expose the problem, combat and reduce its growth and carry out methods to retrieve and rehabilitate the victims.

There are so many specific campaigns and projects that you can undertake in order to give immediate help to your fellow women if you are well organized and determined to take on concrete problems, and in doing so, develop the strength and capability for solving basic problems.

Women of the middle strata, especially if they are college educated, often have the illusion that they are already enjoying democratic rights and equality with men to a satisfactory extent. But whether they are

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kept as housewives or they go to offices, they still need to struggle in order not only to obtain but also to safeguard what is due them. The point is for them to study their conditions.

At the rate that the crisis is worsening, the women of the middle strata, including the professionals, are increasingly assailed by soaring costs of living, unemployment or reduction in real income, depreciation of the currency, higher taxes and so on. In very concrete terms, more and more women of the middle strata are falling into the lot of the poor.

The women in the teaching and nursing professions have been exploited for so long and have become the most militant in fighting for economic demands in order to maintain a decent standard of living. You can assist them in their struggle and they in turn can assist other sectors of the women's movement in advancing the cause of national democracy.

Women in the medical, legal and other professions can extend free services to women who are in need of these. The predominance of professionals in a broad women's organization is not necessarily undemocratic so long as they take up the cause of the women of the lower classes and thereby advance the cause of national democracy.

Enlightened women from the upper classes can also join the progressive women's movement. Their social conscience, talents and extra means are needed. If they analyze their own conditions, these privileged women would realize that they can make their lives meaningful by contributing what they can to the women's movement.

There have been outstanding examples of upper class women who have become enlightened, forsaken luxuries and frivolities and gone beyond token charities to work actively for the cause of democracy, social justice and peace with the women of the toiling masses and the middle strata. But of course, the toiling women are the main force cooperating with the men in bringing about national liberation and democracy and achieving the basic conditions for women's liberation.

The working class as the most advanced productive and political force is the basis for the most advanced ideology in modern society. Women who take the stand, viewpoint and method of the working class are the most capable of leading the women's movement in the new democratic revolution as well as in the socialist revolution.

March 8 has been designated as International Women's Day, thanks to the proletarian women leaders who proposed it to the International Socialist Congress in 1910. This date has been made significant in

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previous years by the signal acts of working class women fighting for their trade union rights and economic demands.

I fervently hope that GABRIELA will carry forward the revolutionary tradition of Filipino women, integrate the most advanced theory of the women's movement with the concrete condition of the Filipino women of today and achieve more successes in the tenth year of the United Nations Decade of Women and in all the years to come.

Long live GABRIELA! Unite and fight for national democracy!

Down with the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique!

Uphold, defend and promote women's rights! Long live the Filipino women!

Long live the Filipino people!

★ ★ ★

Philippine Labor and the US-Marcos Dictatorship: Address to the National Coalition for the Protection of Workers' Rights

April 1983

Since the Marcos coup against the established system of government in 1972, the rights of Filipino workers have been trampled upon and violated simultaneously and consistently at two levels by an open rule of terror in the service of US imperialism and the most reactionary clique of big comprador-landlords headed by the fascist dictator.

The first level involves the violation of basic national and democratic rights of the entire people, including the workers. The second level involves those rights which specially pertain to the workers as a distinct class; these rights may consistently be referred to as trade union rights.

Intensifying Political Repression

Despite the formal lifting of martial law in 1981, the fascist puppet dictatorship has not only remained intact but has even entrenched itself further. It continues to launch bigger and wider onslaughts against the entire people and the workers. To Marcos, normalization means institutionalizing and perpetuating the conditions of abnormalcy which is the fascist dictatorship.

Against the democratic and republican principle of people's sovereignty, this regime of tyranny continues to base itself on the treasonous ground that the Philippine president as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces has the license to concentrate on his single person supreme executive, legislative and judicial authority. And this usurpation of authority has been consistently and repeatedly upheld by a captive Supreme Court.

General Order No. 5, the antilabor Labor Code, Presidential Decree 823, Batas Pambansa 130, Batas Pambansa 227, BP Resolution No. 473 are distinguishably antiworker issuances of the fascist regime

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but are inextricably linked with the violation of the basic national and democratic rights of the people. The simultaneous violation of both basic democratic rights and trade union rights are most dramatically seen in concrete acts of fascist violence, like the arbitrary arrest and detention, torture and murder of workers in the course of union-busting and strike-breaking campaigns.

The fascist puppet dictatorship is the monster born of the political and economic crisis of the ruling system in a semicolonial and semifeudal society. This monster has come forth because of the excessive shifting of the burden of imperialist crisis to the country and the inability of the domestic ruling classes to settle internal differences amicably and rule in the old way.

Marcos might think himself clever in citing the growing anti-imperialist and antifeudal movement of the people as the excuse for his despotism. But under his despotism, the crisis has worsened and the revolutionary movement has accelerated its growth from year to year. The fascist dictatorship has served only to aggravate the crisis and compel the people to rise.

At any rate, US imperialism and the Marcos regime agree that anticommunism is a convenient excuse for covering up their inimical roles and for perpetuating all sorts of barbarities against all patriotic and democratic forces. Thus, the working class and its revolutionary party have always been pinpointed as the main target of the fascist counterrevolution.

In fact, those suspected of being communists suffer the most heinous forms of fascist violence; and those who are regarded as enemies of the dictatorship are invariably denounced as communists even if they are not. Anticommunism is a worn-out line of imperialists, fascists and other reactionary diehards for rationalizing their oppression and exploitation of the people, especially the workers. It accords with the reactionary determination to keep the workers a docile source of profits and prevent them from effectively asserting and exercising their rights.

The Marcos dictatorship shamelessly advertises throughout the world that it has been able to keep Philippine labor cheap for the benefit of foreign investors. Not satisfied with the long-standing semifeudal conditions that generate a large supply of cheap labor, the dictatorship has adopted policies clearly intended and objectively resulting in the aggravation of these conditions and has vigorously acted to repress the workers in order to press down their wages.

Since the start of the fascist dictatorship, the right to strike and conduct other concerted activities has been taken away from Filipino workers in line with the all-out attack on the national and democratic rights of the people. It was presumed by the fascists that without the key right to strike, trade unions not outrightly busted would wither on the vine. The entire trade union movement would be destroyed and all benefits it had gained through collective bargaining would be wiped out.

Reacting to the upsurges of the workers' struggle despite the strike ban, the regime has always pretended to take steps towards the restoration of the right to strike. But in fact, the regime always expands the coverage of the strike ban and increases the pretexts and the methods for preventing and breaking up strikes.

In order to sow terror among all workers, trade unions and labor federations suspected of being communist-led have been outlawed as "subversive" organizations. Their leaders and militant members have been forced underground and hunted down, tortured when arrested and detained indefinitely without being charged, if not summarily executed.

Leaders and members of other trade unions and labor federations that are not suspected of being communist but have acted militantly in the interest of the workers have also been arbitrarily arrested and their families starved in the process in order to make more ripples of intimidation against the workers. Government employees have been banned from organizing trade unions.

In the course of picketing in strikes that cannot be preempted, workers have been mauled, run over, shot at and killed by the military, police and scabs. In other cases, workers have been kidnaped, tortured and murdered beyond the public view. Antiworker crimes are easily perpetrated because these are encouraged and condoned by the Marcos regime.

Organized or not into trade unions, masses of workers have been subjected to such campaigns of terror as zoning, raids on their communities, various forms of humiliation, looting of their houses and ejection from their slum dwellings. The workers are even more vulnerable to atrocities and abuses committed in the name of counterinsurgency.

Benefits made available by law as a result of several decades of trade union struggle have been removed or drastically reduced. It

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becomes a feat of workers' unity and militancy to secure a collective bargaining agreement satisfactory to the workers.

While wages have been frozen, their real value is continuously cut down by the rising prices of basic commodities. The workers are further weighed down by withholding taxes, special levies and other exactions. Ways for employers to avoid the payment of regular and minimum wages set by law proliferate.

Whenever real wages fall extremely low as a result both of a protracted wage freeze and an abrupt price hike initiated by him, the fascist dictator expects the workers to beg for wage increases from him and thus he presents himself as the redeemer of his own victims.

But the formal wage increase or the cost-of-living allowance that the dictator orders invariably falls short of the previous real wage level and is used to camouflage the erosion of wages. Worst of all, these paltry concessions are not enforced but remain on paper. Marcos also puts in exemptions and loopholes for employers to avoid paying these concessions.

Another deceptive method used by the fascist regime to misrepresent itself as a friend of labor is the hiring and coddling of a handful of labor aristocrats to whom it has assigned the pretense of integrating all trade unions into the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines and standing in for labor in "tripartite" rituals intended to endorse antilabor measures.

Marcos and his imperialist masters have actually no intention of making the TUCP more than a paper organization and integrating all unions under a one-union-one-industry concept. There is the simple fear that even a regimented labor organization might get out of hand. There is a preference for a more manageable clutch of labor dealers for misrepresenting labor.

Still another bane in the labor front is the encouragement given by the fascist regime to such foreign agencies as the US Central Intelligence Agency conduit Asian American Free Labor Institute, that specialize in diverting trade unions into pro-imperialist and reactionary channels, corrupting trade union leaders and subverting the national and democratic interests of the Filipino working class and people.

Contrary to the expectations of the fascists and their revisionist collaborators, the cheap labor policy and the wide range of other investment incentives (anti-expropriation guarantees, free flow of foreign exchange, tax exemptions, etc.) have not induced the foreign investors

to invest heavily in the country as to industrialize it and generate sufficient employment opportunities.

Increasing Rate of Economic Exploitation

There have been increases in foreign direct investments in such areas as trading, banking, minor processing, mining, plantations and the like where the profits come high and quick. But certainly, there have been no investments in heavy and basic industries. The transnational corporations have even made far more local borrowings in order to promote their trade offensive and stay ahead in purchasing foreign exchange for import payments and profit remittances.

The main neocolonial thrust of the pseudodevelopment policy of the US-Marcos regime is not industrialization but anti-industrialization. Foreign loans have been poured into the country, especially during the 1970s, in order to hasten the importation of construction steel, all sorts of equipment and other supplies for anti-industrial projects and thus help pump-prime industries in the US and other countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), i.e., the advanced capitalist countries, which have been in decline due to the crisis of overproduction.

Financial resources that would have otherwise gone into industrial development have been wasted on massive and rapid programs of building roads, bridges, ports and dams, five-star hotels, convention center, office buildings, palaces and other luxury constructions; acquiring transport vehicles, military equipment, communication equipment, marine equipment, farm inputs, a nuclear plant and geothermal plants, computers and other office equipment, upper-class luxuries and intermediate goods and knockdowns for tariff-circumventing and cheap labor-using pseudo-manufacturing enterprises for reexport and local market penetration.

The so-called export-oriented manufacturing enterprises like those in garments and electronics are involved in mere fringe processing. These are a decoy for the heavy importation of foreign manufactures that do not add to basic industrialization of the country. These enterprises are even farther removed from industrialization, have far less local value-added, generate far less employment and drain foreign exchange faster than the so-called import-substitution industries of the 1950s.

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The country does not actually make any net income from the export earnings of the reexport pseudo-manufacturing enterprises because of the heavy import payments for equipment, intermediate products and raw materials; the outflow of profits, interest payments and the like; tariff exemptions and local market penetration; and the cost of putting up export processing zones and infrastructures for these zones. The wages paid to regular factory employees are hardly enough for subsistence.

The Kautskyites are utterly misinformed should they believe that the multinational corporations would concentrate on high-technology industries in the North and shift labor-intensive industries to the South to the extent of industrializing the Philippines, converting it into a modern industrialized neocolony and allowing it to depart from a pattern of raw-material production for export. The nature of modern imperialism remains unchanged. It is moribund and there is no truth more telling than its current economic crisis. It is also completely in error to imagine that the US-Marcos regime has carried out land reform in support of a supposed neocolonial industrialization.

After more than a decade of fascist dictatorship and unhindered dictation by the US government and the US-controlled International Monetary Fund-World Bank combine, the Philippines has an even more backward, agrarian and semifeudal economy. It remains dependent on raw-material exports (mainly agricultural) and foreign loans to be able to import manufactures, semimanufactures and raw materials.

The principal means of production is still a backward form of agriculture. Not more than 4% of agricultural land is worked by imported tractors. What passes for local manufacturing is heavily dependent on imported equipment, semimanufactures and raw materials. There are no heavy and basic industries, no capital goods industry which is the basis for industrialization. The Philippines has a long way to go before it can exploit its rich natural resource base for industrialization.

Among the producers of goods as of 1979, industrial workers (in mining, quarrying, manufacturing, construction and utilities) are 22%; and peasants (including farm workers, loggers, fishermen, animal husbandmen and handicraftsmen which are mainly sideline occupations) are 78%.

The share of industrial employment is reported to have fallen from 17.6% in 1970 to 14.2% in 1979. It is in the share of the service sector that employment is supposed to have risen from 23.5% to 34.2%

in the same period, absorbing the reductions from both industry and agriculture.

The fascist dictatorship has deepened and aggravated the semifeudal character of the economy dominated by the big comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord class. In the absence of genuine land reform and national industrialization, feudal and semifeudal forms of exploitation have persisted and maintained a circular relationship. The national bourgeoisie is increasingly squeezed by the economic policy of the US-Marcos regime. The urban petty bourgeoisie finds itself in a sorrier state.

In the 1980s, foreign loans have become scarce and more burdensome, raw material exports more depressed than before and yet the imperialists are pushing harder for import liberalization. The value of the peso is sinking daily. The fascist dictatorship is in deep financial trouble.

The regime is compelled to collect more taxes and more fees from local sources at a time that these same sources have far less income than before. It is as if the fascists do not know that more taxes could be collected in the 1970s because of the artificial prosperity induced by foreign borrowing in certain sections of the economy. The people are revolted by the fact that the leading items in government expenditures are those for the military and foreign debt service, far ahead of essential services.

Unemployment is going beyond 50% of the labor force. The inflation rate is well beyond the doctored figure in the regime's statistics. Massive layoffs and soaring prices of basic commodities are gravely affecting not only the toiling masses of workers and peasants but also the urban petty bourgeoisie. They are being reduced to a life of want and misery. At least 90% of the people now live below the poverty line.

The facile explanation of the fascist autocrat for the economic disaster is the world capitalist recession. But puppetry to the dictates of US imperialism is his inescapable responsibility. Besides, he has a monopoly of responsibility for so many inflationary activities, price-hiking taxes, special levies and the unbridled graft and corruption that is unprecedented in Philippine history.

The fascist dictatorship has no solution to the economic disaster except to poise more acts of terrorism against the rising proletariat and people, await business recovery in the US and beg for more foreign loans at more onerous terms, more US military assistance and trade

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concessions. The political and economic bankruptcy of the US-Marcos regime is obvious.

The Political and Economic Struggle of Workers

With some three years after the declaration of martial law in 1972, the trade union movement appeared to have been conquered and pacified. The fascist dictatorship added to the serious injury it had inflicted on the trade union movement the insult that the workers together with the rest of the people had acquiesced to the intensification of their oppression and exploitation.

But beneath the surface, the Filipino workers detested the fascist dictatorship and their anger seethed. The prudence of unarmed people before an enemy armed to the teeth and eager to attack them is not acquiescence. Trade unionists and cadres of the proletarian party who were not known to the fascists kept intact as many trade unions as they could and as many more as they could develop.

Thus, the upsurge of workers' strikes would come about in 1975 and 1976, starting with the La Tondeña strike. Before mid-1976, more than 300 strikes occurred on a nationwide scale. Bukluran emerged as an alliance of trade unions and other people's organizations, including the religious and conscientized laity, to provide a wide support for the workers' strike movement.

From then on, the trade union movement would continue to march forward despite the odds and risks. The next high point would be the formation of Kilusang Mayo Uno on May 1, 1980, as a broad alliance of all trade unions and labor federations devoted to the development of a genuine, militant and nationalist trade union movement. This is the result of open mass struggles and patient, discreet work.

This workers' movement is far stronger and larger than the Bukluran. In terms of principles and magnitude, KMU put to shame the profascist and proimperialist TUCP, which is just a paper organization of long-discredited labor aristocrats.

In June 1982, the National Coalition for the Protection of Workers' Rights (NCPWR) was established amidst the growing strength of the trade union movement and in the face of increasing threats of renewed antilabor white terror. The formation of the coalition was indeed timely because in August and September the threats were carried out in an obvious attempt of the fascist dictator to assure US imperialism before

his tributary trip to the US that he could always pounce on the Filipino workers for the benefit of US multinational firms.

The fascist dictatorship had been under orders from the US multinational interests to attack the Filipino workers because the trade union movement had seemed to be on the way to carrying out more strikes than it had in 1981 and these were increasingly directed against the multinational firms. Even in the sacrosanct Bataan Export Processing Zone, 15,000 workers from 18 factories had made a general walkout.

To some extent, the labor crackdown adversely affected the momentum of the strike movement. More strikes could have broken out in the October-December period. It is boasted by the fascist authorities that the figure came to only 155 compared to 260 in 1981. But what is glossed over is that 10.6 million manhours were lost in the 1977-1980 period. More companies of major size and importance were affected in 1982. So, the repressive actions did not at all stop the trade union movement from reaching a high level of success.

The attempt to suppress strikes by the use of brute force against local unions, labor federations and the KMU can only result in the further accumulation of workers' demands and the outbreak of strikes on a wide scale eventually. The masses of workers are agitated by the rapid deterioration of their economic conditions and by the clear injustice of being denied even those paltry concessions decreed by the fascist regime several years ago.

It can be expected that in the spiral of antilabor repression and workers' resistance, the trade union movement will come out more tempered and stronger than ever before. The fascist dictatorship has unwittingly served to generate not only militant trade unionists but also proletarian revolutionaries and to render ineffective the labor aristocrats and other antilabor elements in the trade union movement.

While recognizing that economic conditions are so bad and cry out for the formation of trade unions, the workers also recognize that every attempt to exercise their trade union rights and carry forward their economic struggle has to cope with extraordinarily unjust laws and brutal measures used by both the fascist state and specific employers, especially the firms close to the ruling clique.

The antilabor policy and actions of the US-Marcos regime are so harsh that no economic struggle can be waged without the corresponding political struggle. A trade union whose members do not have sufficient political education along a national democratic line and

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which is not therefore politically prepared to overcome the antiunion and antistrike measures of the regime can easily lose its bearing and cannot last long.

The workers themselves ask political questions on how to contend with the fascist dictatorship as soon as the formation of a trade union is proposed to them. A labor organizer would fail in his role if he were not ready to answer these questions at any time and if he were not to deal with the matter of political struggle comprehensively as soon as possible.

Basic political questions are matters of life and death for the union. The workers need to understand fully the dangers and difficulties that they face and how to cope with these. But it is not enough for the workers to know how to beat or go around the fascist laws and measures. They must have a comprehensive political education—a national democratic education—that makes clear what they stand for. They must understand their class role beyond the narrow interests of the trade union and they must participate in a comprehensive political struggle.

The labor organizer who can effectively link the economic struggle with the political struggle is more successful in trade union work at the present time than one who acts according to such notions as that trade unionism must have nothing to do with politics; that economic struggle must first be attended to for a long time before the political struggle; or that, if there be politics, it must be confined to the interests of the trade unions as if these were merely a pressure group within the present system.

Let there be no misunderstanding, though. Politics is no substitute for competent knowledge of trade unionism. It is no excuse for incompetence and failure to do what it takes to form and keep a union. In the education of the workers, there must be a basic course on trade unionism, with relevant political questions dealt with; and then right away there must be a political course following. There is no harm though if the basic political course comes ahead as the case may be. It is possible for political organizations, including the proletarian party, to reach some workers before they can be reached or attended to by a labor organizer.

At any rate, in organizing workers into a trade union, the labor organizer must have adequate knowledge of working class history and existing labor laws. He must conduct social investigation among the

workers according to a checklist of rights and benefits, draw up the list of demands with the workers. He must form discreet groups and an organizing committee and recruit members. He must impart all the necessary basic knowledge about trade union work, relevant legal procedures and so on and so forth.

Workers who have the correct trade union and political education are the most determined in struggle and have a keen appreciation of the strategy and tactics of the struggle. They are the best able in coping with the dangers and difficulties posed by the fascists and the imperialists and are not awed by them. They know what to do under whatever circumstances. They have a vantage point from which to view the trade unions within a wider context and discover the many ways to assert the rights of the working class and let this class assert its significant role in the people's struggle for national and social liberation.

Experience proves that workers who are well educated politically are vigilant against company spies and fascist agents and against all sorts of pitfalls and are at the same time militant and confident of what they are doing at the critical time that the union is in the process of formation. They know that the union can be aborted when the employer and the fascists resort to accusing them of being subversives or rebels and undertake countermeasures against them.

When they are ready to make their demands for economic benefits and against unfair labor practices, they are prepared not only to strike and picket but also to undertake alternative courses of action in view of outright prohibitions and other measures against the right to strike and even against the right to form a union.

These alternative courses of action include the slowdown, sitdown, mass leave of absence, trooping the offices, mass chanting, public exposure of the injustices, etc., and their almost infinite variations. These can be as effective as the strike if sustained. These can be sustained only if there is a high degree of unity and militancy among the workers.

Since 1975 and 1976, these have been resorted to on a wide scale. If done for a short period in a given company, these actions are actually milder than the outright strike. But if prolonged, these can cut down production as much as a strike does. In most of these actions, the workers stay in the company premises according to their schedules and so the employer cannot replace them with scabs.

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The workers have to be resourceful in making their demands, because of the union and strike bans and other extraordinary obstacles. In certain areas, workers have measures in order to drive sense into the heads of employers who use their connections with the fascists to suppress the workers. In still other areas, workers have had to resort to armed force to defend themselves from the prior use of violence by their employers in connivance with the fascists.

A number of urban workers who have become unemployed and who are on the manhunt list of the fascists have joined the ranks of the armed revolutionary movement. The fascists have given them no other choice. Before going to the countryside, they make countersurveillance on the fascists to seize arms and bring these with them to the countryside. Farm workers have been joining the people's army for a long time as the depression of export crops has worsened. Thus, the sugar and coconut areas are particularly aflame with the armed revolution.

All the foregoing forceful actions of workers are cited in the controlled press from military and other government sources. These actions are a response to the intensified exploitation and oppression of the workers as well as the entire economic disaster wrought by the fascist dictatorship. So far, Marcos himself has found difficulties in making the workers his scapegoat. The onesided victimization of the working class by the US-Marcos dictatorship is too large a fact to conceal at this stage.

The most effective way to stop the workers from resorting to extraordinary measures in order to defend their rights and interests is to end the fascist dictatorship and cast away its antilabor, antinational and antidemocratic policies. If workers must be encouraged to avail themselves of lawful means it becomes the responsibility of the authorities to do away with their own fascist laws and respect the trade union and all other democratic rights of workers, together with those of the whole people.

The aggravation of the political and economic crisis by the fascist armed counterrevolution has been most effective in agitating the workers and the entire people to take the path of democratic armed revolution. The fascist dictatorship is unwittingly urging the people to rise up in arms and increasing the ranks of armed revolutionaries.

The political education of workers should not be limited to making the best out of the present political conditions or to pleading for a few minor concessions at a time. It should not be limited even to seeking

the end of the fascist dictatorship. It must encompass all the tasks to change the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions fundamentally and to build a truly new society (this phrase has nothing to do with Marcos' false slogan) that is completely independent, democratic, just and prosperous.

Political education means a basic and comprehensive understanding of the national democratic program, which includes the following points: national independence from US imperialism; the victory of democracy over fascism and feudalism; genuine land reform and national industrialization; the promotion of a national, scientific and mass culture; self-determination and all-round progress of the national minorities; and foreign policy committed to the development of friendly relations with all countries and peoples on the basis of independence, equality and mutual benefit.

Political education further means that the workers should become conscious of their own class outlook and methodology; their historic mission in the national democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution; the world development of capitalism up to the stage of imperialism; the basic principles of socialism; and the principles of internationalism. Of course, there should be higher courses to raise the theoretical level of the advanced elements of the working class.

By their correct political orientation, the workers recognize the importance and necessity of linking up with the rest of the people and engaging in political struggle beyond the confines of the trade union movement. They should participate in activities and campaigns that promote the national democratic line. They need the support of other patriotic and progressive classes just as these classes also need the support of the workers. The victory of the national democratic revolution is not possible without a broad national united front.

The industrial workers in this country are still a small minority. Only in a broad sense as to include other wage earners can it be said that we have a sizeable working class. At any rate, it is of decisive importance that the industrial proletariat link up with the peasants and farm workers in order to advance in a comprehensive way their common interests as the toiling masses of the country.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants should further link up with the urban petty bourgeoisie because its interests are close to theirs, especially upon the worsening of the social crisis. They should also make distinctions among the capitalists and link up with

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the national bourgeoisie against the foreign monopoly capitalists and the big comprador-landlords, especially the fascists.

In the course of political education and mass struggles, the most advanced elements of the working class become the cadres and members of the proletarian party. If such a party is at the core of the leadership of the trade union movement, the workers can play a more effective role in promoting their own class interests and the interests of the whole people along the national democratic line. But even then, such a party is always for an alliance of trade unions and labor federations irrespective of ideologies, because there are sufficient patriotic and progressive grounds for unity and the process of learning from each other and supporting each other.

At any rate, the struggle to protect the political and economic rights of workers should encourage them to get organized as a political force and develop their own political strength and advance as the vanguard of social revolution and modern industry.

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On the Supreme Court Decision Upholding the Validity of the Presidential Commitment Order⁹

April 25, 1983

Under tyrannical regimes, the courts are conspicuously a coercive apparatus against the people. The Supreme Court under the present dispensation has a standing no better than that under the Japanese occupation government during the last world war.

On so-called political questions involving the autocracy that has usurped power in this country, the Supreme Court has consistently failed to uphold the basic democratic rights of the people.

If victims of fascist terrorism sometimes make petitions to the Supreme Court, it is not really so much in recognition of its authority or ability to dispense justice as to expose further to the people the unjust character of the fascist dictatorship and its instrumentalities.

The decision of the Supreme Court upholding the validity of the Presidential Commitment Order and the power of the President to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus comes as no surprise. As in previous decisions on political cases, the people are reminded by implication that justice is best sought outside of the captive courts of the fascists.

The arbitrariness of the fascist regime in seizing and detaining persons without judicial warrant and therefore without due process has been upheld and endorsed on the absolutely foolish ground that the state must act criminally to be able to go after persons it presumes to be against it.

The decision hurls invectives against so-called rebels and subversives and insists that even those merely suspected of being such suffer the violation of their rights. Little does the Supreme Court realize that it has placed the fascist dictatorship on the level of its own misconception of what it calls the rebel forces.

⁹ This commentary was reproduced and distributed to leaders of progressive organizations and to members of progressive media organizations.-
Editor

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The brutal logic of the decision is that the fascist dictatorship cannot assume even a pretension of political or moral superiority over its real and suspected enemies.

By making claims against the revolutionary movement without any proof regarding the dispensation of revolutionary justice, the Supreme Court in a decision obviously engineered by Malacañang, demeans itself into becoming an organ of fascist propaganda and an accomplice of official terrorism.

The revolutionary movement may not have its paid personnel, facilities, funds and other means that the regime has. But it has a just cause and the support and respect of the people. In the eyes of the people it is indeed a force morally superior to the fascist regime. To say the least, it has a policy of leniency towards captives and the people's courts dispense justice in accordance with due process.

The Supreme Court decision endorses official terrorism and encourages acts of anarchy by military personnel and even members of kidnap syndicates who can misrepresent themselves as military personnel armed with some telegram of a PCO or even only claiming to have a PCO for its intended victim. Not even the justices are safe from their own decision.

The modus operandi of the military can as well be that of kidnaping syndicates. The captive is simply told that he is under PCO and is immediately held incommunicado without being given the chance even only to verify whether his captors are duly authorized to hold him captive. He becomes prey to torture and murder.

When those in power do not follow due process, their criminality make the people suffer extremely. They oppress and exploit the people so much so that armed revolution can ultimately be their only way to freedom.

Indeed, fascism breeds anarchy more than it can enforce law and order for the benefit of the exploiting classes, including its imperialist masters. However, the people are moved to wage armed resistance in order to uphold democracy and defend their rights.

In more than twelve years of despotism, Marcos has only succeeded in fanning the flames of armed revolution. In 1972, the New People's Army had only a few hundreds of riflemen in a few provinces and the Armed Forces of the Philippines had a hundred thousand troops to go after them. Now the NPA has several thousands of riflemen all over the country, despite 25,000 AFP troops and huge government

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military spending to wipe them out. Can there be a more telling proof of Marcos' impotence as a political leader?

Marcos ought to be taken to task for his failure and incompetence by his imperialist masters and his fellow reactionaries rather than be encouraged to pursue and intensify his brutal and ineffective ways. Fascist tyranny is clearly self-defeating.

Marcos claims in his letter to the editor of *Bulletin Today* that he must prove himself strong and powerful by being more brutal and ruthless to his political enemies and the people; and that he will risk political isolation standing by his dubious principles against the people whom he denigrates as the mob. But it is precisely brutality and official terrorism coupled with the economic disaster into which he has steered the country that have isolated him politically and made him impotent.

Magnanimity is not impotence. The ability to recognize and rectify one's errors is not impotence. Respect for democratic and civil rights is not impotence. Impotence is craven puppetry to US imperialism and the resort to brutality and terrorism against the broad masses of the people whose support is what makes a leader potent.

By making the people suffer injustices and driving them to fight back, the dictatorship finds and extends indefinitely its very reason for existence. But it also digs its own grave. A point will be reached when the growing strength of the people in armed revolution will put an end to fascist dictatorship.

Here is a challenge! If Marcos wants a just peace, he should end his puppetry to US imperialism and respect the basic democratic rights of the people. The rebels and subversives are not the ones responsible for the constitutionalization and institutionalization of fascist autocracy; the wanton violation of the national and democratic rights of the people; and the extreme exploitation of the people by the new oligarchy and its foreign masters. These very iniquities justify the people's armed revolution.

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Solidarity Statement on the Celebration of May First

May 1, 1983

As one devoted to the national democratic revolution and to the leading role of the working class, I salute all Filipino workers for their militant struggle against the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique and wish them to achieve greater victories in their trade union struggle as well as in their political struggle.

I join you in commemorating the glorious sacrifices of the working class and celebrating its victories in fighting for a better world against imperialism and all reaction. We join the workers of the world in one gigantic festivity that is full of revolutionary meaning.

We are filled with the spirit of proletarian internationalism and we reaffirm the historic mission of the working class as the vanguard of social revolution and modern industry. This class has created the conditions for a world proletarian socialist revolution. And these conditions favor the advance of the Filipino proletariat and people in a new type of democratic revolution.

We renew our determination to realize and strengthen the leading role of the proletariat in the Philippine revolution at its present national democratic stage. We must first wage the new democratic revolution and thus complete the struggle for national independence and democracy by doing away with the unjust dominance of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism in this semicolonial and semifeudal society. Then we shall proceed to wage the socialist revolution to build a truly new society: socialism.

In the process of combating the fascist dictatorship, which is the brutal concentrated expression of foreign and feudal domination, the Filipino workers and the rest of the people can gain the strength to realize an independent, democratic, peaceful, just and prosperous social system. The Filipino proletariat has a party to ensure that the ideological, political and organizational requisites for victory are undertaken.

The fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique has aggravated the political and economic crisis of the ruling system. More than ever, the ruling clique of big comprador-landlords is driven by its greed to

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use brute force against the workers and the entire people. Oppression and exploitation are being intensified.

The present economic disaster in our country is the result of accelerated superprofit-taking by the multinational corporations and the unbridled bureaucratic corruption under the auspices of the pseudodevelopment policy of inflationary anti-industrial projects and excessive foreign borrowings. More than ever the Philippines is a source of cheap raw materials and cheap labor vulnerable to the worsening imperialist crisis of overproduction.

The lives of workers are now being wrecked by massive unemployment, soaring prices of basic commodities and starvation wages. The workers assert their trade union and other democratic rights in order to seek the improvement of their working and living conditions. But the fascist dictatorship unleashed more vicious antilabor laws and more brutal acts of repression.

The fascists and their imperialist masters themselves are agitating the proletariat and the people to rise up. The antilabor prohibitions, threats and onslaughts serve only to militate the workers to develop the trade union movement and launch various forms of concerted mass struggles not only on trade union issues but on broad economic and political issues affecting the workers and the whole people. Beneath the surface is a far greater amount of strength which is bursting out.

The workers' struggle is part of a comprehensive political struggle of the people. All patriotic and progressive classes and strata are today rising up rapidly against the fascist tyranny. The strength of one adds to the strength of the others in the broad national united front. There is also a complementary and reciprocal relationship between the struggle in the cities and that in the countryside.

Like all despots, Marcos relies more on campaigns of terror as his regime becomes more politically isolated and economically bankrupt. The increasing acts of fascist terror can only serve to accelerate the growth of the people's armed resistance. Take note of the changing balance of armed strength between the New People's Army and the Armed Forces of the Philippines: in 1969, it was 1:1500 (35 vs. 50,000); 1972, 1:200 (500 vs. 100,000); 1977, 1:125 (2,000 vs. 250,000) and in 1982 based on AFP estimates which tend to minimize NPA strength, 1:25 (10,000 vs. 250,000). The NPA growth rate has been cumulative.

It will not be long before the balance of strength reaches 1:10. At that point, the fascist dictatorship will be even more isolated. Claims of

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the people's "acquiescence" to it or that the "situation is under control" will become even more ridiculous. Those who do not understand the theory of people's war will learn that people's war is not a single make-or-break uprising but a cumulative process of growing from small to big and weak to strong by relying on the strength of the masses of the people. The people's armed forces grow through a process of seizing arms from the enemy in areas most favorable to the revolutionaries.

Simply maintaining the Armed Forces of the Philippines at its present force level will strain the political and economic position of the fascist dictatorship. The economic disaster into which the Marcos regime has steered the country will only become more devastating and is bound to hasten the political doom of the dictatorship. Direct and indirect US military assistance to the puppet regime of tyranny is increasing. But it can no longer give as much as it could to its puppets in the Vietnam war.

By their resolute and militant struggle for national independence and democracy against the US-Marcos regime, the Filipino proletariat and people serve their own interests and at the same time contribute to the strengthening of the proletariat and other oppressed and exploited people abroad. In the face of increasing US support to the fascist dictatorship, the proletariat and people of the world understand that the Filipino proletariat and people need their support.

Long live the Filipino working class!

Long live its proletarian revolutionary party!

Long live the trade union movement!

Carry forward the national democratic revolution!

Defend the workers' trade union and other democratic rights!

Free Ka Bert, Ka Bel and other workers and working class leaders in prison!

Down with the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique!

Long live Kilusang Mayo Uno!

Long live the Filipino people!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

★ ★ ★



Keynote Address to the National Conference of the League of Filipino Students

May 26, 1983

I express to you my most heartfelt greetings and best wishes for the utmost success of your conference. I admire deeply your militant commitment to the struggle for national independence and democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

I am confident that you will maintain and develop further your role as the vanguard of the student movement by promoting the national democratic line against the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique.

You are acting in the great tradition of students who cast their lot with the people, especially at crucial moments of Philippine history. You are the worthy descendants of revolutionary students like Emilio Jacinto and Gregorio del Pilar and the direct continuers of the unremitting democratic student movement since the 1960s. You are still carrying forward the national democratic cultural revolution which broke out in the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

A high sense of patriotism and unselfish courage certainly move you to face up to the fascist tyranny and to dare expose and oppose its wicked acts. You are assuming difficult tasks and facing tremendous odds and risks. But you know that the challenge is going to bring out the best in you in the service of the people.

You are fortunate to have the opportunity to serve the people under extremely trying conditions. The times are fraught with dangers comparable to those during the last decade of Spanish colonialism, the Filipino-American War and the Japanese occupation. But glory belongs to the heroes of the people. And this time the people are going to win victory and complete the national democratic struggle.

Yours is the urgent task to arouse, organize and mobilize your fellow students for the national democratic struggle. You are striving to lead the most potent force next only to the organized strength of the workers and peasants.

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You can amplify the strength of the democratic movement among college students not only by reaching out to the students in all the colleges and universities but also by inspiring and assisting the high school students all over the country to take the path that you have taken. The democratic student movement would therefore develop in almost every town of the country.

At the college and high school levels, there are so many important issues—economic, political and cultural—that are crying out for action by students.

By economic issues, I mean the rising cost of education (tuition fees, books, other study materials, extracurricular fees, etc.) and cost of living (food, clothing, shelter, etc.). Even the public schools are now demanding intolerably high fees.

By political issues, I mean the suppression of the democratic rights of students through fascist rules and regulations and through the wanton use of the military, police and private security guards for coercive purposes against students, especially when they rise up to assert their economic political demands.

By cultural issues, which are as well political, I mean the use of certain study programs, subjects, study materials and activities to poison the minds of students with proimperialist, fascist and other reactionary ideas.

You must demand the freezing, if not the lowering, of tuition fees and the prices of all study materials; the elimination of unnecessary extracurricular fees; more textbooks and reference books for common use in the library and better school facilities.

You must demand the freedom of thought, expression and self-organization; the establishment of student governments, a wide variety of student organizations and official and nonofficial student publications; and the end of the practice of the fascists and fascist-minded school administrators to use coercive and punitive measures against student protests.

You must demand the propagation of a national, scientific and mass education and culture in all schools, public and private, including those run by religious organizations. You must demand an end to the use of the private and public school systems for antinational, antipeople and antiscientific or counterrevolutionary propaganda.

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For education and culture to be national in orientation, the liberation, independence and self-reliance of the nation must be sought against the shackling imperialist and reactionary education and culture.

For education and culture to be scientific in orientation, the proletarian revolutionaries and the scientific and technical experts must unite to employ science and technology to achieve material progress; and the scientific spirit and method must pervade the sciences and the arts.

For culture to have a mass orientation, the interests of the basic masses—the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie—must be served. Those involved in cultural work and education, and culture itself must serve the interests of the broad masses of the people, especially the toiling masses.

The teachers and the nonteaching personnel in your schools have their own economic, political and cultural demands. You must go into a patriotic and progressive alliance with them. You can easily harmonize your interests with theirs against the reactionary stand of private and public school administrations.

School administrations usually argue that they cannot give in to the separate or joint demands of the students, teachers and nonteaching personnel because of high taxes (if private schools), low appropriations (if public schools), the inflationary costs of maintenance and/or expansion and the dictation of fascist authorities.

But of course, you base yourselves on the facts to be able to make just demands. And these facts would have to be the basis for the temporary or lasting resolution of the contradictions with the school administration.

You must further demand the representation of students (or parents of high school students), teachers and nonteaching personnel in the school administration so that all components of the school are well informed about the school situation and so that the best of relations can be developed within the school.

You must also persuade the school administration to ally itself with the students, teachers and nonteaching personnel on problems where the responsibility for what is wrong belongs to the fascist dictator and his imperialist master.

The basic problems of Philippine education cannot be thoroughly solved so long as fascist tyranny and the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions persist. It is necessary for the student masses and other components of the educational system to express themselves on

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national issues and join the people in the national effort to resolve them.

The largest bulk of the students at the college level come from petty bourgeois families. Under present conditions, the petty bourgeoisie is increasingly being pushed down to a life of want and misery. There is therefore a strong tendency of students to oppose the worsening political and economic conditions.

In these extremely critical times, the student masses easily find themselves in sympathy with the toiling masses of workers and peasants and they tend to heed the call for social revolution. As a matter of fact, an increasing number of students are abandoning their petty bourgeois aspirations and are uniting with the workers and the peasants.

A step that can be readily taken by students to remold their outlook and serve the people is to conduct social investigations into conditions of workers and peasants and assist them in taking the appropriate actions to assert their rights and improve their lot.

Student teams can go to their own towns or barrios of origin or choice, investigate the situation and do what they can to arouse, organize and mobilize the people along the national democratic line. An increasing number of students have gone on to join the ranks of revolutionaries in the countryside.

The students have always been an important key to the rapid nationwide expansion of the national democratic movement. This was initiated by Kabataang Makabayan in the 1960s. That is why it has attained so much importance not only in the history of the student and youth movement but also in that of the entire people.

I believe that the democratic student movement is a good training school for cadres in the national democratic movement. So many revolutionaries in the Philippines and abroad were student activists at the beginning of their revolutionary involvement.

Before I close, I take this opportunity to thank you for the award of recognition that you have given me for the modest contribution that I together with so many other cadres have made to the development of the youth and student movement along the national democratic line. I am also grateful for the support that you have been giving to the campaign for my freedom together with other political prisoners.

I hope that this message will give you some inspiration in your conference as well as in the hard work following it.

Long live the League of Filipino Students!

Keynote Address to the National Conference of the League of Filipino Students

Long live all Filipino students!
Carry forward the national democratic movement!
Long live the Philippine revolution!
Long live the Filipino people!

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Literature and Commitment: A Message to the UP Writers Club

July 9, 1983

I wish to express the warmest greetings to my colleagues in the UP Writers' Club. I wish you all the success in your efforts to create new works, improve your literary craft and understand the social relevance of literature.

Even as creative writers, you cannot imagine fully how desirous I am of joining you in discussions. Definitely, we can exchange views more fruitfully in an interface. At any rate, notwithstanding my present confinement in a solitary cell, I can share with you some thoughts in your discussion on literature and commitment.

I think that great literature in different ages in the world and the major works so far written in Philippine literary history assume significance, social and cultural, insofar as they are somehow committed to the cause of freedom and they reflect with profound insights the social conditions and the struggle for greater freedom.

It is on the basis of solid historical proof that I urge all Filipino creative writers to commit their minds, hearts and works to the struggle for freedom. Their works cannot but gain significance by reflecting, enriching and inspiring their people's struggle for national freedom and democracy in the present semicolonial and semifeudal society. Literature must serve the people more effectively than ever before.

The most vital issues and conflicts in society are crying out to be concentrated, represented and resolved in literary works. The people are suffering from fascist tyranny, the bitter fruit of foreign and feudal domination in a rapidly worsening political and economic crisis; and they are valiantly rising up to assert their national and democratic rights and fight for their freedom.

For the Filipino creative writers today, there can be no richer source of themes and raw materials than the sharpening struggle between reaction and revolution. There can be no better way to push forward the cause of freedom in Philippine literature than to deal with the decline of the present social system and the growth of the people's revolutionary struggle for freedom.

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When I refer to the people, I mean the toiling masses of workers and peasants and such other democratic forces as the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. From among these classes there is one that provides the correct or best possible vantage point for creative writers.

I mean the working class. It is not only the productive vanguard for industrialization and modernization but it is also the basis for the most progressive world outlook and methodology for comprehending all social forces and their development in the current national democratic revolution as well as in the subsequent socialist revolution.

The revolutionary liberalism of the patriotic section of the bourgeoisie runs next to the proletarian ideology in importance and efficacy so long as both ideologies are in alliance. As amply proven since the defeat of the old democratic revolution, revolutionary liberalism can no longer take the lead in the resurgence of the Philippine revolution. Standing alone, revolutionary liberalism can not defeat pro-imperialist liberalism, which is the official ideology of the big comprador-landlord state.

It is of great and decisive advantage for the Filipino creative writers to adopt the proletarian standpoint. It allows them to comprehend the economic, political and cultural aspects of society and to know incisively the basic facts and trends in a number of contradictions: between the forces and relations of production; between the exploited and exploiting classes; between the state and the people; and between reactionary and revolutionary culture.

The proletarian creative writer understands comprehensively and profoundly the objective social reality and becomes a revolutionary partisan in the great struggle for freedom, justice and progress. Intellectually, he surpasses the individualistic, narrow and fragmented knowledge of the unremolded petty bourgeois intellectual and, of course, the far more outmoded ideas and values of the feudal past.

But it is one thing to adopt the correct and progressive intellectual and political outlook. It is another thing to create excellent literary works. The literary craft requires the literary or artistic imagination. This involves not only thought but the special unity of thought and feeling; content and form; subject and style; and so on.

To create significant works, the proletarian creative writer has the advantage of grasping the typical from diffuse social reality through investigation and analysis. But he has the burden, as all creative

writers of whatever standpoint have, to give concrete and sensuous life to the typical or conceptual in an imaginative way.

The basic stuff of the creative writer is the word as it is denotative and connotative. The literary forms and devices enhance both thought and feeling, and yet restrain them to make for precision, subtlety and beauty. There is a sense of spontaneity in all literary forms but there is also a sense of discipline required by the theme and its development.

The literary essay is the most explicit in the handling of thought through points and counterpoints even as a great deal of feeling is carried by concrete observations. The sensuousness of human experience and also subtlety increase in prose fiction and the drama because of the interplay and conflicts of characters as well as within characters. There is the tension of more feeling and thought put into less words in poetry although the long poem is more explicit in thought than the short poem.

Creative writing is a highly subjective activity, combining thought and feeling. It is among the finest and highest product of human consciousness. It is an important component of the cultural sphere which is above but not detached from the economic and political spheres. And culture both reflects and interacts with both economics and politics.

Proletarian creative writing reflects best at this point in history the social conditions, struggles and aspirations of the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants. At the same time, it inspires and helps clarify the revolutionary course of the people. It puts forward heroes and noble ideas from the common people and revolutionaries who are either underrated, ignored or opposed by nonproletarian creative writers.

In the Philippines today, bourgeois creative writing has two major categories of writers: the revolutionary liberal and proimperialist liberal. Proletarian creative writers appreciate the critical realism and the scientific and democratic tendencies of revolutionary liberal works. But, of course, both proletarian and revolutionary liberal creative writers oppose the utterly reactionary content of pro-imperialist liberal works, even if the style is distinguishably excellent.

The propaganda of "art for art's sake" is nothing but a minor excrescence of bourgeois subjectivism and pro-imperialist liberalism, no matter how hard it claims to be detached from any class, engages in psychological self-titillation, retails anecdotes of political ignorance

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and cynicism or makes abrupt mystical flights from the level of instinct and ego. The slogan of “art for art’s sake” and the works that come under it are manifestations of the self-indulgence of some unremolded petty bourgeois writers.

The possibility of creative writing from proletarian revolutionary viewpoint started in 1930, when Marxism started to take roots in the Philippines. With varying degrees of success, some proletarian literary works were written in the 1930s and early 1940s. But from the later 1950s onwards, in a crescendo conspicuously seen in the 1970s and now in the 1980s, such works have made a resurgence. These include the works of the late Amado V. Hernandez and many of the young creative writers today.

Proletarian creative writing inherits the people’s collective spirit in folk literature; the critical realism in Balagtas’ allegorical romance, *Florante at Laura*; the criticism of social structure and manners and the anti-colonial and democratic thrust of Rizal’s *Noli* and *Fili* and his essays; the patriotic spirit in anti-American plays during the early years of US colonial rule; and also the critical realism and democratic spirit in short stories, novels and poems in all the decades that have passed in the 20th century.

As the people’s revolutionary movement grows and advances, proletarian creative writers are bound to increase their literary output in all forms and raise its aesthetic quality from one level to another. Their standpoint, themes, heroes, plots and direction evoke the acute interest of the largest possible readership and audience the working people.

The use of the national language plays a decisive role in stimulating both proletarian literary activity and the interest of the masses in proletarian literary works; and in isolating the diehard pro-imperialist liberal and other reactionary creative writers who wish to perpetuate their literary theory and tastes derived from reactionary bourgeois books in English as a result of US cultural domination.

The total victory of the national democratic revolution will guarantee the predominance of a national, scientific and mass culture and the most favorable conditions for the further growth of proletarian creative writing.

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The University of the Philippines: An Assessment¹⁰

July 9, 1983

To draw the most benefit from the UP Diamond Jubilee, we need to know the most essential features of the University so that we can advance in the correct direction. The University of the Philippines has its essential reactionary features; and we base ourselves on and advance or develop the progressive features.

Reactionary Features

The University of the Philippines was established in 1908 by a foreign power which had crushed the Philippine Revolution. The practical purpose of this new colonial power in founding this university was to brainwash and train a new educated elite to serve monopoly capitalist and local reactionary interests.

As the University of Sto. Tomas was to Spanish colonialism, so has been the University of the Philippines to US imperialism. As a medievalist religio-sectarianism has been the orientation of the UST, so has been an abstract liberalism that of the UP. This abstract liberalism camouflages the reality of US imperialism and promotes in particular a coopted proimperialist type of liberalism that is diametrically opposed to the revolutionary liberalism of the old democratic revolution of 1896.

In the era of modern imperialism, such slogans of liberalism as the freedom of the individual and free enterprise in both goods and ideas easily mask the privilege of the monopoly capitalists and their local lackeys to exploit and oppress the nation and the people, especially the workers and the peasants, the two classes that are the real producers of goods in our society.

In conformity with the character of the state and society, the University of the Philippines has been a semicolonial institution since the grant of sham independence to the Philippines. The ideas and techniques taught in the University suit most the needs of US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

¹⁰ Message to the UP Chapter of the League of Filipino Students.-Editor

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There has been a high proportion of UP alumni among the puppet presidents and high bureaucrats of the government of the Philippines. This is one good measure of the success of the UP as a neocolonial institution. In the deterioration of the ruling system and aggravation of foreign and feudal domination, the fascist autocrat and his most prominent technocrats are glaringly UP alumni. They shamelessly trample on the national and democratic rights and interests of the people even as they spout the rhetoric of liberal democracy.

The UP president and members of the board of regents reflect the degeneration of the ruling system. Their main qualification is not scholarly excellence and academic achievement but rabid loyalty to the fascist dictatorship. They are watchdogs and errand boys of the fascist autocrat. They are major and minor cronies in the Marcos bureaucrat capitalist empire. The UP is placed under their control so that they can suppress the progressives at any time and in the interests of US imperialism and the local fascist dictatorship.

The UP president is an agent of that particular Marcos-Cojuangco-Enrile combine in shady business schemes, most notorious of which is the colossal coconut racket. He is also an expert in shallow publicity gimmicks. To him, the UP Diamond Jubilee is no more than a fiesta, an occasion for collecting pledges and delivering safe platitudes and singing paeans to his fascist patrons.

He has no serious idea of his own about the reorientation of the UP from its antinational and antidemocratic character. Before he could solve any administrative problem of large significance, he devises a system by which he can shield himself from contacts with the masses of students and faculty members. Instead of demanding a justly higher appropriation for the university, he plays up the solicitation campaign for private pledges, projecting himself as some kind of hero and overrating his own gimmickry as the solution to the financial woes of the UP.

We are living under a fascist dictatorship whose uppermost concern is pouring colossal amounts of funds to the military and uneconomic but heavy construction projects. The University of the Philippines or education for that matter is a minor concern of low priority. The UP is starved of funds and it has to go around begging for foreign assistance and pledges from the alumni.

The faculty and nonacademic personnel have long been grossly underpaid. Salaries have stagnated even as inflation has rapidly eroded their real value. The tuition and other fees that UP students pay are

constantly rising and the real incomes of their parents have gone down abruptly. But the fascist and the UP authorities boast publicly that the UP student is oversubsidized. The fact is that the appropriations and foreign loans since the 1960s have gone mainly to overpriced building constructions and to foreign supplies as well as unnecessary programs and graftings to the university.

There are entire institutes initiated and manipulated by US and other foreign entities as well as by the fascist dictatorship. Since the UP presidency of Carlos P. Romulo, the World Bank and US foundations have provided funding and other forms of "aid" only to misdirect the university intellectually and financially in the long run.

The curricula in almost all colleges and departments are designed to develop intellectual and political subservience to the US and the fascist dictatorship. Subjects and activities for undisguised fascist propaganda have been introduced to rob UP and the students of time and money. Textbooks are mostly alien, made in USA.

The social sciences and the humanities are most scandalously dependent on US-made and US-oriented textbooks. The natural science and engineering courses are the most starved of local funds and are maneuvered to seek foreign funds; and are removed from a program of industrialization, which in the first place does not exist.

The College of Law uses Philippine textbooks unavoidably but its orientation is to learn reactionary laws, including the fascist issuances. Together with the College of Law, the School of Economics, College of Business Administration and the Departments of English and Political Science of the College of Arts and Sciences are the bulwarks of proimperialism and reaction although outstanding national democratic elements are to be found here.

Prevalent in the entire university are faculty members who have taken further studies in the United States and who have not been critical and creative enough to contribute to the development of a national, scientific and mass culture and who are blatantly or subtly opposed to the national democratic revolution.

The composition of UP students does not reflect Philippine society. The overwhelming majority come from the petty and middle bourgeoisie; and the small and medium landlords. The minority comes from the big bourgeoisie and big landlord classes. Children of workers and peasants are a rarity, if there are any. In the first place, they generally do not go beyond grade four.

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Under the avowed liberal philosophy, various bourgeois subjective trends (empiricism, positivism, behaviorism, existentialism, solipsism, etc.) along with so many kinds of objective idealism circulate in the university. But in the main, the faculty members and students are driven to seek their place in the semicolonial and semifeudal society.

Progressive Features

In relation to the medievalist and religio-sectarian tradition and orientation of the University of Sto. Tomas in feudal society, the official liberal ideology of the University of the Philippines is an advance, not to mention the wider range and larger number of students under the present society.

However, the coopted proimperialist type of liberalism is playing the most effective reactionary role in the preservation of the semicolonial and semifeudal society. Even if at best it stands for academic freedom against encroachment by the dominant Church, it supports US imperialism and the big comprador bourgeoisie while it opposes the national and democratic interests of the people. This neocolonial ideology can be used to sugarcoat the fascist dictatorship.

What is truly progressive now is that categorically anti-imperialist type of liberalism which appreciates the old democratic revolution, strives to continue and carry it forward and knows how to ally itself with proletarian revolutionary thinking that informs the new democratic revolution. This progressive type of liberalism has taken roots in the University of the Philippines among the students and faculty members. It is anti-imperialist and antifeudal although it has no clear idea of the future beyond the new democratic revolution.

Despite the predominance of that proimperialist type of liberalism in the UP, anti-imperialist liberal scholars have succeeded in putting out excellent works that present the revolutionary heritage of the Filipino people. During the 1950s, these works were published even under the official auspices of the UP. From then on, too, Philippine history has been taught from a progressive liberal and nationalist viewpoint.

Still further, students and faculty members have advanced to understand basic Philippine problems—US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism—and the people's aspirations not only in the light of patriotic and progressive liberal principles but also in the light of proletarian revolutionary principles.

The new democratic awakening is a necessary prelude to the victory of the national democratic revolution. By itself alone, it does not win total victory for the people; it cannot even prevail over the reactionary character of the UP. But it prepares public opinion for the revolution as well as generates cadres who can fight in more effective ways to change the character of the state and the whole society. Only upon the total victory of the new democratic revolution can the UP be totally transformed.

Proletarian revolutionaries and broad new democratic forces have emerged in the UP mainly through extracurricular studies and practical activities. There include readings, social investigation of workers' and peasants' conditions, debates with reactionary authorities inside and outside the classroom, convocations, teach-ins, group discussions, creative workshops, writings and publications, mass organizations and concerted actions (rallies and demonstrations) in the university as well as in combination with other new democratic forces outside of the university campus.

There has been a revolutionary university within the dominant reactionary university. The few proletarian revolutionary elements in 1959 grew steadily through the 1960s by dint of hard work in the spheres of ideology, politics and organization. In due time, the new democratic and proletarian ideology had a positive impact on a great number of students and faculty members and through them on certain parts of the curricula and on certain subjects.

The great strength of the new democratic forces in the university surfaced most dramatically during the 1970-72 period. The First Quarter Storm of 1970 swept the university and the UP students stood out in the forefront of this cultural and political outburst. The Diliman Commune of 1971 served to stress the desire of the UP students, together with their progressive teachers to make the UP a cultural base for the new democratic revolution.

Since the upsurge of mass actions in the 1970-72 period, an unprecedentedly great number of UP students and graduates have immersed themselves in the various fields of activity in the national democratic revolution. So many have gone to the extent of joining the revolutionary armed struggle. Their ability to grasp revolutionary theory and apply it on Philippine conditions is a priceless asset of the national democratic revolution. Among the most effective and tenacious cadres of the Philippine revolution today many come from the UP.

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The reign of fascist terror has driven so many UP students and graduates to join the underground and the armed struggle in the countryside. But in the UP, the revolutionary struggle continues. UP students and faculty members in increasing numbers are courageously moving along the national democratic line in curricular and extracurricular activities. The influence of an irrepressible cultural revolution is so powerful that even highly placed reactionaries are obliged to pay lip service to it or take pains to misrepresent it. They know that they can no longer brandish their reactionary authority and ideas without being opposed by revolutionary and progressive students and faculty members.

Since the majority of students and faculty members belong to the petty bourgeoisie, there is a social basis for their adoption of national democratic and even of proletarian revolutionary ideas in the UP. The petty bourgeoisie is that stratum of the bourgeoisie that is least loyal to the rule of the big comprador-landlords, especially as it is a rule made extremely oppressive and exploitative by the fascists. As the political and economic crisis worsens, the petty bourgeoisie as a whole links itself more closely with the toiling masses and yields more elements who remold their class outlook and become proletarian revolutionaries.

In the UP today, students and faculty members are revolted by the fact they are obliged to learn and obey fascist orders. Fascism is antagonistic not only to proletarian revolutionary ideas but also to the most fundamental principles of liberal democracy of whatever specific trend, conservative or progressive.

UP constituents find themselves extremely exploited. The faculty members and nonacademic personnel are grossly underpaid. The students are hardpressed by the rapid rise of the cost of education and living.

It is possible for a tyrant to successfully terrorize and reduce the people to a very low socioeconomic level when they are bereft of correct revolutionary ideas. But the fatal problem of the fascist dictatorship is that there is a revolutionary movement guided by a correct theory and rooted among the basic masses of the people in factories, farms, communities, schools and everywhere else. It has a people's army that is growing ever more rapidly as it fights to advance the people's revolutionary cause.

In the UP today, it is not only students from the petty bourgeoisie who are receptive to revolutionary ideas and acting militantly but even

those coming from wealthier classes. The latter can remold their outlook and join their fellow students and their teachers in just actions for just causes. In fact, some elements from the wealthier or upper classes have become proletarian revolutionaries.

If the small number of liberal reformists in the Propaganda Movement of the 1880s had so much impact as to exhaust reformist possibilities and prepare the Philippine revolution of 1896, the ongoing new democratic cultural revolution with its far greater number of activists who are in their own country and are immediately revolutionary should have a far more powerful and far-reaching impact not only on the University of the Philippines but also on the whole nation.

The seed of the future University of the Philippines is now within the present UP. It is growing and is bound to rend asunder the integuments of the reactionary institution. Upon the total victory of the national democratic revolution, the revolutionary UP will certainly prevail. In the meantime, let us nurture the seed of the future university and coax it to grow.

Perspective of the University

The extreme oppressiveness and exploitativeness of the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique is coaxing the broad masses of the Filipino people to wage armed revolution. The struggle for national independence and democracy will most likely be completed before the end of this century.

If that happens, then in 2008 when the centenary of the university is held, the achievements of the university, its constituents and alumni in the completed national democratic revolution as well as in the socialist construction in progress shall be celebrated. The honorees would be proletarian revolutionaries and other patriots.

The UP shall play a prominent role in the development of a national, scientific and mass culture; and in the entire socialist revolution and construction. It shall remain at the apex of formal public education and shall provide the competent and creative personnel in every field of national endeavor requiring higher knowledge.

Reflecting the whole of society, the students shall come mainly from the working class and the peasantry. All students shall be admitted to any department on the basis of individual merit, choice by the student and need of the people. With the possible exception of

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students from well-to-do families, all students shall get their education free and receive allowances provided by the state and/or the productive enterprises. They may also receive a portion of the income of production-related courses.

The faculty members and nonacademic personnel shall receive comfortable incomes even as study and living facilities for all constituents of the university are continuously expanded. The UP and public education is general shall receive high priority in government support.

Under the firm principle that education serves the nation and the people, above all the workers and peasants (and not just the dominant minority of the foreign and local exploiting classes as it does today), there shall be academic freedom for the university, its faculty and students. Teaching, research and learning shall be conducted according to the principle of drawing the truth from the facts and in the spirit of scientific inquiry and advance. Partisanship on the side of the proletariat and the people shall be based on a comprehensive understanding of objective reality or of the contradictory aspects of the thing or the process in question.

The national language shall be the medium of education. The UP organization, curricula, subjects, textbooks and other study materials shall be the product of Filipino critical and creative energies. However, there shall be a strong institute of foreign languages to translate foreign materials bearing the latest advances in scientific knowledge and other cultural achievements abroad.

The UP faculty members and students shall learn seriously one or more foreign languages so that they can in person or through their works participate actively in cultural exchanges. The UP shall have extensive curricular exchanges with academic, scientific and research institutions all over the world.

The national heritage shall be cherished and studied even as the socialist revolution and construction shall be the overriding concern of the whole university and every department of the university. The main thing to consider in the linking of the old and the new is the advancement of the people's interests and aspirations.

The social sciences will be imbued with proletarian revolutionary ideas and will provide an adequate knowledge of contrary and outmoded ideas. Learning in these disciplines is to serve the nation and the people. Arts and letters shall flourish, especially as the works of both faculty and students are immediately interesting to the largest

possible audience—the workers and peasants principally. There shall be a spiraling progress both of popularization and aesthetic standards.

The natural sciences and engineering courses shall be directly related to the process of national industrialization and modernization of agriculture. There shall be productive enterprises attached to the university. There shall be access to enterprises elsewhere. Students shall be engaged in productive activities to acquire a comprehensive knowledge of basic principles and their application through practice and experiments.

Students in the medical courses shall be encouraged and required to serve the people, especially in the countryside during their curricular training and after graduation. In the first place, enrolment in the colleges of medicine, nursing, public health and the like shall be allotted according to local area among other considerations.

Students in education shall be increased as the system of public education expands at all levels. The study of law shall continue even as the social revolution shall have done away with oppressive and exploitative laws and the sources of so many litigations. All other courses in the UP shall have been reoriented in the interest of the people.

The transformation of the UP from a reactionary institution to a revolutionary one shall be facilitated as more and more of its constituents shall in the next twenty-five years or so become more and more conscious of the national democratic revolution and the subsequent socialist revolution and construction and actively participate in both processes.

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Answers to Questions of the *Philippine Collegian's* Cecil Morella

Circa July 1983

1. The UP is at the apex of the system of public education. It has produced many of the professionally and technically proficient men and women in the country. UP graduates find their way into private firms and the government service. UP graduates have also become political leaders at various levels of the government. Underneath the glittering generalities, the essential official role of the UP has been to serve a semifeudal society ideologically, professionally and technically.

2. I was a college undergraduate in the years 1956-59. The political climate was very reactionary. The political tension then was between a naive kind of liberalism and religious sectarianism. Anticommunist propaganda was dominant. To be a nationalist in the anti-imperialist sense was taboo. The ambition of bright students was to get one of the scholarship grants dispensed by the US Embassy. Pro-imperialist ideas were propagated by US-trained faculty members and American textbooks.

But the nationalist works of Agoncillo and Majul, the anti-imperialist crusade of Recto and the colloquia of nationalism initiated by UP President Sinco began to influence the politically advanced students who could distinguish pro-imperialist liberalism from anti-imperialist liberalism. The latter seeks to continue the Philippine revolution in alliance with the proletarian revolutionaries in a new democratic revolution.

3. Many of the technocrats of the Marcos fascist regime were trained in the UP or had come from the United States to teach in UP during the 1960s. This was the decade that produced Virata, Gerardo Sicat, O.D. Corpuz and the like who were then either students or teachers. By their training they are predisposed to serve US imperialist and local reactionary interests and even a fascist dictatorship.

At the same time, there were a few anti-imperialist students who were challenged by the reactionary political climate and proceeded to advance in their thinking and activity. Some of them became cadres of the revolutionary movement.

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4. The primary role of UP students in nation-building is both to study well and involve themselves in the struggle for national democracy. They must be able to relate their specific courses and extracurricular activities to the struggle for national liberation and democracy. By gaining experience in this struggle now, they can contribute more effectively to nation-building in the future. Nation-building involves doing away with foreign and feudal domination.

5. UP contributed much to the production of professionals, technicians, private managers and bureaucrats to help firm up a semifeudal society and an urban middle class subordinated to foreign monopoly, big comprador and landlord interests.

6. The Student Cultural Association of UP (SCAUP) was established in 1959 to promote nationalism of the anti-imperialist type. Theoretical and political discussion groups were formed. The SCAUP engaged in alliances. To launch the anti-CAFA (Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities of the defunct Philippine Congress) rally of 5,000 students in 1961, it cooperated with the Inter-Fraternity-Sorority Conference. SCAUP members became editors and staffers of the *Philippine Collegian* and wrote articles with a national-democratic orientation. The SCAUP also worked well with the UP Student Union and then with the reestablished UP Student Council. The SCAUP was the most persistent and systematic in creating the nationalist climate.

7. Certainly. The UP is still the spawning ground of student activism in the service of the national democratic struggle. The faculty members too are very much in this struggle. As the political and economic crisis worsens, the students, the faculty and other personnel of UP will fight even more vigorously for their rights as well as the people's rights. The political climate will become even more revolutionary.

8. Martial law was never able to completely suppress the above-ground national democratic movement in the UP. How can fascist morons suppress discussions inside and outside classrooms? But for a short while in the 1970s, there was a great deal of underground activities within the university, especially in terms of mass organizing and rallies. Many students and faculty members were arbitrarily arrested and detained. And still many others joined the armed struggle in the countryside and the urban underground.

9. The students, teachers and other constituents of the UP should fight for their rights as well as the people's rights against the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique. The present political and economic

crisis is wreaking havoc on their lives. There is no other course of action but to struggle harder. All constituents of the UP should work hard to further transform the UP as a democratic institution in the service of the people and to counter the machinations of the fascists.

10. At least hundreds of UP students have been arbitrarily arrested and detained since 1972. In most cases, no charges are formally made. When formally made, the charges are usually subversion and rebellion.

11. I am in solitary confinement in a small cell with no view of the outside other than the adjacent cubicle of my guards. They are prohibited from conversing with me. I am blindfolded whenever I am brought out of my cell for hearings. The blindfold is removed only when I arrive at the destination and when I am brought back to my cell.

12. In general, the fascists are more brutal and murderous in dealing with captured workers and peasants. But on many occasions the treatment of captured intellectuals is also horrible. I would say that the Marcos regime is far more brutal and murderous than the Quirino regime in dealing with captured intellectuals. For instance, the members of the so-called Politburo captured in 1950 did not suffer the physical and psychological tortures that I have undergone.

13. The reactionary intellectual rationalizes a decadent society. The progressive intellectual makes a fundamental criticism of that decadent society and can go to the extent of showing the way to change it completely, as in a revolution.

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Some Points for Reflection on the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant¹¹

August 6, 1983

The campaign to oppose and stop the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant (BNPP) has been worthwhile and is of far-reaching significance even if the US government, Westinghouse and the Marcos regime continue to have their way.

Every effort to arouse, organize and mobilize the people against the viciousness and the machinations of US imperialism and the fascist regime bring closer the day of reckoning for these twin forces of evil in the country.

The Tañada panel and the Nuclear Free Philippines Coalition have succeeded in educating us about the BNPP—the most expensive, dangerous and uneconomic project of its kind in the entire country and in the whole world and a monument to the avarice and irresponsibility of the Marcos regime.

We offer here some points for reflection to help deepen our understanding of the controversial plant and link the campaign against it to the entire national democratic movement.

1. US Imperialism and the Safety Question

Had it not been for the well-informed and militant work of the Tañada panel, the Puno Commission would never have been formed and obliged to confirm some major unsafe features of the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant and the Philippine Atomic Energy Commission would never have been allowed to come up with 146 safety requirements, costing some \$700 million on top of the \$1.2 billion for the plant.

But even then, the design and built-in features of the BNPP continue to be defective and dangerous to millions of Filipinos. The problem of waste disposal remains unsolved. The entire plant sits on an earthquake fault and is in the shadow of four volcanoes. Experts

¹¹ Distributed by the Anti-Bases Coalition as a mimeographed pamphlet.-
Editor

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in all pertinent sciences decry the serious defects and problems that justify the scrapping of the entire project.

The BNPP has been rammed through simply because “there is no law requiring the US government to assess the environmental impact of a foreign nuclear project before approving the sale of reactor equipment by an American company.” Thus, the US National Regulatory Commission has been prevented from reviewing and examining the BNPP.

At this juncture, we point out the fact of US imperialism. The US government is a tool of monopoly capitalism. It gives way to a business deal of a monopoly firm like Westinghouse even if by US standards and regulations the product being sold to a third world country like the Philippines is extremely defective and harmful to the people. The welfare of the people in the third world is of little or of no consideration so long as the US monopoly firms make superprofits. Thus, harmful products ranging from poisonous fertilizers and drugs to defective nuclear plants have been dumped on the third world. The Reagan administration is notorious for disregarding health and safety requirements, especially if the prospective victims are not its own citizens.

2. The US Monopoly and Local Big Comprador Collusion

Despite the exposure of the grossly unsafe and uneconomic character of the BNPP, including the iniquitous and onerous stipulations of the contract with Westinghouse, the Marcos regime has not rescinded the contract but has done everything within its fascist power to ram the project through after the sham investigation made by the Puno Commission.

In its usual perverse fashion, the Marcos regime hired American lawyers to invoke Philippine sovereignty and dignity in preventing the US Nuclear Regulatory Commission from reviewing and examining BNPP. A patriotic Filipino leadership would have asked the US NRC as well as an independent body of scientists to inquire into the project because the lives and health of millions of Filipinos are involved.

What then is more important than the interests of the Filipino people? Why has the Marcos regime and Westinghouse made a contract whose terms are kept secret from the Filipino people? Why?

The answer is obvious. The initial Westinghouse price quotation for two nuclear plants was \$500 million. This was already an overprice

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when compared with the price of comparable nuclear power plants put up elsewhere. The price is now \$1.9 billion and it is still rising for just one nuclear plant. What was quoted at \$250 million before is now costing the Filipino people at least eight times more.

The scandalously gross overpricing allows large amounts for payoffs, brokers' fees and other commissions for the big bureaucrat compradors. It is a crony corporation, specifically one operated by Disini, which is the go-between of Westinghouse and the National Power Corporation.

Making a killing for the fascist compradors does not end with the purchase contract on the plant. Crony corporations also handle the loan syndication, construction, construction equipment and supplies, acquisition of the land site, etc.

A case study should be made on how a US multinational corporation like Westinghouse colludes with the big bureaucrat compradors. Together with US imperialism, the big compradors of the fascist elite must be exposed, especially because they are the most rapacious and the most insatiable of the local reactionaries.

3. The Uneconomic Character of the BNPP

The cost of putting up the plant is already staggering. Higher costs will be incurred due to operational breakdowns, maintenance and waste disposal. The cost of decommissioning the plant after its life span of a mere 30-40 years is far larger than the cost of putting it up.

If we consider alone the cost of establishing and maintaining the plant, the National Power Corporation will have to charge the consumers fees that are higher than those charged for petro-generated or hydro-generated power. The actual cost of nuclear energy has become so prohibitive that most of those previously wanting to put up nuclear power plants have backed out of their contracts or withdrawn from negotiating contracts.

As it has already done, Westinghouse can and will raise the cost of nuclear energy. It keeps complete control of the technology, the uranium fuel supply, the spare parts, etc. From the beginning, it was absolutely foolhardy for the Marcos regime to imagine that uranium could be more plentiful and cheaper than petroleum.

The acquisition of the nuclear plant falls into line with the priorities dictated by US imperialism through the World Bank which it controls.

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Afflicted with the crisis of overproduction, the US has abused the device of extending loans for nonindustrial projects in order to promote the sale of its manufactures to developing countries.

The Marcos regime has thus gone into rapid inflationary spending for costly and substandard infrastructure, energy and other so-called capital construction projects. These are in fact sheer consumption and wastage of savings as well as borrowed resources so long as there is the absence of heavy and basic industries serving as the engine of genuine development.

The entire scheme of the US-Marcos regime is one of pseudodevelopment and anti-industrialization. The country is more backward, agrarian and semifeudal than ever. More than ever, it is dependent on the export of raw materials and the import of manufactures. One American scholar correctly refers to the US-Marcos scheme as a process of refeudalization.

There is no neocolonial industrialization but neocolonial anti-industrialization. As a result of the mounting foreign debt, the US imperialists are now obliging the Marcos regime to be ruthless to Filipino-owned light manufacturing, even if import dependent due to the lack of heavy and basic industries. The Marcos regime is openly under orders to concentrate on rural development and to hurry up with more privileges for natural-resource and trade-oriented multinational corporations, import liberalization, devaluation, increased local taxation, etc.

4. The US Military Bases and the BNPP

The US military bases are to be the principal consumers of the energy to be generated by the BNPP. The export processing zone of the “gypsy industries” of US and other foreign multinationals are cited as another major customer.

The BNPP is bound to be cited by Filipino puppet officials as one more reason for perpetuating the US military bases. They will say that the Philippines cannot afford to lose the biggest energy consumer because the cost of the plant is enormous.

Another reason that will be cited for the retention of the US military bases is that they provide protection to the nuclear plant, the spent fuel rods and the transport of nuclear materials. The US can also suspend the operation of the plant or the delivery of materials for the

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plant to counteract the strong popular demands for the dismantling of the US military bases.

Definitely, the BNPP is one more lever in the hands of US imperialism to compel the Filipino puppet officials to do its bidding. But it is actually no lever if the viewpoint of the Filipino people and not that of fascist puppet charlatans prevails.

Because of its linkage to the US military bases, the BNPP is one more magnet for nuclear attack. The other nuclear superpower rival of the US is not so foolish as to neglect the targeting of this plant. But even if only the nearby US military installations would be attacked, the disaster would extend to the BNPP and thereby compound the disaster to the millions of people.

The nuclear arsenal and delivery system of the Soviet Union are so large and effective that they can destroy all known sites of nuclear silos like Subic and Clark; covert nuclear silos like those of Del Monte in Bukidnon and Pasuquin in Ilocos Norte; all US communications and radar facilities that serve the land, air and sea nuclear attack capability of the US.

US propaganda itself has been drumming up the Soviet nuclear threat to the Asia-Pacific region to justify US military bases in the Philippines. But the way out for the Philippines and the Filipino people is not to have US military bases but to adopt an independent, nonaligned and neutral policy vis-à-vis the two superpowers; and support the movement to make Southeast Asia a nuclear-free region and ensure that the whole Asia-Pacific region becomes truly a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

The Soviet Union would have no interest in attacking the Philippines with nuclear weapons if there were no US military bases and nuclear weapons here. And if the Filipino people succeed in liberating themselves from US imperialism and its fascist puppets, they shall have armed themselves sufficiently to cope with any conventional attack by any aggressor.

The Japanese fascists could easily invade the Philippines in World War II because the US imperialists in the first place refused to distribute arms to the people and then concentrated their US and puppet troops in Bataan in one strategic act of folly.

It is high time for the Filipino people to put a stop to the imperialist trick of gaining the prerogative of holding a whole nation captive

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by simply making it fear another monster. If we can do away with the incumbent monster, we can face up to any other monster.

Conclusion

The problem that is the BNPP should be a concrete starting point for a consistent and sustained attack against US imperialism and the fascist puppet regime. The continuing campaign to oppose the BNPP should be pursued to accomplish the following objectives:

1. Condemn the overall political collusion between US imperialism and the Marcos fascist clique.

2. Oppose the entire US-Marcos pseudodevelopment scheme and the plunder of Philippine resources by the US multinational firms and the fascist bureaucrat compradors.

3. Prepare public opinion for the nationalization of the economy and cancellation of all contracts and loan agreements entered into by the fascist regime with the imperialists when these are injurious to the economy and the whole nation.

4. Develop further the people's firm stand that the BNPP be stopped, dismantled or decommissioned (as the case may be) at the soonest possible time and with the cost for doing so shouldered by Westinghouse or the US government or else face a boycott of US products.

5. Intensify the peace movement and demand abrogation of the US-RP Military Bases Agreement and the dismantling of US military bases, including overt and covert bases and communications and radar facilities.

The five objectives above are of utmost relevance and are spelled out for emphasis. The campaign to oppose the BNPP should be related to the comprehensive national democratic program.

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Statement on Presidential Decree Nos. 1875-1877

August 11, 1983

The abolition of the presidential commitment order is being trumpeted. But Presidential Decree 1877 supposedly doing away with it clearly states that the President may order the further detention of suspects for insurrection or rebellion, subversion and the like beyond and possibly even several times beyond the one-year maximum limit of "preventive detention action." The decree also affirms the continued suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus.

Even if the one-year limit of the preventive detention action (PDA) is followed in certain cases, the ground for military abuses and atrocities is wide as ever. It takes far less than a year for the fascists to perpetrate and remove the trace of torture and murder of captives; and to frustrate the attempts of their relatives, lawyers and friends to determine their whereabouts or seek remedies. It takes no more than three weeks for the physical wounds of torture victims to heal. When water or electrodes are used for torture, traces of torture on the victim disappear in even lesser time.

The PDA is the same abomination as the PCO. At the root of the problem is the autocratic power of Marcos to order or authorize the arbitrary arrest and detention of people without judicial process and without respect for the right to have prompt access to legal counsel. There can be no end to decrees changing the name of the same dog so long as the autocratic executive, legislative and judicial powers of the despot Marcos remain in his kind of constitution and so long as the people are still in the process of building up their strength to remove this despotism.

The decrees supposedly repealing the Public Order Act and the National Security Code are no more than mere propaganda tricks. The content of these fascist laws are already incorporated in the Code of Crimes which is about to be rubber-stamped by the Batasang Pambansa. Marcos is therefore not giving away anything to anyone.

PD Nos. 1875, 1876 and 1877 all belong to the same category as Proclamation 2045. The latter issuance pretends to repeal

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Proclamation 1081 and lift martial law but all the gains of fascist dictatorship remain intact and undiminished. The Marcos constitution remains autocratic, antinational and antidemocratic. And Marcos proceeds further to issue despotic fiats that are even worse than those issued under Proclamation 1081.

We should not be misled by the razzle-dazzle of decrees that pretend to ease the situation. To Marcos, normalization means the further entrenchment and institutionalization of the abnormal—the fascist dictatorship. And this he has been doing consistently since his coup d'état in 1972. There is absolutely no reason for us to think that he will ever stop selling rotten goods with glittering wrappings.

The only way for the Filipino people to establish democracy is to fight for it in every possible way. The escalation of fascist atrocities and the intolerable economic suffering of the people are more than ever accelerating the growth of every form of popular resistance on a nationwide scale. With Marcos' foreign master, US imperialism, being increasingly preoccupied at home and the world over with so many troubles of its own making, there never has been a better opportunity for the Filipino people to push forward and complete the struggle for national democracy.

As soon as gigantic mass actions and a new level of armed resistance arise, it is likely that even US imperialism will start to think of junking Marcos. For all his subservience to US economic dictates through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, Marcos is already increasingly being blamed for corruption and economic mismanagement by influential US circles. By the time that the US goes through the motion of rejecting him as a failed political agent, the national democratic forces shall have strengthened themselves as to find their way toward some transitional democratic movement or a definitely more stable democratic coalition government.

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On Aquino and his Assassination¹²

August 1983

In the wake of World War II, Benigno S. Aquino, Jr. was determined to get out of the shadow of his father who had been a high puppet official of the Japanese occupation. He gained nationwide prominence for the first time as a teenage *Manila Times* reporter in the frontlines of the Korean war. Subsequently, in his early twenties, he became the mayor of his hometown, Concepcion, Tarlac.

As mayor and then as Tarlac governor, he adopted a populist style and endeared himself to many people. Although he belonged to a landlord family, he knew how to befriend and relate himself positively to the peasants and even to the armed revolutionaries through his relatives associated with the Hukbalahap. Thus, he would be attacked as a “subversive” by rabid anticommunists, especially Marcos.

As senator, he often took a progressive liberal stand on outstanding issues involving national independence and democracy. He sympathized on many occasions with the democratic cause of the workers, peasants, students and youth, teachers and other people although he refrained from discussing the need for national industrialization and land reform.

He advocated the solution of basic social problems in general, like poverty and unemployment, and took a civil libertarian stand in opposing Philippine involvement in the Vietnam war and the brutality of the military and police against the outburst of mass demonstrations that came to be called the First Quarter Storm of 1970 as well as other mass actions in the 1970 to 1972 period. He was an outstanding opponent of the Marcos regime, especially with regard to its propensity to use terror and violence against the people.

The Marcos regime was responsible not only for unwarranted military and police assaults on unarmed demonstrators but also such massacres as those of Culatingan, Lapiang Malaya, Jabidah, Sta. Lucia,

¹² Distributed by the Justice for Aquino, Justice for All (JAJA) as a pamphlet under the penname Alma Rason.-Editor

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Paraiso, Plaza Miranda and so many in the Moro provinces. Aquino stood courageously against the rising trend of fascism under the US-Marcos regime.

The Plaza Miranda bombing and massacre occurred in 1971. This almost wiped out the entire leadership of the Liberal Party. In Marcos' now notorious style of intrigue and cover-up, he has always accused the Liberal Party, Aquino especially, and the Communist Party of the Philippines of being allies and yet he would maliciously blame this senseless violence on Aquino and the communists.

The people refused to believe Marcos. The Liberal Party swept the elections, with Aquino at the head of winning senatorial candidates. He became even more clearly the frontrunning presidential hopeful and was a shoo-in for the presidency in 1973.

But Marcos was coldbloodedly fabricating incidents, especially bombings, and creating the conditions for the declaration of martial law in 1972 and for grabbing all governmental powers for himself. When fascist dictatorship began, Aquino was not only robbed of the chance to become president but was also arbitrarily arrested and detained on trumped-up charges. He was in solitary confinement for almost seven years.

The mode of his imprisonment was so inhuman that he had to undertake a hunger strike in order to expose the barbarity of the fascist regime. He defied the fascist dictator, his military underlings and the military commissions. He thus contributed greatly to the antifascist resistance by his defiance.

As had been expected, Aquino was railroaded to a death sentence together with other patriots. This act of injustice aroused not only the just anger of the people but also the serious concern of major governments and appeals were made in his favor. Marcos had to backtrack, granting a retrial and cajoling him to give credence to the interim batasang pambansa elections in 1978 by running as an opposition candidate. He agreed to run and, of course, he was cheated in the rigged elections.

Despite entreaties of US President Carter, Marcos hesitated in releasing Aquino. It was only when the latter was on the verge of death that the former decided to allow him to leave for the United States for surgery and medical care.

Under the stress of solitary confinement and a death sentence, Aquino had developed a heart ailment. Suffering a heart attack in

1980, he was deprived of proper medical care for more than a month. Only after Marcos erroneously estimated that Aquino would die or at least become an invalid did he allow the latter to leave for the United States. After Aquino's successful heart operation, Marcos explicitly allowed him to stay abroad for as long as he (Aquino) wanted. The tyrant calculated that it was better to keep his political rival out of the country. At the same time, he was double-facedly trying to discredit Aquino in the controlled press as one who was reneging on a promise to return. As soon as his passport lapsed in 1982, Aquino asked for renewal but was refused to the very end. Not even entreaties through Marcos' wife Imelda could persuade Marcos to allow the renewal of Aquino's passport. Both Marcos and his wife were discouraging Aquino from returning to the country because supposedly his enemies were out to kill him.

After years of exile, Aquino developed an intense and sincere desire to return to his country in order to help in a "peaceful transition to democracy" and to rebuild his political party and participate in the broad opposition. He wanted Marcos to dismantle his own fascist dictatorship and reconcile himself with the people whom his regime have intensively exploited and oppressed for an extremely long time. Aquino was keenly aware of the risks in returning home. He was ready for such possibilities as assassination, execution by firing squad, solitary confinement and house arrest. Regarding assassination, Marcos himself was making thinly veiled threats by prating about assassination plots against Aquino.

In an effort to discourage Marcos from having him assassinated upon arrival, Aquino requested the US State Department and US Congress Rep. Solarz (chairman of the Pacific and East Asia committee) to make representations with Marcos for his safe return to Manila. To show beyond doubt that only Marcos would have the power and means to have him assassinated, he took care of technical details down to the choice of a carrier, adoption of a pseudonym and booking of his real name in another plane, the company of foreign newsmen, airport welcome by relatives and friends and the wearing of a bulletproof vest.

Aquino knew well that Marcos was capable of having him assassinated. But why did he still return? He told some of his confidants that he had to make a choice between being run over by a taxi in Boston and being killed in his own country with proof of Marcos' responsibility. He would thereby die in a far more meaningful way.

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In his telephone interview with Radio Veritas, he revealed that he was already being treated as an illegal overstaying alien in the United States and indicated that he was deprived of adequate protection. He said categorically that if he had to die he had better die in his own country.

The people should know that the Reagan administration and the Marcos regime have been in cahoots in persecuting antifascist Filipino exiles in the United States. The general run of Filipino political exiles are harassed by the US Federal Bureau of Investigation and the US immigration authorities. Aquino in particular was exposed to the threat of a rubout by Marcos' operatives or through a contract of hired killers.

He was not close to the high officials of the Reagan administration but he had friends and sympathizers within the US Congress and among some career officials in the US State Department. He was not yet in any position to make short shrift of Marcos. He was only in a position of starting to erode the illegitimate power of the Marcos regime, especially if he could return to the country.

The retention of absolute power is a matter of life and death for Marcos. He reacted violently to the tactful suggestion of US congressmen (Rep. Solarz among them) that the pending \$900 million appropriation called for by the US-RP Military Bases Agreement would be "rearranged," the military component being reduced in favor of the economic component, if Marcos did not ease his grip on the country and allow Aquino to return. Thus, Marcos' murderous hatred of Aquino came to a new peak when Aquino insisted on his right to return home.

At crucial moments, when he feels that his "honor" or power is threatened, Marcos has always valued most the efficacy of gun and guile. This is evident in the Nalundasan assassination, the Plaza Miranda bombing, the declaration of martial law and the countless massacres before and during the fascist dictatorship.

The political career of Marcos has followed a blood-soaked path. On the surface, he can be cool and he capitalizes on his coolness to make himself appear as a clever politician. But the basic flaw in the character of the man is extreme greed and proneness to violent rage. He is indeed fit to be a fascist dictator in a moribund semicolonial and semifeudal society.

The longstanding violent temper of Marcos is complicated by a pathological disorder lupus erythematosus, which though not fatal according to experts nonetheless induces paranoia. Has US domination

in the Philippines so degenerated that it must make use of a paranoid taskmaster?

Aquino took the risk of sacrificing his life. And he did make the sacrifice. But he triumphed over his murderers. He succeeded in demonstrating the injustices and madness of the fascist puppet regime; and the need for the people to overthrow it. The Aquino assassination is one despicable crime where there is no ambiguity about the responsibility of the fascist regime. This is “salvaging” (Filipino English for summary execution) before the eyes of the world.

Certain Points and Facts concerning the Assassination

Only the fascist dictator had the motive, the means and the opportunity to have the Aquino assassination prepared and carried out. Moreover, it is a longstanding modus operandi of Marcos to commit a crime and then evade responsibility by pointing to a scapegoat.

In politics or in bloody criminal acts, it is his peculiar tactic to conjure the illusion that his political opponents are eliminating each other. Intrigue is a commonplace trick of unscrupulous politicians but it is the distinctive characteristic of Marcos to translate this into murderous acts of intrigue when his pride or power is at stake.

As regards motive in the assassination of Aquino, Marcos had always been in mortal fear of Aquino as the serious threat to his power within the ruling system, a threat more immediate than that posed by the revolutionary movement. To the very end, Marcos did not want Aquino to return and was making death threats which he camouflaged and adduced to other quarters.

As regards means, Marcos controls the Armed Forces of the Philippines practically as his private army, through service officers headed by General Ver. Handpicked military agents carried out the assassination plot, which involved a thoroughgoing attempt to exclude witnesses and the killing of a fall guy.

As regards opportunity, it was created when the military agents arrested Aquino in the plane and made him disembark, contrary to a prior press statement by General Ver that Aquino would not be allowed to disembark without the proper travel documents.

Let us go over certain facts.

1. General Ver announced in a press statement two days before the assassination on August 21 that the Manila International Airport had

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been fully secured, that Aquino would not be allowed to disembark and that he would be sent back on the same plane he took to Manila if he did not have the proper travel documents.

This Ver announcement was a bait. It served to assure Aquino that no harm could come to him if he flew in and that it would be a political triumph for him if he would be turned back. Marcos would be the loser.

2. Contrary to the Ver announcement, Aquino was arrested inside the plane and was made to disembark in a manner that welcoming relatives and friends would not be able to meet or see him. Military agents blocked and tried with might and main to prevent the newsmen accompanying Aquino from getting a complete and continuous view of the disembarkation and the assassination.

The most rigorous measures were adopted by the military to exclude the possibility of any hostile witness. But they would pretend to have left open the possible entry of PAL ground personnel. In such a maximum security situation, it is only authorized personnel, Avsecom or air force ground crew, who are allowed entry in a restricted area.

3. The assassination was so designed by a legalistic criminal mind and his military implementors that there would be a disparity between the sights and sounds perceived by any possible hostile witness on the one hand and the "findings" to be made on the other hand. The assassination was so carried out that the testimony of any possible hostile witness, especially from among the people in the plane, would easily be discredited.

For instance, the three officers arresting Aquino appeared to have empty holsters but one of them would pull out a previously concealed handgun. Another gun wielder was one of the two military agents who waited outside the plane door. Several shots were fired behind Aquino but the findings will show only one bullet hitting his head. The honest testimony of a witness would be contradicted by the "evidence" of one bullet fired by one assassin. We must acknowledge the expertise of the perverted criminal lawyer and state magician.

4. The dead man who would be bandied about as the "communist" assassin of Aquino was clearly a fall guy. He was evidently shot to death inside a van before he was shoved out to appear as the assassin of Aquino. (Editor's note: Investigation showed that Galman was a common criminal, taken from prison in Central Luzon by General Gatan, to be used as a prop in the assassination of Aquino.)

5. Aquino travelled under an assumed name, Marcial Bonifacio, and his family kept his flight plan secret until only twenty minutes before the plane he took landed. He was listed under his real name on another flight arriving at about the same time. There were eight planes arriving within the hour of his expected arrival.

It was impossible for anyone outside the Aquino family and selected friends and the military agents of Marcos to know on which specific plane Aquino was. The military agents physically prevented the relatives and close friends as well as Filipino newsmen from witnessing the disembarkation of Aquino.

6. The fall guy in a PAL mechanic's uniform but without a name tag could not have gone through the maximum security cordon if he were not brought in by the real assassins. No unauthorized person could precisely know in advance by what stairway Aquino would be brought down.

It is incredible that the assassin, if he were not a military agent, would know at what precise spot and moment he would move in to aim and fire at Aquino's head from some distance of 18 inches or so. Aquino was squeezed in on both sides by two security men and close behind him was a third one while getting down the stairs and on to the tarmac. And on the tarmac were so many guards in security formation.

7. The alleged assassin remained unidentified for a long time. Supposed details about him are being retailed very slowly by the military authorities. It is astonishing why no relative could immediately come to identify him, unless he happens to be one of those criminals under the special care of General Gatan and his longtime patron Eduardo Cojuangco.

The military authorities monopolized the examination and autopsy of the alleged assassin for quite some time. They made sure that the Aquino family and friends would not be able to provide medical representatives to look over the corpse immediately. Even the very body of Aquino was not immediately shown to his close relatives and friends.

8. On the evening of August 22, Marcos came out on electronic media (TV-radio hook-up) to unleash his squid tactics on an outraged people. He declared that the situation was normal and under his control, implying that the Aquino assassination was a small and normal matter. He insinuated that the power blackout, bomb threats and rumors churned out by his own psychological war experts in a puerile attempt to distract the people from the Aquino tragedy were

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the handiwork of “subversives.” (The symptoms of lupus and kidney disorder were clear on his face and not that of a heart attack as had been fed to the rumor mills by his agents for easy denial.)

The main thrust of his talk was to misrepresent himself as the biggest victim and not Aquino. The alleged assassin could not yet be identified but Marcos asserted that the Aquino assassination was a case of a “communist rubout.” He expressed sorrow over Aquino’s death and yet he poured out slander after slander against the dead man and people in the opposition. He misrepresented as “communist leaders” some military agents who had been eliminated not by Aquino or the NPA but by Generals Diaz and Gatan in the course of their conflict over garbage collection, protection rackets and gambling in Angeles City in 1976.

9. On the evening of August 24, General Olivas said that the alleged assassin could not yet be identified but echoed the same anticommunist line of his fascist boss. He harped on the culpability of the fall guy and parried questions on the responsibility of the Avsecom commanding general.

To explain the precision of the alleged assassin in knowing where, when and how to shoot Aquino, Olivas in effect said that the Avsecom had been making a public demonstration of the procedures to be used in securing Aquino. He also made a silly comparison between the Aquino assassination in a sanitized area and other assassinations in crowded areas. The cover-up job of Olivas was, to say the least, a see-through.

10. In trying to prevent Aquino from returning home, Marcos and his henchmen had claimed that they had reliable informants and solid information on assassination plots against Aquino. Where are these now? Even in his August 22 TV-radio talk, Marcos said “we had been in on this plot from the very beginning.” Yet in the same talk he could not give any solid information regarding the assassination. He referred to an informant that had disappeared and was probably dead. Earlier, on the evening of the assassination, General Custodio blurted out that his office had received only anonymous calls about the threat on Aquino’s life.

Marcos and his hatchetmen have long overused the trick of committing despicable crimes and blaming these on the communists and even on the direct noncommunist victims. These fascist scoundrels cannot deceive the people. Their criminal modus operandi is all too

clear through sheer repetition. They have become extremely arrogant and brazen.

Remember the Plaza Miranda bombing, the San Pedro Cathedral bombing, the Jose Lingad assassination and so many other senseless killings in urban and rural areas. Under the Operation Katatagan of Marcos' chief butcher (*berdugo*) General Ver, massacres, torture and murder of mere suspects, arbitrary arrests and detention, arson, looting, forced mass evacuations and fake mass surrenders are being escalated.

Justice cannot be obtained from the Fernando commission. It is a creation of the master assassin or the mastermind of the assassination in the exercise of his illegitimate autocratic powers. From the very beginning, it absolves Marcos of guilt. By all signs, the Fernando commission will be used to squelch public opinion and suppress testimonies damaging to the dictator. In the end, the commission can only overlay pompous and futile words on the findings of military investigators. The chairman of the commission has earned the reputation of being a court jester and a lackey of the fascist dictator.

It should never be conceded that such a creation of Marcos has a legitimate basis or has the capacity to bring out the entire truth. This commission is securely a propaganda tool of the master assassin.

An honest inquiry is not possible so long as the Marcos dictatorship remains. The entire Marcos government, including the Executive Committee and the top military brass, must be dissolved to give way to a caretaker government composed of leaders of all political parties and people's organizations. Only such a caretaker government can create a credible commission that is truly independent of the fascist regime of the master assassin.

Short of this, it would be well to have an international body like the International Commission of Jurists supervise the conduct of the investigation by the Fernando commission if only to squeeze out as much of the truth as can be squeezed from the witnesses presented by the regime.

It is impossible to obtain justice where the mastermind has used his autocratic power to commit the crime and at the same time stands as the final judge. The only way to obtain justice is to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and create a people's court to try the tyrant and all his bloody minions.

The Significance of Aquino and his Political Assassination

Benigno S. Aquino, Jr. will always be remembered as the victim of assassination by Marcos, as an advocate of liberal democracy and as an outstanding opponent of the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

Since 1972, when Marcos started persecution, his suffering and struggle for freedom have been part of the Filipino people's effort to liberate themselves. He fought well against the despotism of Marcos and exposed its evil essence. Aquino demonstrates that the enlightened and democratic sections of the well-to-do are willing to stake and contribute not only material resources but even their lives for the common good.

The broad national united front and the entire Filipino people mourn his death in the hands of the treacherous fascists but are inspired and strengthened by his example of patriotism and courage to carry forward the struggle for national independence and democracy. As a result of Aquino's assassination, the united front of all patriotic and progressive classes and organizations and personages will wage greater and more militant struggles for freedom.

Aquino was like Rizal. Despite the threats to his life by the enemy, he returned to his country with the desire of working for the improvement of the political, economic and social conditions of the people.

Aquino was reformist and was for nonviolent change. He held the idea that the fascist regime could be persuaded to depart from its evil ways and reconcile with the people. But the ruthless tyrant at the suggestion of significant reforms and possible erosion of his despotic powers became more violent and odious. He plotted the murder of Aquino using his extraordinary powers.

Like Rizal, Aquino while alive could not realize his noble objectives under the shadow of the enemy but was persecuted and finally murdered. By his death, however, his name has become a battlecry for the entire Filipino people. The armed revolution must move forward to avenge the fallen heroes, assert the sovereign power of the people and extirpate the tyrannical regime.

The assassination of Aquino proves once more that the US-Marcos regime is antagonistic to any serious peaceful attempt to democratize the Philippine situation; and that the broad masses of the people need to use every form of revolutionary struggle, armed and otherwise, to

dismantle the fascist puppet dictatorship and win victory for their just cause of national liberation and democracy.

The assassination of Aquino brings to public condemnation the responsibility of US imperialism in propping up the Marcos fascist regime and condoning its terrorist acts. The US government, especially the Reagan clique, persecutes Filipino political exiles and is morally responsible for Aquino's death in the hands of its puppet clique.

Marcos' plot to kill Aquino was abetted to the very end by the Reagan administration. Acting as a Reagan bootlicker, US Ambassador Armacost assured Marcos that Reagan was firmly behind him and that there was nothing to worry about regarding the approach of Rep. Solarz. Marcos took this assurance as a license to eliminate Aquino, strengthening his prior resolve to do so.

From the beginning, the Reagan administration has abetted the fascist dictatorship on the grounds of anticommunism and promoting US political and economic interests. Unwittingly, this US administration has also encouraged the peculiar criminal conceit and paranoia of the fascist dictator.

Marcos is utterly subservient to US imperialist interests because of the rapidly worsening economic crisis in the country and his desperate need for foreign funds. The US can order him to restrain his worst criminal impulses and show respect for human rights. But the Reagan administration does not mind the despotism of Marcos so long as more privileges and profits are extracted by the US multinational firms and the US military bases are perpetuated.

At any rate, the assassination of Aquino is not a mere passing incident. It has serious implications and consequences. As far as the Filipino people are concerned, it marks a new level of fascist terrorism without any doubt. Summary execution of less known people used to be done in safehouses and rural villages. But now it is done to a prominent person in broad daylight before the eyes of the world. And there is no mistaking as to who is responsible for this murder.

The Filipino people are not cowed by the commission of murder in public by the Marcos fascist regime. It can even go fullscale in applying all the death decrees it has made for preserving itself. All acts of fascist terror can only stiffen the people's resistance and hasten the advance of the armed revolution.

The death of Aquino is not in vain and will not simply blow over. Already a movement is rapidly developing in his honor. This movement

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is an important component of the vast democratic mass movement that will soon shake the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique repeatedly and cumulatively until a democratic transition government takes over or the Filipino people go right ahead to win victory in the national democratic revolution and establish a revolutionary democratic coalition government under the leadership of the proletariat.

The surging democratic mass movement is first of all a manifestation of the long repressed needs and demands of the Filipino people but is also inspired by the similar mass movements breaking out in more and more third world countries that are ruled by US-sponsored fascist regimes and that are overloaded with foreign loans and reeling from inflation, unemployment and depression.

Fight for democracy!

Dismantle the US-Marcos dictatorship!

Down with the assassin regime!

Avenge the Aquino assassination!

Long live the memory of all martyrs!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

On the Possibility of Restoring Democracy

September 1983

Since November 10, 1977, Jose Ma. Sison has been in solitary confinement in an unhealthy cell with no view of the outside and he is not allowed out of this cell except to attend trial hearings and for a brief hour of sunning a few times a month. He is constantly blindfolded in transit to and from his cell. Despite his prolonged solitary confinement, it is unlikely that he will stand to gain any relief by virtue of PD 1877. The authorities always insists that under Marcos' autocratic powers, Sison is excluded from the right to equal protection of the law, the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty, the right against torture and cruel and unusual punishment, and other fundamental or constitutional rights.—Free Jose Maria Sison Committee

This is an outline offered to all patriotic and progressive classes, organizations and individuals for study and discussion towards a comprehensive understanding of the situation and possibility of advancing the struggle for national independence and democracy after the August 21-31 events.

I. The Desperate and Moribund Fascist Regime

A. Economic Situation

The economic crisis is daily worsening and is not going to cease in years to come due to the accumulated and continuing effects of subservience to US economic dictates, the unbridled corruption of the Marcos fascist regime, and the deepgoing crisis of the world capitalist system.

Foreign loans have been used to aggravate the backward, agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy. These have been used overwhelmingly for nonproductive and anti-industrial programs and projects, leaving the country ever more dependent on raw material exports which are faring badly in the world capitalist market. Slightly

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processed reexports are a drain on foreign exchange rather than a dollar earner.

Lacking in heavy and basic industries, the Philippine economy is also heavily dependent on the importation of manufactures for local light manufacturing. The rapidly growing trade deficit and balance of payments problems are gravely affecting the undeveloped economy.

The foreign debt burden has soared from \$2.0 billion in 1972 to \$18 billion. Foreign debt service has become the No. 1 budgetary burden at ₱11.7 billion or 19.7% (one-fifth) of the 1984 budget. Military expenditures (defense and PC-INP) run second at ₱8.8 billion or 14.9%. With 34.6% earmarked for debt service and military expenditures, the budget reflects an ugly government and economic situation.

Massive unemployment, low incomes, soaring inflation, drastic devaluation, heavier tax burden and higher government fees have reduced the broad masses of the people to a life of extreme misery and want. The economic disaster is suffered most by the toiling masses of workers and peasants as well as by the urban petty bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie is also pressed down by import liberalization.

Both civil and military personnel of the fascist regime are discontented, together with the rest of the people. They too receive starvation wages. Only the high officials are satisfied with their salaries.

The US and other multinational corporations and the big comprador fascist elite continue to accelerate bloodsucking operations on an already impoverished population. After riding high on foreign-loan supported operations, Marcos and his cronies continue to grab the lion's share in foreign exchange and muscle in on the operations of other big compradors.

Foreign loans are now more difficult to secure and the terms are extremely onerous. Thus Marcos considers the \$900 million (in connection with the US military bases) and other expected financial accommodations from the US as being too precious to be reduced, delayed or rearranged; and has been maddened by efforts in the US Congress to attach to these such considerations as his human rights records, the operations of his crony corporations and the demand for democratic reforms. However, he cannot turn to the Soviet Union because this superpower is plagued by its own economic problems and is not willing to gamble on a sinking boat even if Marcos occasionally bluffs about seeking Soviet support.

B. Political Situation

The fascist regime is more than ever subservient to US imperialism. The Reagan administration takes advantage of the desperate economic and financial situation of the puppet regime by exacting more privileges for US political, economic and military interests and does not show any pretense of concern for human rights or democratic reforms.

The fascist regime is escalating its threats and acts of terror against the people. The naked use of power in the assassination of Aquino is Marcos' reminder to everyone in the Philippines and even in the US Congress that he is willing to use all available force to eliminate any threat to his own autocratic powers. Short of a revolutionary upheaval, however, the US remains the only force that can remove or ease out its own puppet. But the Reagan administration endorses the anticommunist rationale of Marcos' tyranny.

The fascist dictatorship is precisely the stimulant for the growth of the revolutionary mass movement. The assassination of Aquino demonstrates to the middle forces and the still unorganized common people that there is no way to dismantle the fascist dictatorship but to wage armed struggle.

The political desperation of the Marcos regime manifested in the Aquino murder (or double murder, including the patsy) is the outcome of critical social and economic conditions. But it also underscores the longstanding murderous character of Marcos (from the Nalundasan case to the many massacres and assassinations under his prefascist and fascist regime) exacerbated by the poor state of his physical and mental health, which is affecting his sense of political judgment. The danger about Marcos' health is not that he would die soon and that there would be a mad scramble for power; but that he would live longer than expected and with his paranoia hold on to his absolute powers.

Marcos is so obsessed with plugging every threat to his absolute power that he has issued the most absurd death decrees. He has depended more and more on his military minions who ingratiate themselves to him by playing on his fear of being overthrown and punished and by inventing reports of assassination plots against him. Aquino's murder was plotted by Marcos, his wife, Eduardo Cojuangco, General Fabian Ver, General Mejia, General Olivas and General Custodio on the malicious ground that Aquino's arrival was part of a coup plan, according to a high-ranking AFP officer.

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There is now a hairline divide between Marcos being a “strongman” and being a total captive of his closest security officers, especially General Ver who is AFP chief of staff and whose son is directly in charge of Marcos’ security. He is becoming the manipulated, instead of being the manipulator. He has taken all precautions against the erosion of his autocratic powers by any civilian entity. But in the process, he has made himself vulnerable to his own military protectors who may in due time grab his autocratic powers under the initial guise of martial law administration.

Unexpected by the fascist assassins, the Aquino murder only exacerbated their political isolation and roused the broad masses of the people to hold the largest ever urban collective action against tyranny in the entire history of the Philippines. The democratic mass organizations, the legal opposition parties, the religious organizations and the spontaneous masses came to the streets in millions to demonstrate their sentiments not only against the murder of a prominent political leader who had been treacherously killed but also against the oppression that they have long suffered. All over the country, the people in their tens of millions have been agitated by the Aquino murder.

All the democratic forces are bound to transform the Aquino martyrdom and all national democratic issues into an organized mass strength. The Catholic Church is determined to call for national reconciliation based on justice although this institution tends to obscure the issue of justice with a desire for peace even under the fascist dictatorship and sometimes tends to forget that it is this fascist dictatorship and no other that is consistently using violence and terror to quell the people’s aspirations for justice and peace. The Aquino murder and the resultant rising of the people are also bound to strengthen the trend within the US ruling circles to reconsider the US administration position vis-à-vis Marcos and his regime.

No less than the resignation of Marcos and his top subalterns and the dismantling of the fascist dictatorship are being demanded. However, Marcos imagines the public uproar would die down. He continues to think that he can drag his feet even on such previous lesser public demands as the general amnesty (of which Aquino could have been a beneficiary) of alleged political offenders, the restoration of the writ of habeas corpus and the right to bail, the abolition of nonjudicial warrants of arrest and seizure, repeal of the Anti-Subversion Law and

other such oppressive laws, a clean and honest system of elections and so on.

Marcos is hellbent on retaining his autocratic powers at whatever cost. He laughs off as fantasia or wishful thinking any serious democratic demand. He is challenging the people to show their strength through gigantic mass actions and the growth of the armed resistance.

C. Military Situation

The people's just hatred for the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) has accumulated upon so many atrocities and abuses and has peaked with the brazen Aquino murder in the hands of his military custodians. Under Operation Katatagan, Aquino-type assassinations are on the rise. People who are merely suspected of being NPA supporters are being brutally tortured and murdered and then misrepresented as NPA victims or NPA combat casualties. Also, people of entire villages suspected of being a mass base of the NPA are subjected to plunder or reconcentration and then misrepresented as mass surrenderees.

The violation of democratic rights extends to religious personnel, independent journalists, teachers, other professionals, labor leaders, students and legal opposition leaders in urban areas. Soon after the murder of Aquino, the fascist dictatorship made another unprecedented act by raiding the residence of a Catholic bishop on suspicion of harboring a communist. This act is obviously a retaliation against Church sympathy for Ninoy Aquino.

The AFP is practically destroying itself by its depredations on the people. It has an antipeople orientation. And it has many more internal weaknesses. The troops receive starvation wages and are even cheated of their rations and allowances by their officers. Hazing is also a widespread practice. Most military funds go into the purchase of overpriced equipment and other supplies as well as fanciful intelligence projects that allow the corrupt officials to enrich themselves rapidly. Officers also engage in criminal activities, including smuggling, illegal logging, robbery and holdup, extortion, drug pushing, etc. Nepotism, regionalism, favoritism are rampant from top to bottom.

There are three sections of the AFP officers. The first consists of a few who are Marcos loyalists and are the most corrupt. The second consists of the majority who follow their superiors only as a matter

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of discipline. The third consists of those who are already fed up with the Marcos loyalists.

The fascist dictator is overprotected. An overly large force is under the Presidential Security Command and is tied down to the Metro Manila area. Beyond that, the AFP is already spread thinly all over the country with relative concentrations in areas categorized as trouble spots. Since 1972, it has been clearly proven that it cannot quell the armed resistance. On the other hand, the NPA has grown in strength all over the country and the Bangsa Moro Army has persisted in the Moro areas.

The NPA has achieved such a level of strength as to be able to frequently launch tactical offensives all over the country at the same time. This revolutionary army perseveres in people's war. It advances wave upon wave. It becomes well rooted at every step because it combines armed struggle with mass base building and genuine land reform. When it raids or ambushes the enemy, it musters superior military strength in order to ensure victory. Thus, the enemy is being defeated part by part.

The NPA has demonstrated that it can grow self-reliantly, even without importing arms, by seizing these from the enemy who does the importing from the US. If the united front of democratic forces were to acquire arms from abroad, the US-Marcos regime would be in a far more desperate and moribund situation. Such imported arms can fill to some extent the wide gap between the large mass base consisting of millions and the relatively limited number of full-time guerrilla riflemen running only into several thousands.

As the economic and political crisis of the ruling system worsens, the AFP can only deteriorate, being an antipeople force, while the NPA can advance rapidly under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and with the broad support of the united front and the National Democratic Front.

II. Peaceful Restoration of Democracy

A. A Consensus of Proposals

Marcos, the entire cabinet, the executive committee, the AFP chief of staff, the commanding generals of all major services and all overstaying generals must resign in order to give way to a democratic

transition government headed by a committee of retired chief justices and associate justices of the Supreme Court and other outstanding individuals who are of proven integrity and are acceptable to all political parties and people's organizations.

The democratic transition government must declare as null and void the Marcos constitution, especially its autocratic provisions; restore democracy and proclaim general amnesty to all so-called political offenders; and conduct general elections (from the presidency downwards) either under the 1935 constitution and/or rules adopted by said transition government.

To facilitate the resignation of the top officials of the Marcos regime and the assumption of office by a democratic transition government, a national reconciliation council as proposed by Cardinal Sin may be formed with representatives of the Catholic Church and other religious organizations as active proponents for the purpose of bringing together all the forces who are willing to work for the restoration of democracy and the attainment of justice and peace in a dialogue.

A Congress for the Restoration of Democracy (CORD) must be held as soon as possible to prepare for a powerful mass movement for the same purpose, consolidate the sentiments of the people in the form of a declaration and other instruments of unity. All religious organizations, political parties and democratic mass organizations of workers, peasants, students, teachers, other professionals and businessmen that have participated in the Aquino funeral services and processions must be represented.

Any accommodation offered to the legal opposition by the US and/or Marcos, whether these be accommodations in the executive committee, the 1984 elections and/or the *Batasang Pambansa*, subordinate to and under the mercy of the autocratic powers of the fascist dictator must be outrightly rejected. The supreme executive, legislative and judicial powers concentrated on a single person must be eradicated. There can be no compromise with fascist dictatorship. There can be reconciliation only on the grounds of national independence and democracy.

The peaceful restoration of democracy can become a serious prospect only if a powerful mass movement for it were carried out. The movement is decidedly peaceful and legal but there should be no gratuitous stressing of "peace" above the question of independence, democracy and justice. Otherwise, people will misunderstand that

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“peace” under the violent rule of Marcos is better than anything else. Marcos should be made to feel that if he does not yield to the demand for democracy, he is responsible for the consequences.

B. The Movement for the Restoration of Democracy

The broad united front of religious organizations and legal opposition parties that succeeded in mobilizing millions of people in the wake of the Aquino assassination must further mobilize the people for the dismantling of the fascist dictatorship and restoration of democracy. There must be sustained, militant and peaceful campaigns of mass education and mass actions indoors and outdoors.

The largest and strongest mass actions for democracy must be undertaken through widespread rallies and marches converging in a gigantic rally at daytime and then again dispersing into widespread rallies and sound barrage or sound-off at nighttime or designated days of protest. To escalate the demand for democracy, the days of protest can be increased and acts of civil disobedience should be made more telling. Churches and churchyards, factories, schools and plazas can become the rallying points.

Being the most insistent on reconciliation, dialogue and peace, the leadership and faithful of the Catholic Church must consistently and vigorously call for the restoration of democracy and upholding of justice. They must make it clear that they are asking the fascist dictatorship to abandon its character and desist from evil acts and in the true Christian spirit of reconciliation come into communion with the people. The Catholic Church must recognize that with its moral influence and its solid but widespread organization it can play a decisive role in persuading the fascist dictator to yield to the people's sovereign will.

The legal opposition parties and democratic mass organizations must rapidly arouse, organize and mobilize the people. Each of these entities have their special interests but all of them must always be ready to come together in campaigns for dismantling the fascist dictatorship and restoring democracy.

On a people-to-people basis, the religious, legal opposition and democratic mass organizations and their leaders must appeal to their counterpart organizations and leaders in the US to support their movement for the restoration of democracy in the Philippines and to ask their own government (their President and the US Congress) to

desist from propping up the tyrannical Marcos regime with the money of the American people and to yield to the Filipino people's sovereign will. Condemning and stopping US support to the Marcos regime is a key point in the battle for democracy.

The moral and material support of other peoples the world over must also be sought. The peoples in other capitalist countries can ask their respective governments and their leaders to use their votes or influence in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as well as their private banks to persuade the US and Marcos to yield to the Filipino people's demand for the restoration of democracy. The peoples in the third world and socialist countries can restrain their respective governments from giving the Marcos regime any assistance that helps it to repress the Filipino people.

The US-Marcos regime must be compelled to yield to the movement for the restoration of democracy. If it does not, the Filipino people will have to topple it in a revolutionary upheaval. There can be no compromise with injustice and tyranny. The people must put an end to fascist violence.

III. Preparedness for Self-Defense

Efforts must be exerted by those who have relatives and friends in the Armed Forces of the Philippines to let them understand and sympathize or side with the movement for the restoration of democracy. These AFP personnel must also be encouraged to spread the ideas of the movement within the Armed Forces of the Philippines and link these ideas with the worsening conditions of the troops and junior officers. The point is to deprive the fascist dictatorship or the dictator himself of his main support. Without the misplaced loyalty of the military, the fascist dictatorship cannot last a single day.

The people must conduct as part of the mass movement a continuous countersurveillance on the military and police agents of the fascist regime so as to distinguish the diehard antipeople and fascist elements from the good and honest elements and so as to make possible the arrest and disarming of the bad elements in their homes, in the streets and even in their barracks at the appropriate time.

The people in urban areas must be conscious that if the fascist dictatorship persists and even becomes more brutal a time will have to come for them to rise up in arms. There will be battle-tested armed

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detachments to assault or defend strategic points but on a wide scale armed city partisans and people's defense committees will have to arrest and disarm enemy elements in a precise manner.

The varied democratic forces must build their armed strength and may acquire arms in every possible way locally and/or from abroad. It is best that these arms are passed on to those who are in active armed struggle in the countryside.

The enemy appears to be arrogant because it thinks the people's army does not yet have enough armed strength to move into major cities and seize power. But if the mass actions become large and widespread, the NPA is in a position to wipe out enemy units rapidly in the countryside and like the Shah of Iran, Marcos would find himself swept out of power sooner than expected.

The fascist dictatorship should respect the legal and nonviolent character of democratic mass actions in the urban areas. If it should unleash violence against the unarmed democratic movement, the fascist monster will only accelerate its own downfall. It should learn a lesson from the murder of Aquino. Millions of people came out to condemn the tyranny. It would be foolhardy of the fascists to attack this magnitude of people.

People engaged in the peaceful movement for democracy should also remember that they can achieve a measure of success only when the enemy realizes that the people are prepared to use armed force against counterrevolutionary violence. We must never forget that Marcos murdered an unarmed Ninoy who had reconciliation in his heart but who at any rate had made clear that there is no compromise with tyranny and that freedom is taken and not granted. Justice cannot be won by trusting and pleading with the fascist.

The Christians under imperial Rome ceased to be massacred every fifty years only when they took hold of the sword of Constantine. Rizal would not be honored today as a hero and martyr had the Filipino people not achieved success in the Philippine revolution. Even Gandhi merely represented a complement to the readiness of the Indian people to wage armed revolution against the British. The Holy Scriptures is one with Marxism-Leninism in upholding the principle of just war against tyranny.

Those who wish to disarm the people or to equate the modest and just people's army with the gigantic and unjust army of Marcos actually endorse the violence of the fascist dictatorship as well as the rising

On the Possibility of Restoring Democracy

violence of daily exploitation and oppression. Without the people's army, the people have nothing. The violence and greed of the fascists would never cease to reign supreme over the people, especially as Marcos actually aspires to generate a dynasty of fascists. Must we disarm David as he confronts Goliath or condemn him because he used a slingshot?

The legal democratic mass movement has its own importance. So has the armed struggle. One complements the other. And this complementation should drive some sense into the heads of the US imperialists and the Marcos puppet regime.

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Message to the Congress for the Restoration of Democracy (CORD)

September 21, 1983

I salute and congratulate all of you for establishing the Congress for the Restoration of Democracy. I am in full solidarity with you in the fight for national independence and democracy against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

Your organization arises at a time that there is a high tide in the democratic mass movement. The Aquino funeral marches and rallies are unprecedented in the entire history of the Philippines and have surpassed the peak of the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

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

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

The people have been stirred to action not only by the Aquino martyrdom which has its own far-reaching significance but also by the accumulated sacrifices and sufferings of countless other victims of fascist treachery and brutality. The people have been moved to express themselves against the intolerable oppression and exploitation that have long victimized them.

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

I assume that you have put forward a program of action that is acceptable to the broadest possible coalition of democratic forces and that can raise the democratic struggle to a new and higher level. This

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program would deal with the most important issues in the fields of politics, economy, culture and foreign relations.

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

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

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

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

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

Time has run out on Mr. Marcos. The people demand no less than the end to his fascist autocracy. They have come to realize the futility of asking his regime for such minor concessions as the proclamation of general amnesty, the full restoration of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus and the right to bail, the abolition of nonjudicial orders of search and seizure, the repeal of the Anti-Subversion Law and other

Message to the Congress for the Restoration of Democracy (CORD)

oppressive decrees, and guarantees for clean and honest elections to loosen the autocrat's grip on the country and prepare the way for a peaceful transition to democracy.

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

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

The treacherous murder of Ninoy Aquino in doubtless circumstances and before the eyes of the world marks a new stage in the desperation and degeneration of the Marcos fascist regime. The prominent leaders of the legal opposition are now under the constant threat of assassination. The fascists have brought to Metro Manila in so dramatic a manner their barbaric tactic in the countryside of murdering suspected supporters of the armed revolutionaries, then misrepresenting them as battle casualties or even victims of the revolutionaries.

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

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

The people condemn Marcos for the economic disaster into which he has plunged the country. They suffer massive unemployment,

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soaring inflation, a heavy tax burden and so on. Under fascist dictatorship, heavy foreign borrowings have only served to deepen and aggravate the backward, agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy. The days of easy foreign loans have come to an end. There are no more loans to be had for graft-ridden and showy but nonproductive and anti-industrial projects that have come to mark the regime's development scheme.

For a number of years already, the fascist regime has been in dire economic and financial straits. The balance of payments, foreign trade and budgetary deficits have been rising and accumulating rapidly. The 1984 budget of the government is an unmitigated picture of absurdity, with debt service gobbling up about 20% and the military, about 15% of estimated expenditures.

Short of a revolutionary upheaval, only the US imperialists can remove their puppet Marcos. But the US imperialists, especially the Reagan ruling clique, are pleased with the rabid anticommunist and proimperialist policies of the Marcos fascist regime and are more interested in extracting immediate political, economic and military advantages for themselves than in anything else. So far, it is only in the US Congress where financial accommodations for the fascist regime are undergoing some rough sailing.

But the US and the world capitalist crisis is such that not even the Reagan administration can exempt the puppet regime from such crisis. The essential objective thrust of US economic policy is to shift the burden of the crisis of overproduction to developing countries like the Philippines. The fascist regime will reel from the economic crisis due to its puppetry, profligacy and corruption.

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

The fascist regime will try to quell the democratic mass movement through threats and acts of terror. But so long as you stand on just grounds, you will continue to win victories. The legal, nonviolent but militant democratic struggle in the white areas is an indispensable part of the overall struggle for national independence and democracy.

The unbridled brutality and rapacity of the fascist puppet dictatorship will only strengthen the revolutionary mass movement!

Message to the Congress for the Restoration of Democracy (CORD)

Fight for national independence and democracy!
Dismantle the US-Marcos fascist regime!
Long live the memory of Ninoy Aquino and all revolutionary martyrs!
Carry forward the national democratic revolution!
Long live the Filipino people!

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Draft Declaration for Democracy: Justice for Aquino, Justice for All Movement¹³

September 21, 1983

“Justice for Ninoy, Justice for All!” The call continues to resound in the hearts and minds of the entire Filipino people.

This is the battlecry that arose from the millions of people who directly participated in the Aquino funeral marches and services as well as the tens of millions of people in all parts of the country.

The Justice for Aquino, Justice for All Movement sprang among a people in grief yet defiant. And now we hereby formalize its organization to carry on the struggle for national freedom and democracy even more determinedly against foreign, fascist and feudal domination.

We are a broad movement of patriotic classes, parties, organizations, groups and individuals. We are workers, peasants, fishermen, national minorities, the unemployed and underemployed, students, teachers, other professionals, businessmen, religious and political leaders.

We vow to fight for the people’s sovereignty and the restoration or the establishment of democracy as peacefully as possible. We aim to dismantle the Marcos autocracy—a fascist dictatorship—which masquerades as a “new republic” and has oppressed and exploited the people for so long.

The treacherous and coldblooded murder of Ninoy is the full responsibility of this tyrannical regime. This regime is also accountable for so many despicable crimes against less prominent people in countless numbers in both urban and rural areas.

Justice for Aquino and justice for all can be accomplished only through the firm unity of the entire people and their militant struggle against the Marcos fascist regime and its foreign masters, the US imperialists.

Ninoy came home with reconciliation in his heart. But he was murdered. There can be no compromise with autocracy and puppetry. There can be reconciliation only on the ground of national

¹³ Draft proposed for adoption by JAJA.-Editor

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independence and democracy. Freedom is won by the people, not granted by a tyrant.

We shall not cease to fight for the following objectives until these are fully achieved by the people:

Political

1. The dismantling of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the resignation or ouster of Mr. Marcos, the Executive Committee, the entire cabinet, the AFP chief of staff, the commanding generals of the services and all overstaying generals of the Armed Forces of the Philippines;

2. The restoration of all basic democratic rights and the formation of a democratic transition or caretaker government headed by a committee of outstanding nonpartisan men and women of proven integrity and enjoying the confidence of all political parties and democratic organizations;

3. The scrapping of the Marcos (1973) constitution, especially its autocratic provisions, a return to the 1935 Constitution and the holding of general elections under this constitution;

4. The calling of a constitutional convention to write a new democratic constitution with safeguards against the misuse of martial law authority to install autocracy, against the unjust suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, against nonjudicial warrants of search and seizure of persons and properties, and against such oppressive laws as the Anti-Subversion and other fascist decrees.

5. The general amnesty and immediate release of all alleged political offenders, the restoration of the writ of habeas corpus and the right to bail, the abolition of nonjudicial warrants or orders of search and seizure of persons and properties, and the repeal of the Anti-Subversion Law and other oppressive laws as soon as the transition government assumes office;

6. The demilitarization of civilian functions, the termination of all offices, campaigns and operations which allow the military to inflict atrocities and abuses on the people and the rehabilitation and indemnification of all victims of fascism;

7. The termination of US political domination of the country through the dismantling of the US military bases and the repeal of all laws

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and decrees which give excessive privileges to US and other foreign multinational corporations and banks;

Economic

1. The emancipation of the economy from foreign monopoly control, restitution to the government and the people of the ill-gotten wealth of the fascist dictator and his cronies, and the promotion of national industrialization;

2. The achievement of genuine land reform, restitution to the peasants and national minorities of the lands grabbed by the fascists, and the promotion of labor exchange and production cooperatives among the peasants;

3. The protection of the trade union and democratic rights of workers, the improvement of the wage and living conditions of wage earners, countering inflation and depression, and creating permanent, sideline and transitional jobs for the unemployed and underemployed;

4. Promotion of the interests of Filipino businessmen along the line of national industrialization through protection, credit subsidies and joint state-private enterprises, especially in heavy and basic industries;

5. Cancellation of foreign loan obligations incurred by the fascist regime for wasteful and nonproductive purposes;

6. Expansion of economic relations with socialist and capitalist countries that are interested in assisting the Philippines to achieve industrial development through foreign loans and technology assistance at favorable terms, including low interest rates, fair pricing of supplies and payment for a portion of production or profits on an instalment plan;

7. Reduction of military expenditures in favor of genuine economic development and expansion of essential services, especially education, health and low-cost public housing.

Cultural

1. The liberation of the educational system and the mass media from fascist and imperialist control and propaganda, and the promotion of a national, scientific and democratic culture;

2. The promotion of the national language as the actual and principal medium of instruction, official communication and communication

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with the masses on a national scale, nondiscrimination against the local languages and dialects, and the cherishing of the national cultural heritage;

3. The upholding of the freedom of the press, the dissolution of the Marcos monopoly of the major mass media and the democratization of mass media ownership;

4. The promotion of academic freedom and other democratic rights of teachers, students, researchers in the social sciences, natural sciences and professional courses as well as of educational institutions;

5. The promotion of scientific and technological education, research and training to support nationalist industrialization and the modernization of agriculture;

6. The respect for the freedom of religious belief and practice, and the termination of persecution of the religious, especially in their social action and conscientization work;

7. The respect for the right to self-determination of the national minorities and special support for their all-round progress.

Foreign Relations

1. The prevention of US interference, intervention and aggression in support of the Marcos fascist regime or any future tyrannical regime in the Philippines; and close internationalist cooperation between the Filipino and the American peoples in opposing US imperialism and its fascist puppet regime;

2. The closest relations of mutual support with all countries and peoples which unselfishly give moral and material support to the Filipino people in their current struggle for national independence and democracy;

3. Adoption of an independent, neutral and nonaligned foreign policy towards the two superpowers; and diplomatic and trade relations with all countries on the basis of sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit;

4. Active participation in the struggle of the third world for independence and all-round development and for a new international economic order;

5. Dismantling of the US military bases and other related US installation, especially those for the storage and stockpiling of nuclear weapons; and cooperation with the Southeast Asian and Asian countries

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in the movement to make Southeast Asia a nuclear-free region and truly a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

We, the Justice for Aquino, Justice for All Movement, are determined to arouse, organize and mobilize the entire Filipino people for a vigorous, legal, peaceful and uncompromising struggle for the restoration/establishment of democracy and the dismantling of the fascist dictatorship.

We are determined to undertake sustained educational and organizational campaigns throughout the country at every level (regional, provincial, district, municipal, barangay and down to the sitio or neighborhood) both for strengthening JAJAM as a distinct organization, and for moving all the people to work for the same objectives that we are working for.

We must conduct public rallies and marches, indoor seminars and convocations, research and publications, photo exhibits and film shows, stage and other cultural presentations, broadcasts, the production of posters, stickers, placards, streamers, t-shirts, etc. for the purpose of exposing the despicable character of the tyrannical regime and calling on the people to fight for their own sovereignty and democratic rights until total victory is won.

The most powerful and militant and yet essentially peaceful and nonviolent mass mobilization that we must undertake shall be those widescale and nationwide campaigns of civil disobedience, involving days of protest characterized by boycotts, widespread rallies, converging marches, sound-off or sound barrage in every neighborhood, and all other forms of vigorously militant but essentially nonviolent actions.

We believe that by demonstrating peacefully and militantly the unity of the Filipino people against fascist tyranny and for democracy, the Marcos regime and its foreign supporter, the United States may yield to the sovereign will of the Filipino people.

But we cannot pin our hopes on this possibility. By firmly uniting, the entire Filipino people can open up all the effective ways of asserting their sovereignty and overthrowing the tyrannical US-Marcos regime.

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On the Struggle in Metro Manila¹⁴

September 24, 1983

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

The great victory lies essentially in the enlightenment, organization and mobilization of the broad masses of the people along the national democratic line. The current upsurge of mass struggle for national independence and democracy against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique continues to surpass the peak of the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

This great victory in the national capital region signals the rise of the national democratic movement to a new and higher stage all over the country. This great rising of the people starting from the Aquino funeral marches spells the certain doom of the Marcos fascist regime in the near future.

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

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

The fascists have been utterly unsuccessful in peddling their lies, especially about the Aquino assassination. They are now increasingly using brute force and the anticommunist line to suppress all democratic

¹⁴ Issued under the penname Patnubay Liwanag.-Editor

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forces. They are increasingly using bloody psywar tactics in an attempt to discredit and prohibit democratic mass actions. They continue to commit further acts of terror against the people.

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

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

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

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

The line of the revolutionary party of the proletariat concerning the democratic mass movement in the urban areas needs to be stated again and again. This has to be clarified in the face of the bloody intrigues of the enemy. The principal and essential character of the democratic mass movement in urban areas is legal and defensive. Only the fascist dictator can be so morally bankrupt as to put unarmed people into combat with fully armed and bloodthirsty fascists.

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

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

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

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

It is absurd for anyone, including the tyrant Marcos, to make people believe that revolutionaries and unarmed people would seek unequal combat with armed fascists concentrated at Mendiola Street. It is obvious that armed fascist agents masquerading as demonstrators have twice misled spontaneous elements into a trap last August 31 and then September 21.

In politico-military terms, what is worthwhile doing by revolutionaries through Party branches, defense committees and city partisan teams is to conduct an underground mass campaign of countersurveillance against the enemy in order to distinguish the diehard fascists from those who are not, seek ways to persuade the latter to take the people's side and prepare for the proper time when the diehard fascists ought to be arrested and disarmed in their houses, in the streets and even in their barracks.

Because of the rising just anger of the people and the brutal measures of the enemy to suppress their democratic rights, it would not

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be surprising though if various armed groups that are noncommunist would disarm military and police personnel on any day when these are dispersed and not when concentrated against popular demonstrations.

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

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

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

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

November 5, 1983

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Nationalist Alliance has put forward a program of action that is acceptable to the broadest possible alliance of democratic forces and

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that can raise the democratic struggle to a new level. The program deals with the most important issues in the fields of politics, economy, culture and foreign relations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The political and economic crisis of the ruling system has worsened to a point that the broad masses of the people are eager to fight for

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their liberation and sweep away the fascist dictatorship. In contrast to the arrogant posture and the brutal and violent ways of the autocrat and his fascist minions, the leadership of the various democratic forces are responsibly building up the organized strength of the people and developing the most effective ways of removing Marcos from power.

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

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

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

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

The US and the world capitalist crisis is such that the Reagan administration cannot save the Marcos puppet regime from the economic disaster into which this regime has plunged. The essential objective thrust of US economic policy is to shift the burden of the crisis of overproduction to underdeveloped countries like the Philippines. The fascist regime will continue to reel from the economic disaster due to its puppetry, profligacy and corruption.

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

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

The unbridled brutality and rapacity of the fascist puppet dictatorship will only strengthen the revolutionary mass movement!

Fight for national freedom and democracy!

Dismantle the US-Marcos fascist regime!

Long live the memory of all revolutionary martyrs!

Carry forward the national democratic revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

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Message to the UP Student Council and UP Students in General

December 5, 1983

I wish to express my sincerest greetings and congratulations to the UP Student Council and UP students in general for observing human rights week this year with a series of meaningful activities.

It is with a deep sense of gratitude that I do so, especially because I am a political prisoner. I am aware that one of the major demands that the student council and the students are making is the release of all political prisoners and the proclamation of general amnesty.

This demand is, of course, linked to the comprehensive struggle for national liberation and democracy against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. The liberation of the entire nation and people from foreign domination is the best condition for the release of all political prisoners.

Even as the democratic forces must make immediate demands, such as for example the proclamation of general amnesty or an end to the practice of torture and summary execution or respect for due process, they must not lose sight of the strategic objectives of the long-term struggle. All democratic forces must press for the fundamental and higher demands even as they press for immediately realizable demands.

The end of the puppetry to US imperialism and the dismantling of the autocracy must be sought even as immediate demands are made for the restoration of the writ of habeas corpus and the right to bail, the repeal of certain oppressive decrees, the release of all political prisoners, the cessation of barbaric campaigns and atrocities of the fascist military and so on.

The exceedingly favorable objective conditions are the fruit of resolute and relentless efforts by revolutionary forces. The revolutionary party of the proletariat, the people's army and the united front of democratic forces have accumulated strength through the years.

It is gratifying to observe that the UP Student Council and UP students have maintained an outstanding role in the struggle for national democracy. I urge you to surpass all your previous efforts at uniting

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and militating the various campus organizations and the unorganized students of Diliman, in cooperating with the student councils and students of other campuses of the university system, in linking up with the student governments and the student masses in Metro Manila and the rest of the country and in conjoining with other people's organizations, such as those of workers, peasants, youth, women, teachers, other professionals and so on.

In keeping with your observance of human rights week, I propose that the UPSC commission the compilation of the accounts of the struggle and sacrifices made by the UP students and alumni martyred by the fascists and/or have died for the revolutionary cause. The point is to stress the justness of the struggle and inspire the UP students to carry the struggle forward.

An album of UP martyrs that includes Ricardo Alcantara, Benigno Aquino, Jr., Ma. Lorena Barros, Ellecer Cortes, Bobby de la Paz, Juan Escandor, Enrique Voltaire Garcia II, Mel Glor, Claro Lansang, Antero Santos, Antonio and Crispin Tagamolila, Carlos Tayag, Emmanuel Yap and so many others can give honor to the university. It is a shame that the fascist dictator and others responsible for the tyranny and corruption in the land are officially considered the most outstanding alumni of the university.

The fascist puppet dictatorship is wobbling towards its doom. The national democratic movement is forging ahead towards a bright future.

Long live the UP Student Council!

Unite and fight for national liberation and democracy!

Down with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Long live the UP students!

Long live the Filipino people!

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Tribute to Comrade Felixberto Olalia

December 6, 1983

My family and I share with the Filipino people, the working class and the Olalia family the profoundest grief over the passing away of Comrade Felixberto S. Olalia—a great patriot, an outstanding son of the working class and a genuine proletarian revolutionary fighter.

The fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique has cut short the life of one more political prisoner on temporary release. I am aware that Ka Bert's rheumatic heart ailment became virulent and complicated when he was placed in solitary confinement without beddings and he had to lie on the cold cement floor.

There was no consideration of his advanced age and frail health just as his political and civil rights were trampled upon. Such is the cruelty of the autocratic regime that knows no bounds for its greed and bloodthirst.

I am sure that Ka Bert himself belittled his last sacrifice that included excruciating pain and a medical operation. He had known so many sacrifices before, including two imprisonments. He was always ready to face the risks and suffer in order to fight for the rights of the proletariat and the people.

Ka Bert was a close comrade in arms of mine. Since 1963, we had personally known each other, worked together and fought together for the national and democratic interests and socialist future of the Filipino proletariat and people.

We were together as officers in the Lapiang Manggagawa (1963-66), the Socialist Party of the Philippines (1966-1969) and the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (1966-68).

The National Federation of Labor and the Malayang Samahan ng mga Magsasaka, both of which he was the president, worked closely and fruitfully with Kabataang Makabayan.

Ka Bert was always ready and enthusiastic to support and participate in efforts to set the correct proletarian revolutionary line and build the genuine party of the proletariat. We fought together to smash and defeat Lavaite revisionism and patriarchalism. We did so victoriously.

I am proud to say that Ka Bert was one of my mentors. He transmitted to me facts and lessons from his experience as a young worker and

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trade union leader in a shoe and slipper factory, his close association with Comrade Crisanto Evangelista, his record as cadre in the party of the proletariat, his record as a guerrilla leader against the Japanese fascists, his principled disputes with the Lavas and his perseverance as a trade union leader up to the time that we came to know each other.

The one personal characteristic of Ka Bert that I have always admired most is his ability to rise from dire circumstances and develop his leadership through principled and militant struggle. For instance, he had little formal education but by virtue of his revolutionary training and self-education, he was able to master the labor laws of the country so much so that he could handle and argue labor cases better than a lawyer.

The eminence that Ka Bert attained, as chairman of the Kilusang Mayo Uno and the Pagkakaisa ng mga Manggagawa sa Pilipinas and as co-chairman of the National Coalition for the Protection of Workers Rights, was achieved through a firm commitment to the revolutionary interests of the proletariat and through conscientious and militant effort with the workers at various levels of the struggle.

The six-decade experience of Ka Bert in the working class movement is a rich mine and a significant part of the history of the Filipino proletariat and people. His achievements are an organic part of the growing victories of the entire Filipino people.

Comrade Felixberto S. Olalia will always live in the hearts and minds of the Filipino people because he was selfless in serving them and in making sacrifices. He has set a brilliant example. And he will continue to inspire the present generation and future ones.

In the final analysis, our grief is surpassed by a happy recognition of Comrade Olalia's great achievements. The current unprecedented upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement is a fitting tribute to a great leader of the working class movement like Comrade Olalia.

I am happy to know that he was aware of the accelerated rise of the revolutionary movement before he went to join Comrade Crisanto Evangelista and other revolutionary leaders and that his last words for those who would succeed him were "huwag kayong mabibigo," for them to forge further on until final victory. Many more revolutionary victories will be won to honor our departed heroes like Comrade Felixberto S. Olalia.



Intensify the Struggle for National Democracy and Consolidate the League of Filipino Students

December 7, 1983

I am profoundly pleased and greatly honored by your invitation to keynote the Fifth National Congress of the most politically conscious and most militant national student organization fighting for national liberation and democracy in the country today.

The League of Filipino Students has earned a significant place in the history of the Filipino student movement as well as in that of the Filipino people by devoting itself to the struggle for national democracy. I therefore salute and congratulate all of you, the present and past officers and members of LFS.

Your achievements have been won through hard work and selfless sacrifice. These are brilliant achievements precisely because they have been won against the tremendous odds posed by the present fascist puppet dictatorship which so far has been the most violent, most deceptive and worst outgrowth of the moribund semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

You have established a sound basis for the further growth and advance of the student movement along the national democratic line. You are carrying on the great patriotic tradition of the Filipino youth from the old to the new democratic stages of the Philippine revolution.

I am confident that you will continue to make greater contributions to the eventual victory of the people against the evil forces of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, all of which now have their concentrated expression in the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

Conditions for Advancing the Struggle Are Excellent

The conditions for advancing the struggle for national democracy are excellent. The political and economic crisis of the ruling system continues to worsen and deepen. The people suffer extreme oppression and exploitation. But they are rising resolutely and vigorously as

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never before and are successfully waging all forms of revolutionary struggle.

The fascist counterrevolution has failed to suppress the revolutionary armed struggle but has only served to push its nationwide expansion and intensification. US imperialism and its fascist puppet have instituted an open rule of terror and have wantonly violated the national and democratic rights of the people, plundered the country and sunk it into grave foreign indebtedness and bankruptcy. As a consequence, they are rapidly losing control over the resultant social unrest.

The party of the proletariat, the people's army and the broad united front of all patriotic and progressive forces have been growing in strength and winning victories at an accelerating rate and on a nationwide scale. Both the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic mass movement are on the upsurge.

The stage of strategic defensive in the people's war is maturing and is about to pass on to the stage of strategic stalemate. Soon, the people's army will attain the capability to launch tactical offensives in the majority of Philippine municipalities and cities.

The party of the proletariat has brilliantly developed the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, won over such middle forces as the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, and taken advantage of the contradictions within the reactionary classes of the big compradors and landlords in order to isolate and destroy the US-Marcos combine.

US imperialism is alarmed by the rapid advance of the revolutionary mass movement in both urban and rural areas and is frantically seeking to stabilize the fascist puppet regime by ordering it to simultaneously make pretenses at democracy through petty concessions to its rival politicians within the reactionary classes and to escalate campaigns of terror against the people in the name of anticommunism and counterinsurgency.

The US is encouraging the Marcos fascist gang to frustrate the hopes of the legal opposition in the forthcoming local and presidential sham elections. Under the cover of counterinsurgency, preparations for electoral fraud and terrorism are under way to keep the Marcos monopoly of political power intact.

The US scheme is bound to fail. As the Marcos fascist clique continues to entrench itself in power and multiply its bloody crimes, the broad masses of the people have no recourse but to further expand

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and intensify the revolutionary armed struggle. The advance of the armed revolution will be hastened if Marcos or his surrogate is again foisted on the people beyond 1987.

Within the present social system, there is no solution in sight for the ever worsening economic crisis. The measures for economic recovery being drummed up by the US and the fascists merely aggravate the deleterious effects of the anti-industrial, pseudodevelopment policy imposed by imperialist banks and multinational corporations.

There can be no economic recovery resulting from the further straining of the country's dependence on export-oriented agriculture; the shunning of industrialization and favoring of imported manufactures; begging for more foreign loans to cover deficits; repeated devaluation and depreciation of the currency; increase of the tax burden of the people; depressing of wages; obscuring of the need for land reform; and so on.

The US imperialists and the fascists know no limits to their blood-sucking operations. The Philippine economy has been laid prostrate. But they have become even more ruthless in despoiling it.

As the economic crisis worsens, the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie enthusiastically join the national democratic movement. They can see no solution to the crisis but the casting away of the semicolonial and semifeudal fetters and the realization of the national democratic program.

The persistence of fascist tyranny and the ceaseless deterioration of the economy fan the flames of the revolutionary armed struggle and spell the doom of the ruling system and the total victory of the people against their oppressors and their exploiters.

Intensify the Struggle for National Democracy

There is an acute need to intensify the struggle for national democracy in the face of the escalating oppression and exploitation of the people. The masses of students at the college and high school levels have a major role to play in the struggle.

In accordance with its particular character, the LFS must first of all arouse, organize and mobilize the student masses. It must also develop common understanding and cooperation with other constituents of the school, such as the teachers and nonacademic personnel, as well as with the families of students.

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Further on, students must link themselves with the entire people. After all, the basic problems of students cannot be solved in isolation from those of the entire people. The struggle for a national, scientific and mass culture cannot move forward outside of the people's comprehensive struggle for national democracy.

The LFS must raise the level of political consciousness and militancy among the student masses by taking up issues involving the national and democratic rights of the entire people.

At the moment, there are such urgent issues as the misorientation of subjects, study materials and entire programs or courses of study to pro-imperialist, fascist and other reactionary trends; military regimentation through the national service law; enemy surveillance, blacklisting and brutal repression of students; suppression of student governments and publications; and so on. All these must be taken up within the context of the national democratic struggle.

In taking up issues, the LFS must undertake mass protest actions, convocations, seminars, publications, cultural performances, exhibits and other means which involve the enlightenment and active participation of the student masses.

The LFS must be able to work closely with student governments and official student publications. It must engage in alliances and cooperative activities with all types of student organizations as well as other campus organizations; and must attract students who are not yet organized.

The greater the number of students that can be mobilized under the banner of the LFS in connection with campus issues, the greater the number of them ready to participate in off-campus mass actions dealing with issues pertaining to the toiling masses and the rest of the people.

However, there is no rigid rule regarding what issues to take up first. There is no rule saying that the students cannot immediately and directly act on national issues which ultimately affect them. There are many times when they must pour out into the streets in order to speak out and act on issues that seem not to involve them as students but which in fact involve them as these involve everyone of the people irrespective of class, sector or organization.

The students have certain advantages as far as the work of intensifying the struggle for national democracy is concerned. They have more time and opportunity than any other sector to study and articulate

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social problems and solutions because they are concentrated in schools. They can easily achieve common understanding and engage in mass actions on and off campus together with the rest of the people.

At the same time, the students can fan out to various neighborhoods, barrios, towns and provinces in order to spread the principles of the national democratic revolution and engage in various types of activities guided by these principles.

Student activists have played a key role in promoting the national democratic movement on a nationwide scale. Many of them have so remolded their thinking and gone deep among the masses of workers and peasants that they have become cadres of the revolutionary party. For example, the most advanced elements of Kabataang Makabayan have gone on to become proletarian revolutionary cadres.

The students constitute a sector that has the facility to understand the basic problems of the present society. Most of them come from the petty bourgeoisie, now adversely affected by the social crisis and in danger of falling to the status of proletarians. As a consequence, they tend to join the revolutionary cause of the workers and peasants, swing the entire petty bourgeoisie to that cause and encourage the middle bourgeoisie to amplify its patriotic and progressive aspect.

Consolidate the League of Filipino Students

The LFS must consolidate its ranks ideologically, politically and organizationally. It is by consolidating itself that the LFS improves its position to intensify the struggle for national democracy.

This congress that you are holding now is a means of consolidation. You sum up, analyze and learn from your experience; and set forth new tasks for the growth and advance of your organization in the national democratic struggle. At every level, from the national down to the local chapter, you can likewise perform the same act of consolidation.

As regards ideological consolidation, the LFS must make sure through its chapters that every member gets a basic education on the LFS declaration of principles, program of action and constitution; and on the national democratic program as it pertains to the student masses as well as to the entire people.

Old members should serve as instructors of new members in seminars. Every member should not only understand the basic principles

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of the national democratic movement but should learn to apply and articulate these principles in concrete circumstances.

All members who have taken the basic course on the student movement and the comprehensive national democratic movement must take higher or special courses organized either by the LFS or other national democratic organizations and alliances. All members, whether as individuals or in groups, should be further encouraged to read and study certain materials which can raise their grasp of revolutionary theory.

The capability of members to serve as seminar and as rally speakers must be developed. Special educational and cultural talents such as writing, acting, painting, singing, playing musical instruments, etc. must also be encouraged, developed and correctly oriented.

Members can be formed into teams for social investigation and mass work (including service and integration) in factories, urban and rural communities and professional groups. During extended vacations, study and training camps may also be organized all over the country. All these activities can deepen the commitment of LFS members to the struggle for national democracy and enable them to discover what best they can do to serve the people.

As regards political consolidation, there must be a periodic check up as well as assessment of the political work of every chapter, its officers and members. Collective and individual responsibilities in political work must be assigned and results must be evaluated. The comprehensive national democratic line must be promoted among all students. Specific issues must be promptly taken up. The means and methods of mobilizing the student masses must be increased and improved on.

Every member must be required to bring with him a certain number of prospective recruits or sympathizers to mass activities in which LFS opts to participate and bring the largest possible number of students. Every member must strive to lead at least a squad of at least ten prospective recruits or sympathizers, especially in major mass actions.

The performance of officers and members assigned to do alliance work on and off campus must be checked up on a periodic and timely basis. The LFS must always see to it that its allies are increasing rather than decreasing. The success of alliance work must be confirmed by the increasing number of students and other people in mass mobilizations.

Intensify the Struggle for National Democracy and Consolidate the LFS

LFS must make an accounting of the number of spontaneous student participants in its mass activities. The reasons for the increase, stagnation or decrease in the number of such participants must be sought so that appropriate measures can be adopted.

As regards organizational consolidation, all members must acquire basic organizational skills. Every member must fulfil the obligation of recruiting a certain minimum number of fellow students over a certain period; and must be encouraged to overfulfil this obligation in accordance with ability.

Organizational consolidation should not be taken to mean the reduction of membership but the upgrading of the ability and capability of the organization and its members to expand the membership. All members must go through sessions or meetings stressing their recruitment tasks, rating their performance and learning correct methods of recruitment.

The LFS must develop a bigger number of devoted and capable leaders to be able to lead its existing chapters more effectively as well as to create new ones. More initiative must be taken to cover all colleges and universities and even high schools in the country.

A great number of leaders can be produced only if there is a greater number of chapters and members that never cease to raise the level of their consciousness and militancy along the national democratic line.

There is no absolute separation between consolidation and expansion. One is possible because of the other. When one is being stressed at one time, the other does not stop but even proceeds better than before. And there is a spiraling process of one causing the rise of the other.

I hope that in striving to consolidate, you will raise the ideological, political and organizational capabilities of all your members and you will expand the LFS, thereby making it a larger and stronger organization.

I wish you all the success in your congress and in the work that will follow. I am sure that you will be able to raise the revolutionary spirit and struggle of the student masses and that you will continue to play a major role in defeating the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and bringing about the victory of the national democratic revolution.

Long live the League of Filipino Students!

Detention and Defiance against Dictatorship

Unite to overthrow the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Carry forward the national democratic revolution!

Long live the Filipino students!

Long live the Filipino people!

★ ★ ★

Whitewash at Foggy Bottom (A Comment on the Human Rights Report of the US State Department)¹⁵

December 10, 1983

The human rights report of the US State Department on the Philippines dated February 1983 is more of a whitewash of the Marcos fascist dictatorship than anything else. No wonder the Marcos propagandists have been jubilant about it.

There are some statements critical of some glaring human rights violations under the Marcos regime but these are daintily made and often ascribed to other sources. Worse, these statements are used to sugarcoat the general tendency or main thrust to make the Marcos regime look better than it is.

The bias of the report reflects the line of the Reagan administration that the fascist regime is “an adherent of democratic principles and processes” and “a voice of reason and moderation”; and is making “progress” in conforming to human rights.

I would not be surprised if the report was prepared in consultation with officials of the Marcos regime in keeping with current US policy of avoiding public criticism of US satellite regimes, especially on the human rights issue.

The very opening paragraph of the report affirms and repeats the Marcos regime’s self-description as a “modified parliamentary system with a strong president.” This trick of deception is a worn-out one overused by Marcos himself during his recent US visit to deflect attention from the fact that his rule is an autocracy and that his “modified parliament” is nothing but a rubber-stamp.

The imperialist descendants of Jefferson in the US State Department have obviously lost all sense of liberal democracy and even the pretense at it. Despite the formal lifting of martial law in 1981, the Marcos autocracy has continued to exist, with supreme and unlimited

¹⁵ Reproduced and distributed to leaders of progressive forces and to the media by the Free Jose Ma. Sison Committee.-Editor

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executive, legislative and judicial power still concentrated on the despot.

Still in force and effect are the autocratic interpretation of the martial law provisions: on arrests and seizures by mere executive order, unlimited legislative powers of one person under the transitory provision and Amendment 6, presidential nonaccountability and immunity shared with his agents, the monopoly on the electoral process, the Public Order Act, the National Security Act and so on.

All the autocratic and antidemocratic arrogations of Marcos under martial law are intact, undiminished and constitutionalized. Under these, the most brutal and vicious violations of human rights continue to be perpetrated. Absurdly, the US State Department chooses only to see some symptoms of the fatal disease and imagine a downward fluctuation of human rights abuses from 1981 to 1982.

The most fundamental character of the Marcos regime is that it is a fascist puppet dictatorship, a regime of open terror by the narrowest and most reactionary clique of big compradors and big landlords in the service of US imperialism. Thus, it has been precise for all democratic forces in the Philippines to call it the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique.

Of course, we cannot really expect a report of the US State Department to refer to the subversive subservience of Marcos to the US. The report cannot even identify an autocracy in simple liberal democratic terms simply because this one has been useful to the US. The Marcos regime is not even directly called to account for its presumed responsibility of upholding and respecting human rights.

Instead, the report blames first of all the revolutionary organizations for supposedly employing “terrorist tactics”—antipeople and counter-revolutionary acts like murder, bombings, extortion and robbery. Those who prepared the report seem not to know that the fascists have been repeatedly exposed on a wide scale by victims and direct witnesses as the perpetrators of terrorist acts.

The imperialists and their fascist puppets seem never to realize that it is they who strike out blindly against the people, while the armed revolutionaries are on the side of the oppressed and exploited people and are very precise in picking out targets for their tactical offensives. No guerrilla force can survive against the oversized Marcos armed forces by committing terrorist acts.

The New People's Army led by the Communist Party of the Philippines has grown rapidly in recent years. This would not have been possible without the deep-going and all-round support of the people; and the intensification of oppression and exploitation by the imperialists and their fascist puppets.

The report unwittingly lets a big fat cat out of the bag. It confirms that the fascist regime has been stepping up its "military, economic and political counterefforts" against the New People's Army. Note that this is the first mention of the military. During his US visit, Marcos had secret talks and agreements with the US Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency regarding "modernization" of the Philippine military and "counterinsurgency."

Right now, a US-inspired "Operation Katatagan" is being carried out, with the main objective of "destroying the political infrastructure" of the NPA. This scheme is patterned after the CIA-designed "Operation Phoenix" which merely served to further inflame the Vietnam war during the 1960s. It was basically a campaign of "kill, loot and burn" to punish the people for supporting the revolutionaries.

Violations of human rights have increased and expanded, especially during the latter part of 1982, upon the fascists' escalation of military operations in practically all regions. The report does not take into full account the well-documented reports on massacres, summary executions, tortures, the forced mass evacuations and relocation of entire villages, fake mass surrenders and arbitrary arrests and detention.

The killing of suspects from guerrilla zones as well as captives in military encounters is rampant. There is obviously a policy to reduce the number of political prisoners on official record to squelch the evidence of torture and save on prison expenses. Another method for minimizing the number of political prisoners is their dispersal in military and civilian prisons and their being charged with common crimes, when they are brought at all to the courts.

The main assertion of the report is that there has been "a gradual improvement of the civil liberties situation." The principal device used by the report to paint a rosy picture of the Marcos regime is to project the views and posturings of the Marcos regime and make statements flattering to Marcos.

The report muddles the problem of fascist military and paramilitary atrocities by stating that most of these are anyway committed in "insurgency areas" and that it is difficult to determine the responsibility

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because supposedly the use of violence for political or personal reasons is not unusual in the Philippines and because the “insurgents” are also supposedly responsible for some killings.

Marcos is praised for speaking out repeatedly against military abuses. But in fact, he delivered in 1982 the most vicious speeches since 1972 defending his military minions, accusing their victims of abusing them with taunts and threats of being physically exterminated. Recall the savage speeches Marcos made before the military in Bicutan.

Marcos did not only talk savagely. He ordered repressive acts (raids and seizures of persons and property) against the main organizations of labor, the church workers and social action centers of the Catholic church, the minuscule tokens of an independent press and other peaceful sectors of society. Even the summary execution of scores of suspected thieves by “secret marshals” was calculated to intimidate the opposition and prove the brutal power of a big gangster.

The minister of national defense is cited for conducting investigations into certain cases of military abuses, like the Bulacan and Sag-od massacres and the De la Paz murder. But the report clearly pretends not to know the well-known results of these investigations. All these ended in whitewash and insults against the dead victims and their families.

Task Force Detainees is a religious organization which has assiduously worked to document the increasing cases of fascist abuses and atrocities. The main sources of its data are direct witnesses, surviving victims, the families of dead victims and the people at large. But the report manages to make a snide remark against the TFDP as one “often taking a political position opposite to the government.”

Civil rights groups are begrudged for declaring that there are political detainees in the Philippines and for including suspected communists under said category. Those who prepared the US State Department report are either abysmally ignorant of distinctions among prisoners of conscience, political prisoners and common prisoners or maliciously in agreement with the futile Marcos attempt to confuse the distinction between those accused of political crimes (subversion, rebellion, etc.) and those accused of common crimes (murder, robbery, etc.)

At one point the report acknowledges the increase of torture charges against the fascist military. However, the 1982 figures used are not complete. But more prominently the report simply echoes the Marcos line that charges of torture are false and are being used as a legal

tactic; that no prisoner is being held in solitary confinement, except during tactical interrogations; and that all “public order violators” are better treated than common criminals in prison.

Consistent with its line of pleasing and flattering Marcos, the report makes no stand when it refers to the Marcos letter of instruction allowing his military commanders to make arrests and seizures without any warrant and detain persons under a presidential commitment order and even before one is issued. The presidential commitment order is even a far more brutal device than the old arrest, search and seizure order.

The report fails to observe that detaining suspects and depriving them of access to legal counsel is in itself a brutal violation of human rights and is a cover for the commission of physical and psychological tortures. Political detainees are deprived of access to legal counsel not only for weeks but for several months in many cases.

As the Marcos regime does, the report prefers to treat cases of civilians still pending before military commission as “left-over cases” rather than as “stake-out” cases possibly for another wholesale delivery of civil cases to the fascist autocrat’s military-judicial authority. In fact, cases of policemen have been placed under military courts recently.

Anyhow, even if the cases of civilians were transferred from the military commissions to the civil courts, the Marcos fascist dictatorship has so tightened its grip on the latter by virtue of the judicial reorganization law that practically nothing is gained from the transfer of cases.

The report manages to flatter the Marcos regime for providing refuge and asylum to a few thousands of Vietnamese refugees, especially with funding from international organizations, but fails to mention the fact that protracted military campaigns of the AFP have dispossessed and turned more than three million Filipinos into refugees and forced 300,000 Moros to flee to Sabah.

The millions of Filipino refugees also need the aid of international organizations. So far, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia and some international Muslim organizations have been assisting the Moro refugees in Sabah. Malaysia resents the Marcos policy of oppressing the Muslim and forcing them to flee to Sabah. Thus, the holding of an ASEAN summit has been frustrated several times.

1982 marks a full decade of fascist terror in the Philippines and it is relevant to cite for the decade outstanding summary facts, like the huge accumulated number of Filipino and Moro refugees; the arbitrary arrest and detention of at least 70,000 persons on official record alone; and

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a civilian casualty toll of more than 100,000, including 60,000 killed in one-sided fascist atrocities. However, the report prefers to give a bright picture of the Marcos regime from 1981 to 1982.

The report claims that until December 1982 controls on the press had been further relaxed. But even before the *We Forum* was smashed and the independent-minded journalists in some other publications were subjected to military inquisition, the so-called Philippine press had been overwhelmingly controlled and owned by the relatives and cronies of Marcos.

Publications outside of the Marcos press monopoly are limited to a small number of copies and their publishers and journalists are under the constant threat of confiscation and punishment. The number of copies of the few independent publications amounts to only a fraction of 1% of the number of copies of the Marcos-controlled publications. The actual circulation of the independent publications—especially the underground ones—is wide only because the people keep passing on the few copies among themselves.

The report claims that freedom of speech has been exercised more assertively and that there has been greater freedom of assembly, encouraging political activity on the part of the opposition. These are not achievements of the Marcos regime but those of the people and the leaders of the opposition who dare to fight the fascist regime despite the odds. Otherwise, Reagan might as well thank the Kremlin too for providing incentives to the Soviet dissenters.

The report obfuscates the consistent attempts of the Marcos regime to silence the people and even the opposition forces in the urban areas. Long before the big crackdown on the Kilusang Mayo Uno last August, labor had been subjected to so many antilabor laws, deprivations of basic trade union and other democratic rights and outright physical harm, including killings and serious injuries at the picket lines.

And yet the report has the gumption to state that the Marcos regime tolerates even “illegal strikes.” The truth is that the workers are resourceful in fighting for their rights and interests. With ill-concealed satisfaction over the crackdown on KMU, the report observes falsely that certain labor federations under the KMU are affiliates of the World Federation of Trade Unions, when in fact most of those mentioned are not.

Certainly, the UNIDO is not enjoying any freedom for which they can thank Marcos. The UNIDO leaders have been bullied, threatened,

harassed, detained, and deprived of basic democratic rights. Every antidemocratic maneuver is used to prevent the UNIDO from having a fair chance or share in electoral matters.

At the whim of local fascist officials, or upon orders from above, the UNIDO has been deprived of rally permits like other democratic organizations. No less than the captive Supreme Court supported the fascists in preventing the KMU from holding an open-air mass rally on May 1, 1982.

It is utterly preposterous of the report to state that “many observers of varied political views” consider the May 1982 barangay elections as fair. Under the guise of making these elections nonpartisan, the fascist regime handpicked the candidates and winners in more than 90% of the barangays. Incidentally, the Comelec is also “nonpartisan” but in fact it is a complete tool of the fascist dictatorship.

In its own style, the report repeats the line that the Marcos regime is fighting only a few “subversives” in the Catholic Church and not the entire Church. But several months before issuance of the report, it was already clear that no less than the Catholic Bishops’ conference was firmly resisting the attempt of the fascists to turn it into a police agent against the progressive clergy and was thoroughly disgusted with the bullying and grandstanding tactics of the military side in the Church-Military Liaison Committee. The insults to the entire church became so unbearable especially because these capped the arrests of church workers, confiscation of church property, the assassination of a priest and the obvious psychological torture of another priest for several months in order to break his will and humiliate him.

Thus, the committee was dissolved upon the initiative of the bishops and the latter became determined to issue a pastoral letter pointing to the root causes of poverty, injustice and violence. This is the whole church responding to the accusations of Marcos and his military agents that evils within and of the Church have bred the so-called religious radicals.

Of course the fascist dictatorship wants for its own ends the collaboration of the church. As a matter of fact, it is willing to give money and other concessions to subordinate the social action efforts of the church to the state. And definitely, the fascists detest and want to stop the growing trend in the very mainstream of the Catholic clergy and laity to denounce the unjust social structures and the political, economic, decadent cultural and other excesses of the fascist dictatorship.

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The report correctly identifies the Philippines as a predominantly agricultural country, heavily dependent on the export of coconut oil, sugar, forest products and copper concentrates. But it erroneously claims that the country has a “growing industrial sector.” The anti-industrial policies of the US-Marcos regime have deepened and aggravated the backward agrarian character of the economy during the last ten years of fascist rule. The Marcos land reform has been a big hoax too.

The report makes a big joke by echoing the claim of the fascist dictatorship that only 41% of the population is below the absolute poverty line. That sounds a bit more credible than the silly 4% unemployment figure of Marcos. But in view of the massive unemployment and soaring inflation, not only 80% but at least 90% have already fallen below the poverty line. The lower and middle strata of what used to be called the middle class are now living a life of want and misery.

The report has absolutely nothing to say against or simply about the socioeconomic functions of the new oligarchy of fascist bureaucrat-comprador-landlords. Unless it is ready to take another retinue, US imperialism protects the prestige of its dutiful servants, no matter how greedy and corrupt these are.

At least under the Reagan administration, the US is not yet easing or kicking Marcos out although his regime is already so economically and financially helpless that the US can easily order him to at least step back from his autocracy. But apparently, the US considers that a tin-horn dictator like Marcos is still more useful than harmful to its long-term interest.

The report of the US State Department is one more document that misinforms the American people and the US Congress regarding the real situation in the Philippines. This kind of report can only encourage the Marcos fascist dictatorship to further violate the human rights of the Filipino people.

At any rate, the revolutionary initiative of the Filipino people is daily increasing and winning more and more victories, as the political and economic crisis is rapidly worsening. The successful efforts of the people at completing the struggle for national independence and democracy will finally consign the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique to the dungheap of history.



Message to the Kongreso ng Mamamayang Pilipino (KOMPIL)

January 8, 1984

I am honored and grateful for the opportunity to express my warmest greetings to the delegates of this assembly—Ang Kongreso ng Mamamayang Pilipino.

You cannot imagine how much I want to be with you today and participate in your deliberations. But you can be sure that in spirit and common purpose, I am completely with you—in firm solidarity with you in all your patriotic efforts.

Although I am in solitary confinement, I do not think and feel that I am alone. I am with you in our militant struggle and try to do the best I can to help advance this struggle for freedom, justice and democracy.

The mass actions since August 21 have been unprecedented in magnitude, scope and intensity. These have been exceedingly enlightening and inspiring and have given me the confidence that in person I will be with you in the near future unless the fascist brutes do something foul, as they did in the case of Ninoy Aquino and so many others of our compatriots.

However, I consider lightly whatever will happen to me in my imprisonment under maximum security conditions. The most important thing is that the broad masses of the Filipino people are marching forward and will certainly win victory against tyranny and reestablish democracy at a higher level than any time before the 1972 Marcos coup. Great victories can be won only with a certain amount of suffering and sacrifice. Among this is the death of patriots and heroes like Ninoy Aquino and so many others.

I congratulate all of you for having successfully worked for the powerful upsurge of the people's democratic struggle during the last few months and for holding this congress in order to consolidate the gains of the struggle, to raise our resolute efforts to a new and higher level, and to win still greater victories.

Our common purpose and minimum basis of unity is to assert the people's sovereignty and their democratic rights, and to fight the Marcos fascist dictatorship until total victory is won. This despotism

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which we must defeat is the most brutal and most corrupt in our history, but it is, also, a creature of a foreign power, US imperialism. This power persists in propping up the dictatorship.

I hope that Kompil can define the broadest possible parameters of unity for the entire Filipino people to advance the cause of national freedom and democracy. Kompil must adopt principles, policies and tasks that reflect the essential needs and aspirations of all patriotic and progressive classes, parties, groups and individuals in the country.

Our united front should include the workers, peasants, farm workers, fishermen, national minorities, students and all the youth, women, teachers, lawyers, engineers, scientists, artists and writers, other professionals, businessmen, enlightened gentry, religious, and civic and political leaders. Differences in ideology, religious beliefs and party affiliations should not prevent common understanding and united action against tyranny.

Against the ultrarightist Marcos puppet clique, there can be a broad combination of the forces of the Left, Center and Right. Within this broad united front, the independence and initiative of all participating entities, in sharp contrast to the rigid antidemocratic monopoly of political power by the fascist gangsters, can be maintained.

In developing the united front, we must draw the largest mass support from the toiling masses of workers and peasants, link them with the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, and utilize to the people's advantage the conflicts among the big compradors and landlords in order to isolate and defeat the US-backed Marcos clique.

Three Urgent Questions

I understand from your primer that Kompil seeks to address three urgent questions. I take this opportunity to give my opinion on these questions. Thus, I am practically participating in this congress like a delegate among you.

Should the Marcos-resign movement continue? This question can be considered wisely if the point is to replace the demand for resignation with the call for the ouster of the fascist dictator and his entire clique. This would be quite an advance because many people think that the demand for resignation carries certain implications, such as recognizing the legitimacy of the fascist regime and its constitution and depending on the volition of the tyrant for a change of government.

However, if there are still some of us who prefer to demand resignation, I believe that they are entitled to do so and still be in the united front, provided that resignation is explicitly meant to lead to the immediate dissolution of the fascist dictatorship and rejection of its constitution. After all, Marcos and company will not resign from their de facto rule unless they are effectively forced by the people to do so. The resignation of this fascist clique will depend on the effective power of the people to oust the despot.

The demand for resignation is less assertive than the call for ouster but is certainly far more assertive than the proposal for the dictator to form and head a national reconciliation council. Those proposing such a council must take care that it does not become an endorsement of tyranny. Any call for national reconciliation is positive only to the extent that it exposes the facts of tyranny, strengthens the will of the people to overcome this tyranny, and causes the removal from power of those who rule in the service of evil interests.

All the various forms of peaceful and militant mass actions already undertaken by the “Marcos resign” movement must continue. What needs to be done is to expand and intensify them, develop new forms of struggle and involve greater masses of the people in the struggle. Our unchanging aim is to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in their tens of millions.

We should be able to drown out the dictatorship’s campaigns of deception and vilification in the forthcoming sham plebiscite and elections. There should be more and larger indoor and outdoor rallies. There should be more and longer marches. Repeatedly, we can hold people’s marches from barrios to town centers, from towns to provincial and regional centers; and from Central and Southern Luzon to Metro Manila. The sitdown strikes dubbed “United for the President’s Ouster” or UPO will be more effective if connected with gigantic marches and rallies.

Peaceful but militant mass actions are absolutely necessary to assert and develop the democratic power of the people. These mass actions do not only prepare for, but also support, the most effective actions that destroy the capability of the dictatorship to use its armed forces against the people.

Who can replace Marcos as alternative leader or leaders of government? The myth that Marcos is indispensable is an insult that the people have suffered for too long. This insult to the people’s intelligence

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compounds the rigors of the political tyranny and economic catastrophe that the people have had to endure.

Not only is Marcos replaceable. He and his entire clique of puppets, incompetents, killers and swindlers must be removed from power immediately. They have trampled on the people's sovereignty and democratic rights; they have inflicted the most barbaric forms of cruelty on the people. In connivance with the imperialist banks and multinational firms, this clique of new oligarchs has mortgaged our country and its people—us—and continues to auction us off.

I agree with Kompil that a council of leaders be chosen not only to demonstrate that there are many Filipino leaders who can individually and collectively replace Marcos and provide better leadership, but also to take initiatives in carrying forward the people's democratic struggle. In the course of this struggle, the people have nurtured so many leaders at various levels—leaders with the correct democratic orientation and with outstanding competence.

The assassination of Ninoy Aquino was calculated by the fascists to decapitate the legal opposition. But this treacherous blow has only outraged the entire people and moved them to fight ever more determinedly for their freedom. The rapidly growing democratic movement has pushed more leaders to the forefront.

I propose that the choice of your designated number of national leaders be made on the basis of commitment to the national and democratic interests of the people; competence in political and organizational work; representation of major class and sectoral interests; accommodation of various ideological and political trends; and consideration of regional distribution.

I am confident that good leaders will be chosen to compose the council of leaders. After all, Kompil is a patriotic and democratic assembly which rejects the treasonous and antidemocratic brand of leadership that Marcos and his top henchmen stand for.

What are the mechanisms after Marcos? I appreciate the optimism and sense of confidence in this question. But I think that it should be preceded by the question on how to win. While it is true that the organized strength of the people is rapidly growing and the Marcos puppet regime is declining, it is also true that we are still engaged in an uphill struggle.

We are confronted with an enemy that still enjoys the support of US imperialism and is hellbent on using all forms of terror and deception in

order to stay in power. While the treacherous murder of Ninoy Aquino has galvanized the people into conducting gigantic mass protest actions, we should recognize that this dastardly act marks a new level in the escalation of fascist terrorism.

We must prepare ourselves against more barbaric attacks from the enemy. We must conduct political education and organize ourselves better for more effective struggle. I believe that from stage to stage in the progress of our struggle, the mechanisms for uniting the people, administering their affairs and winning greater victories are created and developed. Upon the total victory of our people, all that we shall have to do will be to consolidate those tested mechanisms for winning and form a truly democratic government of the entire nation.

You are of course aware that even as there are parties, mass organizations and alliances that are legally and peacefully fighting the fascist puppet regime, there are also the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, the National Democratic Front, organs of democratic power and mass organizations that do not have a legal status and are waging a people's war. Other illegal organizations such as the Moro National Liberation Front, the Bangsa Moro Army, Christians for National Liberation, Nagkakaisang Partidong Demokratikong Sosyalista ng Pilipinas (NPDSP), and the Movement for a Free Philippines are also to be taken into account.

On the eve of total victory or upon the final victory, there can be a people's consultative assembly to arrange the working unity of all patriotic and progressive classes, parties and organizations and facilitate the formation of a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation.

I would like to think that Kompil and its council of leaders as well as other united front organizations like the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy, the Justice for Aquino, Justice for All Movement, KAAKBAY, the Unido, the National Union for Liberation, the Liberal Party, and the PDP-Laban are major contributors on the side of the legal democratic forces to the future emergence of a democratic coalition government.

The US and the Marcos Regime

Let me dwell at some length on the tremendous odds that we still face. The point is not to discourage anyone among us. By being more

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aware of the odds, we get to know more clearly what it takes to win. We become even more resolute in striving for, and achieving, more than we have already achieved.

Even Raul Manglapus of the Movement for a Free Philippines, in a recent statement, has come to realize that Marcos has managed to establish an autocratic regime and to prolong it by using and manipulating the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and by being supported and maintained by American power.

When Marcos mocks the legal opposition, calling it fragmented and weak supposedly due to ineptness and conflicting selfish interests, he is obscuring the fact that he has used brute force in suppressing the people's sovereignty and democratic rights—keeping the legal opposition parties down for so many years, and upon their resurgence keeping them within the bounds of his despotic power.

The real party of Marcos is not the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL) but the Armed Forces of the Philippines, dominated as it is by a small clique of military officers who would do anything immoral or criminal to keep the Marcos autocracy in power. Ninoy had the high potential of leading and uniting the legal opposition parties. This is precisely why he was murdered in the most dastardly manner.

Behind deceptions such as referenda, plebiscites and elections of the fascist regime is the use of the armed forces to violate the freedom of the people and to bloodily suppress any serious resistance to the autocracy. The apparatuses of coercion are dependent on the US for indoctrination, strategic planning and intelligence, equipment and logistics, and high-level officer training.

It is the US that gives the most decisive kind of support to the Marcos fascist regime. So long as the US gets more and more extraordinary political, military, economic and other privileges, it will continue to give bilateral economic and military assistance, and facilitate foreign loans to the regime in its determination to plunder the human and material resources of our country.

In the wake of Ninoy's assassination, there have developed illusions that Marcos will back down because of the gigantic demonstrations of public outrage and protest, the exacerbation of the economic and financial crisis, and the expressions of displeasure, not so much by the Reagan administration as by the American press, the foreign creditors and the Lower House of the US Congress.

Message to the Kongreso ng Mamamayang Pilipino (KOMPIL)

Marcos has in truth viciously reacted in words and deeds to the proposal for national reconciliation, the demand for resignation and the call for ouster. The basis for his arrogance and intransigence is not some fictitious covenant with the people but his control of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, as well as the open and covert assurances of US support from the Reagan administration.

The US calls for an “impartial and thorough investigation of the Aquino assassination by Philippine authorities”—a clever attempt to exculpate Marcos because he is endorsed as the authority to form the investigative body, despite the fact that he is the prime suspect in the crime. The formation by Marcos of the board of inquiry is meant to counter the move to form a board of inquiry under the auspices of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, the International Commission of Jurists, or some other respected international organization.

While Marcos is in power, an international board of inquiry enjoying the confidence of the aggrieved Aquino family and the entire Filipino people as well as the witnesses and experts, both Filipino and foreign, who have not come out to testify for fear of their safety, is definitely preferable to a board created by Marcos. The majority members of such an international board of inquiry may be eminent Filipinos in order to respect Philippine sovereignty, which is something different from the monarchic sovereignty actually presumed by Marcos.

The call for a “single-man successor” to Marcos is also a clever attempt to obscure the fundamental issue of autocracy or fascist dictatorship, and to divert attention from the mounting demand of the people for the restoration of democracy and the scrapping of the Marcos constitution. The Executive Committee is in fact now being replaced by something worse through a farcical plebiscite.

In case of the President’s death or incapacity, the speaker of the Batasang Pambansa is supposed to become the acting president with explicit limitations of power. But he, or she, or they who control the armed forces can presume to automatically succeed to the continuing unlimited powers of the autocrat. They can do so as they please for 45 to 60 days, including holding a sham plebiscite that suits them.

The call for “clean and honest elections” is a clever attempt to trap the legal opposition parties into accepting rigged elections for a sham parliament, thus legitimizing the autocracy. Under the signboard of nonpartisanship, Marcos monopolizes control of the Commission on Elections and all phases of the sham electoral process. In the very

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offices of the Comelec at any level, ghost precincts and any number of votes can be fabricated. (Even now, Marcos already knows, and has announced, that the legal opposition parties will not get more than 20 percent of the votes.)

The boycott position of former Senators Tañada, Diokno and Salonga is basically correct. This position is shared by the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy, and by practically all organizations under the Justice for Aquino, Justice for All Movement. Such a position reflects the boycott trend among the people, as confirmed by the recent survey of the Concepcion group, the National Movement for Free Elections.

I am aware that Unido and other allies might choose to field candidates, especially in places where they calculate they can win. I suppose that their main objective is to continue hitting the target, the fascist dictatorship. If that is so, they are not thus completely cutting off their ties with the antifascist united front. We can only wish that they continue to firm up their antifascist position as time passes and that they remain open to the development of the most effective means of bringing about genuine democracy.

My estimate is that the US will dump Marcos for sure only when the New People's Army led by the Communist Party of the Philippines shall have reached the stage of strategic stalemate, a significant segment of the middle forces shall have joined or launched armed resistance, and discontent within the Armed Forces of the Philippines shall have become conspicuous. All these are possible within a few years because of the rapid worsening of the political and economic crisis and the upsurge of legal mass actions and the armed struggle.

Only then will the US launch its operation to dislodge its ineffective puppet. I think that the present credit squeeze is mainly the result of the Marcos regime's own excesses in foreign borrowing; it is not a move intended specifically to weaken and dislodge Marcos. The US is merely making it appear that the credit squeeze has been undertaken to discipline the Marcos regime. The fact is that there is really a world capitalist financial crisis under which the Marcos regime has been squeezed because of its excessive subservience, corruption and ineptness.

The economic disaster was coming down hard on the Philippines even before the Aquino assassination. After this brazen crime, which is a dramatization of the state of oppression in the country, the US

has found it convenient to make it appear that both the economic and political crises are the sole responsibility of the Marcos clique. The US wants to impress the naive that its kind of political demands, which are in fact still supportive of Marcos, will solve the rapidly worsening political and economic crises and give the technocrats a freer hand in carrying out economic dictation from the US, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Already, the US wants to spread the lie that it has nothing to do with the economic disaster and political terrorism of the Marcos regime. While it proclaims that the issue is political, the US actually wants to retain the autocratic regime for so long as it continues to carry out the policies of the US, the IMF and the World Bank and it gives away more extraordinary privileges to the US. Thus, such measures as drastic devaluations, import liberalization, disregard for the nationality requirement in equity and landholding, the cheap sale of citizenship rights, the conversion of foreign loans and supplies to takeover equity, and so on, have run far ahead of cosmetic changes in the political sphere during the ongoing foreign credit squeeze.

We should not have any illusions that, for the sake of democracy, or for the sake of the victims of repression as dramatized by Ninoy's treacherous slaying, the US will junk Marcos through the credit squeeze and some pretended political pressures, which are in fact pressures on Marcos to make mere cosmetic changes. The US, for example, is not even obliging Marcos to allow political exiles in the US to return home under conditions that will assure their safety and freedom in the country. The major political exiles in the US, in fact, still face the same dangers and risks that Ninoy faced in returning home.

The problem in the Philippines is both political and economic, but there is also the moral bankruptcy of the fascist regime. Both the US and the Marcos clique are responsible for the problem and are still colluding in oppressing and exploiting the Filipino people. The US will be forced to drop Marcos only if it is also effectively held accountable; and this is possible only if all forms of struggle have reached the level of development that I have already indicated earlier.

We can all agree on concentrating our fire on the Marcos fascist dictatorship. But we should not think that we can improve our chances of winning by being blind to the evil of US imperialism and following its political initiative, which in fact endorses the Marcos autocracy.

Detention and Defiance against Dictatorship

We should rely on the development of our own united front and on all forms of struggle under the united front.

Bright Prospects of our Struggle

Despite the odds, however, the prospect of our struggle for democracy is bright. The political and economic crisis of the ruling system is rapidly worsening. The fascist dictatorship has only served to deepen and aggravate the crisis. The broad masses of the people have found their oppression and exploitation intolerable and have risen to fight for national liberation and democracy.

All over the country, in both urban and rural areas, the people are rapidly being organized and are engaging in various forms of struggle against the fascist tyranny. The revolutionary movement is rapidly growing in strength.

The US-Marcos clique is extremely isolated as it has never been before and is in rapid decline. It has been weakened by its own puppetry, brutality, corruption and profligacy. It can no longer obtain foreign funds as easily as it could in the 1970s and is increasingly weighed down by a huge accumulated debt. The economy is still dependent on raw-material exports but the international market for these continues to be depressed. The Marcos regime's solution to the economic crisis is to worsen it by begging for more foreign loans at more onerous terms and wasting these loans on unproductive projects and on high consumption.

Even if the US wants to keep the Marcos autocracy in power, the US is constrained by the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system. It cannot exempt the Marcos regime from the workings of the world capitalist market, the high interest on loans, the tighter restrictions on foreign lending by US commercial banks, and so on.

Even at this time, it is already possible to concentrate at least two million people in a mass action on Malacañang. In the years to come, our capability to mobilize millions of people will increase. But our main line in urban areas is to conduct legal and peaceful mass actions.

There is no doubt about our mass strength. To depose the Marcos regime, the only missing element is the effective counter to his armed minions. Manglapus suggests that democratic-minded AFP officers can be encouraged to take action. But their action should not be

Message to the Kongreso ng Mamamayang Pilipino (KOMPIL)

towards a military takeover but should serve the broad-based movement for the restoration of democracy in our country.

The realization of this suggestion can be effective in advancing the democratic cause only if the Filipino people themselves carry out the various forms of struggle and have in their own hands all the necessary means for winning victory.

So long as the fascist dictatorship persists and uses its armed forces to attack and coerce the people, it will lose, whether it maintains or raises the level of its troop and armed strength. The economic crisis is worsening so fast that the mere maintenance of the present troop strength is already a heavy drain on the economy. Yet this troop strength has been incapable of quelling the growing revolutionary forces.

Even now, political and economic discontent is already brewing among lower officers and enlisted men in the AFP because funds go mainly to overpriced equipment and hardware as well as corruption. On top of these, inflation has eaten away their salaries and allowances. An increase in troop strength will only result in the further worsening of the economic disaster which is now grievously victimizing the troops and their families.

The armed power of the fascist dictatorship is not really awesome. It is self-destructive even as, or precisely because, it is destructive of our national and democratic interests. As the political and economic crisis worsens, the rotten core of tyranny is further exposed.

We are confident of winning victory against the fascist dictatorship. This despotism will be consigned to the dungheap in a few years' time. Let us rely on the strength of our own people and not on the US or on lupus!

Long live Kompil and its council of leaders!

Down with the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique!

Carry forward the people's struggle for independence and democracy!

Justice for Aquino, Justice for All!

Long live the Filipino people!

★ ★ ★



On the Aquino Assassination Investigation¹⁶

January 9, 1984

Sometime ago during a military commission hearing, you asked me what I thought of Rosendo Cawigan and what he had been claiming in press interviews. On the basis of the reports that I had read, I told you that his claims were self-contradicting, self-cancelling and obviously fabricated. Repeating the words of Cory Aquino, the widow of our mutual friend Ninoy, I called him a liar and a military mercenary agent of the military.

The presentation of Cawigan as a “star witness” and as an “NPA commander” before the Agrava Board proves once more the malicious, immoral and criminal character of the military regime. The fabrications that this man held captive by the military is made to utter are all calculated, not only to slander the New People’s Army as scapegoat, but also the murder victim, Ninoy Aquino.

The Cawigan testimony was so clearly a big joke and a jumble of lies that the audience during the Agrava Board hearings could not resist laughing at it. But I take seriously the determined attempt of the military to use such a testimony for propaganda purposes and for hoodwinking the Agrava Board.

As one who has extensively and seriously studied the ideology, political program, system of organization, activities and morality of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People’s Army, I am in a position to make some intelligent observations. Here they are:

- 1) I do not know of any antagonism between Ninoy Aquino and the New People’s Army. It is well known in Tarlac and in the entire country that Ninoy and his family have always related themselves, in an enlightened manner, with the peasant masses and the rest of the people. In fact, President Marcos himself has accused Ninoy of being a “communist” or a sympathizer of the

¹⁶ Letter to Atty. Juan T. David and published in *Ang Pahayagang Malaya*, January 1984. Excerpts also published in the *Philippine Collegian*, Vol. LXI, No. 3, January 24, 1984.-Editor

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CPP and NPA. Even Cawigan foolishly call him the highest NPA commander and the NPA as meaning Ninoy's People's Army.

The truth is that Ninoy was regarded an avowed liberal democrat, a populist and an outstanding antifascist leader by all those who love freedom, including communists. The CPP and NPA considered him an ally and respected him for his courage in fighting the fascist regime of President Marcos, even as he was subjected to the most cruel kind of torture to soften him.

- 2) In his first attempt to invent a motive for the CPP and NPA on the day following the assassination, the self-contradicting Mr. Marcos claimed that these revolutionary organizations were vengefully mad at Aquino for having supposedly ordered the killing of "communist leaders" who had testified against him and his co-accused Bernabe Buscayno and Victor Corpus. Mr. Marcos underestimates the capacity of the people to recognize his self-contradiction.

It is public knowledge, especially in Tarlac and Pampanga, that the persons whimsically designated by Mr. Marcos as "communist leaders" were all special agents and assets of the AFP intelligence services. They were killed *while in military custody* after the perpetuation of their false testimonies against Aquino, Buscayno and Corpus. In an article appearing in *Mr. & Ms.*, Ninoy's mother, Doña Aurora, already made an effective factual refutation of the claim of Mr. Marcos that the murder of Aquino was brought about the Communists, because it is not based on competent evidence.

- 3) Cawigan's claim that Aquino became the object of the NPA's ire for failing to deliver funds from Libya to the NPA is a bumbling attempt to improve on Mr. Marcos' previous claims and is possibly a move to please the anti-communist and anti-Libya sensibilities of the Reagan administration. Ninoy Aquino had his own political integrity and he could not have allowed himself to do errands for other political entities.

As already confirmed by the Libyan Ambassador to the Philippines, there is no direct or indirect connection between the Libyan government and the Communist Party of the Philippines. It is superfluous of the Marcos regime to add the name of Ninoy Aquino to that of the MNLF as an imaginary connection of the CPP to Libya. Considering the extent of the business dealings of some Marcos crony corporations

in Libya, Mr. Marcos is better connected to that country than any other Philippine entity.

- 4) Cawigan was one of the false witnesses against Aquino, Buscayno and Corpus in military commission proceedings. In his testimony, he maligned the NPA by saying many of the things that he continues to say today. From being a driver of Ninoy, Cawigan became an intelligence agent of the Marcos regime. He has claimed that he has continued as such, in addition to his being a security officer of the National Food Authority.

There is entirely no basis for the NPA and even less for the alleged chairman of the Central Committee of the CPP to get into any kind of friendly meeting with a rabid convict and enemy agent. Neither would Cawigan for obvious reasons, submit himself to any secret meeting with the NPA. The claim that the NPA offered him a mission to kill Aquino and then upon his refusal informed him of who would be the alternative killer is simply preposterous.

- 5) Guided by the theory of the revolutionary proletariat and by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army is an enlightened and well-disciplined army fighting for the national and democratic interests of the people. The NPA has a high sense of morality diametrically opposite to the immorality and gangsterism of the fascists. The NPA cherishes and seeks unity and cooperation with all anti-fascist leaders.

The NPA is a nationwide army of thousands of full-time guerrilla fighters who are supported by local organs of people's government, mass organizations, the militia and self-defense units. *It does not employ professional killers for any function.* The NPA has never engaged in anything diabolical as the attempted assassination of KBL stalwart Emmanuel Pelaez after his persistent effort to look into the accounts of the UNICOM.

- 6) The CPP and NPA are bound by the organizational principle of democratic centralism. No policy is adopted or action taken without the guidance of just principles and the benefit of the collective decision-making process in the interest of the people. There is no chance for any person of whatever rank or committee at whatever level to use personnel and resources of the organization on a grand scale for the commission of murder for narrow ends.

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But in an autocratic regime, the dictator makes policies and laws to serve his selfish interests and order the armed forces to enforce his personal wishes, including the arbitrary arrest and detention, torture and assassination of his political opponents and the commission of so many barbarities against the people.

- 7) It is the Marcos regime and its big shots that have the penchant for coddling and hiring self-confessed murderers such as Rosendo Cawigan who are kept in reserve either as killers or fall guys. While there is no evidence that Cawigan or Rolando Galman have any connection with the NPA, *there is ample evidence of their connection with the Marcos regime* as agents of the military before the Aquino assassination that they may be justly qualified as mercenary.

Cawigan declared that he wanted to kill Aquino because a high-ranking military officer of the Presidential Security Command had told him that Aquino would have him killed. According to Cawigan, he was able to get through the Avsecom security cordon. Avsecom Col. Arturo Custodio has admitted his connection with the fall guy Galman. If Galman's girlfriend is still alive and available, she might be able to say more about his connections with military agents than she was able to say to some journalists before her disappearance.

- 8) Cawigan claims that he and Galman had been NPA commanders. The easiest way to disprove this claim is to go over their biographical data and to go into their ideological, political and organizational qualifications.

A genuine NPA commander leads at least a company of three platoons, has extensive political and organizational experience and has undergone several levels of theoretical and political-military training. It is sheer foolishness for anyone to claim that one becomes an NPA commander by simply killing dozens of people. Also, the NPA came into existence only on March 29, 1969. It did not exist while Ninoy was a governor of Tarlac.

- 9) Heads of formations lower than the company are called squad or platoon leaders and not commanders. It is the notorious practice of many AFP officers to misrepresent their victims or marionettes as NPA commanders in order to gain credibility. Within the NPA and in their relations with the people, squad or platoon leaders never describe themselves as commanders.

The scriptwriters behind Cawigan are apparently no different from those behind the Manotoc kidnapping and the ludicrous invention called Commander Ulupong. They combine malice and ignorance about the NPA. Thus, their fakery easily reveals itself.

10) I am sure that Rosendo Cawigan and Rolando Galman were never NPA commanders.

Any motive can be attributed to the NPA by anyone. False witnesses can be rehearsed to harp on any motive. But the real assassins of Aquino are narrowed down as we proceed to the investigation of the means and the opportunity to commit the crime.

I would like to make some further observations:

1. It is ridiculous for Mr. Marcos and his military minions to claim that the NPA and/or Galman had the following capabilities:
 - a. Communicating with Philippine diplomatic and consular offices, the US Federal Bureau of Investigation and US Immigration Office, the Interpol, the Taiwan Garrison and the airline companies as well as having relays of secret agents in order to trail and to monitor the movements of Ninoy from the United States through Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan to Manila;
 - b. Knowing the exact plane and time of arrival which Lupita Aquino Kashiwahara had kept to herself and from even the closest Aquino kins and friends until some minutes before Ninoy's arrival;
 - c. Knowing in advance that Gate 8 would be used or having Galman run from gate to gate without being checked;
 - d. Knowing General Custodio's supposed shift from Plan A (tube passage) to Plan B (stairway) ten minutes before Ninoy's arrival; and under whose orders;
 - e. Going through several security rings and obstacles (composed of at least 1,200 security agents) and injecting Galman in an ill-fitting disguise into the most sanitized area;
 - f. Doing what Lupita Aquino Kashiwahara failed to do even with the help of MIA general manager Luis Tabuena (the same as in item e., but the point here is to show that even one so determined, intelligent and resourceful but unauthorized could not penetrate the maximum security cordon);

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- g. Coming from a blind side (from under the plane) and knowing the exact time (in seconds) when Aquino would appear on the killing spot;
- h. Ordering the security men who were supposed to be on guard at the foot of the stairs and those in the Avsecom van to position and conduct themselves in such a manner as to allow an unauthorized person to slip in and shoot Ninoy;
- i. Limiting the number of security agents who witnessed the actual killing so as to limit the danger of contradicting testimonies;
- j. With General Manager Luis Tabuena, actually preventing the foreign newsmen and news photographers and the local newsmen and news photographers with Ninoy in the plane to go through the tube to the plane; and on the tarmac, where Ninoy was to be taken, via the stairs from the side of the tube, so that pictures of the last nine seconds of Ninoy's life could not be taken, especially the exact second of the assassination; manager Tabuena admitted, under oath on the witness stand, that it was he who prevented the tri-media representatives from getting into the tube, then inside the plane, notwithstanding the fact that he stated he was not General Manager of MIA on August 21, 1983, because Avsecom took over;
- k. Synchronizing or making co-incident the failure of all the TV and other camera monitoring system of the Presidential Security Command, Avsecom and the Bureau of Air Transportation to monitor Ninoy from the time he emerged from the tube to the stairs, then to the SWAT van;
- l. Confiscating films from news photographers after the assassination and erasing from the video tape of the government-owned MBS, Channel 4, that part which recorded the last nine seconds of Ninoy life;
- m. Coordinating all the foregoing and taking command as Generals Ver and Custodio did;
- n. Ordering General Ver to approve a maximum security plan where a strict elementary requirement like hand-held cameras for close-in purposes, were significantly absent; considering that a team of military photographers and videotape operators is a part of the military organization which

- was always present on occasions in which the military participates, like the security of the President and his family; assisting foreign dignitaries; and the security of detainees taken to the Court;
- o. Designing and mastering the entire Oplan Balikbayan in order to achieve the assassination;
 - p. Interfering with the digestive system and blood flow of Galman and yet making him perform feats that beat at least 1,200 men and outwit several generals on an interservice scale;
 - q. Making or pretending to make sure that Galman is dead by overkill and messing up the fingerprint on the supposed gun of the alleged assassin;
 - r. Having General Olivas make sure that the Marcos prejudgment of the assassination is sustained by incompetent and employed witnesses;
 - s. Having the dead body of Ninoy desecrated by dumping it astride a toilet bowl in a toilet of the Army Station Hospital after his identification;
 - t. Confronting General Baltazar Aguirre about his telephone conversation with Ninoy. General Aguirre and his wife died later in a car "accident."

If the NPA could do any or all of the above, then it must have taken over Malacañang Palace, the entire Armed Forces of the Philippines, or at least the entire Gestapo system of Mr. Marcos.

2. I do not think that Mr. Marcos, as commander-in-chief, can successfully disclaim command responsibility in the Aquino assassination on the argument stated by Minister Enrile, that the maximum security for Ninoy was a routine matter under standard operating procedures for which the chief of staff General Ver or even lower officers are responsible, against the background of the publicized information of a plan to assassinate Aquino, made public by the President; Mrs. Marcos; and Minister Enrile.

Mr. Marcos and Minister Enrile are on public record as having warned Aquino of some serious assassination threat; and trying hard to dissuade him from exercising his right to return home, which even a homing pigeon enjoys. It is ridiculous, if they claim that they had never been consulted by General Ver on so serious a matter, as security preparations for the Aquino arrival, and the sudden change of procedure which resulted in the assassination of Ninoy.

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3. I do not think that the Agrava Board can pursue the investigation up to the level of the principal by induction, where evidence point to a military personnel as the killer.
4. I do not think that the said principal by induction has the noble but tragic character of Oedipus Rex who accepted his guilt upon evidence.

Under the present circumstances, not all witnesses and other evidence contrary to the military's version can be presented before the Agrava Board because of fear of those in power and the active cover-up by them. The controlled mass media are also being used now to drum up the military version and discredit contrary witnesses and evidences.

I admire your selfless effort to oversee and help the proceedings of the Agrava Board. In this way, the honor and integrity of our martyred friend can be safeguarded.

Of course, I am always deeply grateful for the relentless and learned efforts that you are also extending in the cases against us; and the violations of several guarantees in Proclamation No. 2045 which you pointed out in the Petition for *habeas corpus* filed in my favor, which is scheduled to be heard on January 12. It will be an acid test for the Supreme Court. The constitutional issues raised are precedent-setting affecting Filipinos of today and those of future generations.

You may use this letter as you deem fit. Please do no worry about what Mr. Marcos and military henchmen might do, against me, sooner or later. They will only accelerate their fall as they commit more barbarities.

You may furnish a copy of this letter even to the Agrava Board to refute allegations that the CPP and NPA were responsible for the Aquino assassination.

Happy New Year!

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Letter to Atty. Juan T. David about Aborted Testimony

January 24, 1984

Consequent to the Agrava Board hearing today, I would like to make some observations:

1. The Agrava Board subpoenaed me to testify before it because of my letter to you dated January 9. Said letter refutes the testimony of one Rosendo Cawigan as well as Mr. Marcos' prejudgment of the Aquino assassination.

It is disgusting that in this morning's hearing the Agrava Board was more interested in aborting my testimony than in anything else. After refusing to let me read my one-page preliminary statement, the board wanted me to admit having been the CPP chairman and also indicated that I would be allowed to speak on only one point in Cawigan's testimony, i.e., his claims to having been an NPA commander, if I admitted having been CPP chairman and if I could provide some list of NPA commanders.

The Agrava Board put up unnecessary obstacles to my testimony. Instead of using my January 9 letter to you as the basis of my testimony, the board was imposing requirements on me which I would surely reject.

It is obvious that between January 20, when my military custodians failed to bring me to the Agrava Board, and January 24, when I was finally brought there, the Marcos regime persuaded the Agrava Board in some way to abort my testimony.

It was apparent during the hearing that commission chairman Agrava, general counsel Narvasa and Avsecom counsel Jimenez assisted by Presidential Security Command legal chief Col. Diego and assistant solicitor general Abad were coordinating their moves to stop my testimony.

I would not be surprised if the Marcos regime and the Agrava Board are colluding in order to preserve the Cawigan testimony in the official record of the board, sustain Mr. Marcos' prejudgment of the Aquino testimony and conclude the work of the board with an anticommunist coverup of the regime's criminal responsibility.

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2. The Agrava Board is mainly and essentially a fact-finding body. Whatever else it is, it has shown some flexibility in a number of instances in dealing with persons who are invited or subpoenaed to testify. Examples of its flexibility are the following:

a. Butz Aquino was allowed to read a statement which gave both the legal and political reasons for his refusal to testify. It was appropriate and unavoidable for him to say that he, like his brother Ninoy, would have nothing to do with a body created by Mr. Marcos. This is a political statement.

b. Cawigan and Daraman were allowed to give in public their patently false testimonies, which are shot through and through with self-contradictions, hearsay and fantastic political claims such as that the political allies of Aquino were responsible for his murder. These false testimonies are legally worthless but are useful propaganda for the Marcos regime.

3. In my case, the Agrava Board seemed to be flexible enough to advise me that I could step down from the witness stand if I had no pertinent facts to declare. But at the same time, here are some rigidities and discriminations applied against me:

a. I was not allowed to make any preliminary statement. I was ready to read only a one-page statement. I could have been allowed and then stopped at any point if the board would decide that I was veering away from what was proper and pertinent.

b. I was being required to answer with a simple yes or no whether I am or was the CPP chairman. The commission could have simply taken cognizance of the fact that the state through the military prosecutors, the Office of the Solicitor General and even Mr. Marcos assert in documents and public pronouncements that I was CPP chairman to establish even only tentatively my authority on the subject at hand if the board really had any desire at any time to hear me.

It is not a commonplace fact that the state accuses anyone of being CPP chairman. When I refer to myself as a serious student of the ideology, practical program, organizational discipline, actions and morality of the CPP and NPA, I do not merely exercise legal prudence, but out of modesty I would rather allow others to judge for themselves whether I am an expert on the subject. In the first place, was I not subpoenaed because of my January 9 letter to you?

4. I stuck to my right to silence and against self-incrimination on the particular question of whether I am/was the CPP chairman. It

is because I was not convinced that the “immunity” provision in the decree creating the Agrava Board would benefit a witness whose testimony runs counter to those of witnesses favorable to the Marcos regime and who has prior and pending cases of subversion and rebellion against him.

A witness like Cawigan can admit any crime, even a thousand murders, before the board. And the Marcos regime will not prosecute and try him. But in my case, after making a public admission of having been the CPP chairman before the board for instance, the military prosecutors and military commissions prosecuting and trying me for subversion and rebellion would take note of the fact of admission to reinforce their charges against me matter-of-factly, legally and propaganda-wise even without maneuvering me into a case of perjury.

I saw no point whatsoever in admitting CPP chairmanship. Even if I did, the next move of the Avsecom counsel assisted by the assistant solicitor general and the PSC legal officer would be to question my competence in matters in the period following my 1977 arrest. I would have been prevented just the same from testifying.

5. If the Agrava Board is not in collusion with the Marcos regime in a predetermined effort to abort my testimony, then it must be honestly ignorant of the correct line of approach in the evaluation of the Cawigan testimony, especially the claim to Cawigan’s having been an NPA commander.

It suffices for any person (whether or not he admits being CPP chairman or member) to be knowledgeable about the CPP Constitution and NPA Rules for him to demonstrate that Cawigan never had the time, opportunity and qualifications to become an NPA commander or even only an ordinary NPA guerrilla fighter on the basis of his own testimony,

It is ridiculous for the Agrava Board to expect me to admit to having been CPP chairman and then to produce some list of NPA commanders and fighters in order to prove that Cawigan’s name is not there. Even if he has become a fool or a traitor to his cause, no single CPP officer of national rank can list down the names of all NPA commanders since 1969 for the benefit of the Agrava Board.

Another letter on how you may be able to pursue debunking Cawigan’s false claims to being an NPA commander will follow this letter.¹⁷

¹⁷ See following article.-Editor

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6. Unless the Agrava Board is a propaganda tool of the Marcos regime, it should immediately strike off from its record the Cawigan testimony which is completely worthless legally.

Former Senator Ambrosio Padilla tears this testimony apart in his article entitled "Rosendo Cawigan and His Revelations Are Incredible" appearing in the January 20-27, 1984 issue of *Kabayan* (Vol. II, No. 12).

Senator Padilla maintains the following: (a) Cawigan is not a credible witness, (b) some of his statements are hearsay, (c) his revelations are incredible, and (d) his claims regarding Commander Bilog and/or the NPA are inadmissible.

7. We should have had ample discussions before you allowed me to take the witness' oath. Our previous agreement was that I would testify only if I would be allowed to read my preliminary statement and that I would invoke my right to silence and against self-incrimination if I was asked whether I had been CPP chairman.

I took the witness stand only because you advised me that I would be able to express my preliminary statement in the course of my testimony. But I could not accept the advice that I could avail myself of the "immunity" provision of the decree creating the Agrava Board. Despite its glittering generality, this provision is specially designed to benefit the witnesses favorable to the Marcos regime and not someone like me.

The Agrava Board unwittingly did me a good turn by refusing to let me read my preliminary statement and aborting my testimony. The press and the people have only become more interested in what I was not able to say before the board.

I continue to be critical of the origin and weaknesses of the Agrava Board. But I do not think that it is completely useless. So long as it conducts public hearings and tries to maintain the semblance of integrity and impartiality, a lot of facts can be established to facilitate further investigation by an international board of inquiry.

Again, I say that it shall be a new democratic government that shall give justice to Ninoy and all other victims of fascist tyranny.

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On My Appearance before the Agrava Board: A Follow-up Statement

February 2, 1984

When the Agrava Board subpoenaed me to testify before it, the board was not really interested in hearing anything from me to debunk the false testimony of Cawigan, not even his specific false claim to being a commander of the New People's Army.

The Marcos regime and the Agrava Board are obviously determined to retain in the record of the board the testimony of Cawigan. This became very clear in the course of my appearance before the board.

The Agrava Board subpoenaed me to testify before it because of my January 9, 1984 letter to my legal counsel, Atty. Juan T. David. My letter refutes the testimony of Cawigan as well as Marcos' prejudgment of the Aquino assassination.

The Agrava Board was more interested in aborting my testimony than in anything else. After refusing to let me read my one-page preliminary statement (a privilege subsequently granted to Senator Salvador Laurel when he appeared before the board on January 30), the board wanted me to admit to having been the CPP chairman and also indicated that I would be allowed to speak on only one point in Cawigan's testimony, his claims to having been an NPA commander, if I admitted what it wanted me to admit and if I could provide some list of NPA commanders.

The commission put up unnecessary obstacles to my testimony. Instead of using my January 9 letter to Atty. Juan T. David as the basis of my testimony, it was imposing requirements on me which I had no choice but to reject.

It was apparent during the hearing that the board chairman, the general counsel and the Avsecom counsel assisted by the Presidential Security Command legal chief and the assistant solicitor general were coordinating their moves to stop my testimony.

I would not be surprised if the Marcos regime and the Agrava Board are colluding in order to preserve the Cawigan testimony, sustain Marcos' prejudgment of the Aquino assassination and conclude the

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work of the board with an anticommunist cover-up of the regime's criminal responsibility.

To debunk Cawigan's false claim to being or having been an NPA commander, it suffices for anyone to be knowledgeable about the CPP Constitution and the NPA Rules (authentic copies of which are available publicly and from government files) and to show that Cawigan on the basis of his own testimony never had the time, opportunity and qualifications to become an NPA commander or even an ordinary fighter of the NPA.

He claims to have been a full-time driver-bodyguard of Ninoy Aquino, a provincial warden, NBI agent and finally an anti-NPA military agent who was used as a false witness against Ninoy Aquino and two alleged high-ranking NPA officers, Bernabe Buscayno and Victor Corpus.

It was preposterous that I was expected by the Agrava Board to admit having been CPP chairman and then to produce some list of NPA commanders. The commission was simply interested in requiring me to violate my principles and squelching my evaluation of the entire Cawigan testimony.

The "immunity" provision for witnesses in the decree creating the Agrava Board is specifically designed to protect false witnesses dished out by the Marcos regime.

Cawigan for instance can admit any crime, he has in fact admitted a dozen murders, and he will not be prosecuted and tried by the Marcos regime.

But my situation is different. There are prior and pending cases of subversion and rebellion against me before military commissions. And admissions of having been CPP chairman before the board would be matter-of-factly and propaganda-wise adopted by the military commissions to railroad the cases against me.

Even if I admitted CPP chairmanship prior to my arrest, the Avsecom counsel would still seek to prevent me from speaking on any matter after my arrest in 1977.

If the Agrava Board is not in active collusion with the Marcos regime in a predetermined effort to abort my testimony then it must be honestly ignorant of the correct line of approach in the evaluation of the Cawigan testimony. It is wrong to think that Cawigan's false claims to being an NPA commander can be debunked necessarily by the presentation of some NPA list of commanders.

On My Appearance before the Agrava Board

The commission would be the first to argue that the absence of Cawigan's name in any list is no proof of the falsity of his pretenses to being an NPA commander. There is no better way to disprove his pretenses than by showing the chasm between his claims and the strict minimum requirements for being an NPA member in accordance with the CPP constitution and the NPA rules.

As I had repeatedly told my legal counsel, there was no need for me to testify before the Agrava Board. Any person who cares to study the documents I mentioned can evaluate Cawigan's false claims to having been an NPA commander.

If it is not naive and is not conniving with the Marcos regime in a cover-up, the Agrava Board can easily see through the outright lies, self-contradictions and hearsay of Cawigan as exposed by my January 9 letter to Atty. Juan T. David.

The Agrava Board cannot also be blind to the legal opinion of former Senator Ambrosio Padilla, entitled "Rosendo Cawigan and His Revelations Are Incredible" and appearing in the January 20-26, 1984 issue of *Kabayan* (Vol. II, No. 12).

The Cawigan testimony is legally worthless and is cheap propaganda calculated to sustain Marcos' prejudgment of the Aquino assassination.

The Agrava Board merely discredits itself by keeping the Cawigan testimony in its official record. The commission exposes its inclination, if not determination, to give free rein to the cover-up and squid tactics of the Marcos regime and its military minions.

As I made clear in my clarificatory statement on January 24, I would speak anywhere and anytime possible to tell the truth to the people.

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There's Something Fishy about the Agrava Board: A Brief Encounter

February 3, 1984

It is possible that the Agrava Board was sincere and earnest when it issued a subpoena requiring me to testify before it on January 20. My military custodians did not bring me before the board, giving the lame excuse or threat that I might be "waylaid" and did not even bother to show me the subpoena. (To this day, I have not seen it.)

The commission had found it necessary to summon me because of my January 9 letter to my counsel Atty. Juan T. David, refuting point by point the false testimony of one Rosendo Cawigan as well as disputing the prejudgment of the Aquino assassination by Mr. Marcos.

In the same letter, I qualified myself as a serious student of the ideology, practical program, organizational discipline, actions and morality of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army. Out of modesty, I did not call myself an expert. The letter was proof enough that I know what I was writing about.

When I was finally brought before the Agrava Board on January 24, I came to know that it was no longer interested in hearing me under the qualification that I had stated in my letter to my counsel. As a matter of fact, I became aware of a series of maneuvers to stop me from testifying.

1. Upon arrival at the SSS compound, I was made to wait in the van that took me there instead of being brought right away to the waiting lounge of the Agrava Board until my military escort, Capt. Alcoriza, without citing the source of his question, asked me if I was willing to testify without my legal counsel, Atty. David.

I answered, "No!" And the captain was quick to say, "Then we are going back." I had to insist that I would have to wait for my counsel because otherwise I would be castigated by the board for refusing to testify.

I would learn eventually that it was general counsel Andres Narvasa who was the source of Capt. Alcoriza's question. There appeared to be an attempt to take advantage of Atty. David's tardiness. But anyway, the ploy or non-ploy was minor.

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2. At the waiting lounge, Atty. David and I had no chance to discuss matters. He was preoccupied with the general counsel and other officials of the Agrava Board.

When I was brought into the hearing hall, I was immediately made to take the witness stand. I looked in the direction of Atty. David at the lawyers' panel. Obviously, he was satisfied with what was happening.

When I requested to be allowed to read my brief preliminary statement, the board chairman vigorously denied my request and my legal counsel even agreed with her that I did not have to read the statement.

I was about to say that I was not interested in testifying. But Atty. David came over to urge me to testify and to assure me that I could make my prohibited statement in the course of my testimony. I was also able to pass my prepared statement on to the press.

I continued to smell something fishy about the Agrava Board. Why was I prevented from reading my statement? Why the discrimination? Butz Aquino in a previous appearance was allowed to read his statement even as he refused to take the witness stand. He gave both legal and political reasons for refusing to do so.

Only a few days after my appearance, the board would also allow former Senator Salvador Laurel to read a preliminary statement, thus underscoring the discrimination against me.

3. Contrary to Atty. David's previous agreement with the board that he would be the first to propound questions to me so as to properly lay the basis of my testimony to the people, it was the general counsel who started to ask me questions.

It would only be on February 2 that I learned from Atty. David himself that despite his protests, the board backtracked on the previous agreement and decided to let the general counsel be my first questioner.

However, he was not yet aware of underhanded tactics underway. After all, he was confident that the basis of the board in summoning me was my January 9 letter to him.

The fish really stank to high heavens when the board chairman and the general counsel gave the floor to the Avsecom counsel who asked whether I was the CPP chairman; and the board chairman readily agreed with him that I could not testify further if I refused to answer the question with a simple yes or no.

The general counsel did not pursue his line of questioning about my personal knowledge of documents. I never had the chance to cite

the CPP Constitution and the Rules of the NPA as basis for evaluating the testimony of Cawigan.

At that point, it became absolutely clear to me that the Agrava Board was not really interested in hearing anything from me regarding my letter to Atty. David. It became evident that the Agrava Board was collaborating with the Avsecom legal counsel, assisted by the Presidential Security Command legal chief Col. Balbino Diego and Assistant Solicitor General Abad, in stopping my testimony.

4. In an obvious attempt to put me in a bad light as an uncooperative witness, the board chairman recited Section 5 (the "immunity" provision for witnesses) of the decree creating the Agrava Board.

This particular provision, for all its glittering generality, is suited to benefit witnesses like Cawigan who support the Marcos prejudgment of the Aquino assassination. They can admit any crime—a dozen murders or more—and the Marcos regime will not take a step to prosecute and try them.

In my case, there are prior and pending cases of subversion and rebellion against me before the military commissions. Without even bothering to maneuver me into a case of perjury (the exception to the "immunity" provision), the military prosecutors and the military commissions can matter-of-factly and propaganda-wise refer to or use an admission as CPP chairman in order to railroad the cases against me.

However, I was not simply exercising legal and political prudence in invoking my right to silence and against self-incrimination on that specific question of whether I am or was the CPP chairman.

1. I became sure that the Agrava Board itself was interested in aborting my testimony. I anticipated that even if I disregarded prudence and admitted having been the CPP chairman, the next move of the Avsecom counsel would have been to question my competence to testify on matters after my arrest in 1977.

I was also insulted by the board when it suggested that I might have access to NPA list of commanders and members and made the implication that I would make these available to the board and the regime. If the board had no intention of insulting me, then it showed ignorance of the correct method of evaluating Cawigan's claim to being an NPA commander.

2. I considered it inflexible of the board to require me to admit being or having been CPP chairman or member. As indicated in my January 9 letter to Atty. David, any serious student of matters concerning the

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CPP and NPA can demonstrate the wide chasm between Cawigan's claim of having been an NPA commander and the strictest minimum requirements for being an ordinary NPA member in the light of the CPP constitution and the NPA rules.

The absence of Cawigan's name in any list is no proof of his being an impostor. But on the basis of his own testimony and the basic CPP and NPA documents which are publicly available, it can be easily demonstrated that he never had the time, opportunity and qualifications (ideological, political and organizational) to become an NPA commander.

3. If the Agrava Board were really interested in hearing me on more important and more pertinent matters regarding the Cawigan testimony, instead of creating an unnecessary obstacle, it could have simply taken cognizance of the fact that Mr. Marcos and the military prosecutors have repeatedly asserted in official documents and charged that I was once the CPP chairman.

The Agrava Board is just another agency of the regime, specifically some kind of glorified fiscal's office. Why could it not recognize the assertions of the JAGS which is its parallel? It is not commonplace that someone is accused as CPP chairman. Even if he does not admit to being such, there is the implication that he is knowledgeable about the theory and practice of the CPP and NPA.

4. The Agrava Board made a lot of fuss about the question of my being or having been the CPP chairman and eventually used my refusal to answer this particular question as the excuse to stop my testimony. The commission would not be satisfied with a modest self-description of being a serious student; and would not even allow me to demonstrate how sufficiently knowledgeable I am.

And yet this same commission allowed Cawigan to make obviously false statements against the martyred Ninoy Aquino and the CPP and NPA; and then Daraman against Doy Laurel and the entire opposition. The commission did not raise any question on their qualifications so as to stop them from using the board as the propaganda instrument of the Marcos regime.

The claim of Cawigan that he had been an NPA commander is so grossly and extremely false that it does not take a CPP chairman or member to debunk it. If someone claims that he is a Catholic priest because he married four wives, one does not have to be a Pope or a bishop to debunk his claim. It suffices for anyone knowledgeable

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of Christian doctrine and practice to stand up and demonstrate the falsity of the claim.

The longer the Agrava Board keeps the Cawigan testimony in its record, the more it discredits itself before the people. On the basis of its actuations towards me, I will not be surprised if the Agrava Board will finally prove to be nothing more than an instrument for the cover-up of the Aquino assassination.

If the board had enough respect for the law and a sense of decency, it would immediately strike out from its record the Cawigan testimony as well as all other patently false testimonies. In the first place, the Cawigan testimony should never have been admitted into the record of the board.

The Agrava Board should refer to the legal opinion of Senator Ambrosio Padilla which is entitled "Rosendo Cawigan and His Revelations Are Incredible" and printed in the January 20-26, 1984 issue of *Kabayan* (Vol. II, No. 12).

This Padilla article covers the following: (1) Cawigan is not a credible witness; (2) some of his statements are hearsay; (3) his revelations are incredible; and (4) his admissions are not admissible against "Commander Bilog" and/or the NPA.

The Cawigan testimony is legally worthless. But it is useful to the Marcos regime as propaganda. It is part of this regime's squid tactics. It supports Mr. Marcos' prejudgment of the Aquino assassination and his scheme to make the CPP and the NPA his perpetual scapegoat.

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In Commemoration of the First Quarter Storm: Address to the LFS

February 9, 1984

The national democratic forces and the spirit of the First Quarter Storm of 1970 have lived on and continues to grow.

So many activists generated by this storm have persevered in legal and underground struggle. Others have joined the armed struggle.

There is a continuity of the FQS of 1970 and the great mass movement that has emerged since August last year.

Not a few veteran activists of the FQS are at the core of the current mass movement. The experience gained in 1970 has been carried over to the present and developed further.

I venture to say that without the FQS, the present movement is not possible.

At the same time, I would say that the latter is distinct from the former. The current movement has occurred at a new and higher level of the revolutionary struggle.

The mass actions are far larger and involve more people from the toiling masses of workers and peasants as well as from the middle strata of Philippine society.

These mass actions are participated in by the broad masses of the people who have long been oppressed and exploited by a full-blown fascist dictatorship.

In 1970, the US-Marcos clique was still planning to put up a fascist dictatorship. Now, this despotic regime is on its downward course.

The people are today consciously taking care to launch protest actions which are peaceful in order to gain more and more participants and frustrate the provocations and violent schemes of the fascist dictatorship.

But more than ever, the people have revolutionary confidence because of the armed resistance that is far more developed than in 1970.

The fundamental tasks of the mass movement remain unchanged. These are reducible to one: unite and fight for national liberation and democracy.

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The narrowest target against which the broadest range of popular forces are moving is the fascist dictatorship. But underlying the antifascist struggle are the constant anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggles.

The anti-imperialist struggle must be pursued because it is US imperialism that is behind the fascist dictatorship and dominates every major aspect of our national life.

The antifeudal struggle must be pursued because democracy in substance cannot be achieved without solving the land problem and on this basis mobilizing the peasant masses.

The correct and full revolutionary line is antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal but we must draw the widest support by developing the antifascist united front and allowing our allies to raise their consciousness and practice at their own pace.

The revolutionary forces must work fast to enlarge their organized strength because the spontaneous masses are being driven by the objective conditions to join protest actions as well as the armed resistance.

The worsening of the economic and political crisis of the ruling system is so rapid that all patriotic and progressive forces can aim for the total victory of the national democratic revolution within a relatively short period of time.

Long live the spirit of the First Quarter Storm of 1970!

Unite and fight for national liberation and democracy!

Down with the fascist puppet regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Long live the League of Filipino Students!

Long live the Filipino people!

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On Marcos' Failure to Heed Six-point Call for Meaningful Elections

February 15, 1984

As correctly anticipated by revolutionaries and the freedom-loving people, Marcos has failed to heed the six-point call for meaningful elections made by some major legal opposition parties, alliances and leaders.

The Marcos regime is so insensitive, so rapacious and so determined to rule by violence and deception that it refuses to heed the call that even implies legitimization of the regime and its constitution if shorn of their most obnoxious antidemocratic features.

Those who signed the call have succeeded in underscoring the rigid autocratic character of the Marcos regime and the farcical character of both the May 14 elections and "regular" assembly.

Those who signed the call can now resolutely and militantly carry out the boycott movement on just grounds which are clear to all people desirous of democratic reforms.

To participate in the forthcoming sham elections for a sham parliament is to capitulate to the illegitimacy and tyranny of the fascist dictatorship and to encourage US imperialism to continue propping up this puppet regime which is already in the process of collapse.

An active boycott movement must be launched for the people to assert their sovereignty and exercise their democratic rights and to carry forward the struggle for national liberation and democracy.

The boycott movement goes beyond the simple refusal of the major national opposition parties and alliances to field candidates and participate in the rigged elections for a sham parliament.

The movement encompasses all the peaceful but militant actions of the opposition parties, alliances, movements and mass organizations to further arouse, organize and mobilize the entire people to reject not only one more electoral farce but the entire fascist puppet dictatorship and to fight for a new democratic form of government.

It is my further perception that the boycott movement raises the revolutionary consciousness and activity of the people to a new and

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higher level and promotes the armed resistance for national liberation and democracy.

Since 1979, I have repeatedly pointed out that Mr. Marcos has no reason to be arrogant in perpetuating his tyrannical rule and ignoring the just national and democratic demands of the people.

His easy borrowing days are over. The accumulated debt burden is ruining the economy. The 1980s will continue to be characterized by the rapid worsening of the political and economic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

Mr. Marcos has the illusion that he can indefinitely use the armed forces to terrorize the people and suppress their national and democratic rights. But from year to year, he will find it more and more difficult to satisfy his military minions as the internal crisis of the system worsens and the armed resistance grows in strength all over the country.

The national democratic revolution is bound to win. US imperialism and the fascist puppet regime cannot stop the rising of the entire people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

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On the Rationale of the Boycott¹⁸

February 28, 1984

Are you in favor of boycott or participation in the May 14 elections? What is your view on the outcome of the February 14 deadline on the six-point call for meaningful elections?

I am in favor of boycott. This means that neither will I run for the farcical regular assembly nor vote for anyone in the farcical elections.

The failure of Mr. Marcos to heed the six-point call for meaningful elections exposes his refusal to give up his autocracy and adopt any significant democratic reform.

In making the call the signatories were bending backward from their Marcos-resign position and were implying that they would recognize the present regime and the 1973 constitution if both were shorn of their most obnoxious antidemocratic features.

But Mr. Marcos is obdurate. The opposition leaders have once more succeeded in underscoring that he wants to maintain his tyrannical rule.

The legal opposition appears to be split now over the issue of boycott or participation. Will not this split or cleavage weaken the opposition and strengthen the KBL strategically as well as specifically in the elections?

In general, the boycott campaign will help strengthen the foundation of the democratic movement against the US-Marcos clique. In one respect, those who are for participation tend to undermine this foundation by helping the US and Marcos create the illusion of democracy through elections that are mainly and essentially fraudulent.

In another respect, the pro-participation oppositionists can still help strengthen the democratic movement if they concentrate their fire on the antinational and antidemocratic character of the Marcos regime. Thus, the split within the legal opposition becomes merely a temporary split on methods of fighting the common enemy.

After they learn one more bitter lesson from Mr. Marcos, the pro-participation oppositionists can always rejoin the opposition mainstream.

¹⁸ Interview with *Philippine News and Features*.-Editor

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The cards are stacked against them. They may be allowed to win in a few areas but they will be made to lose on a nationwide scale in the sham elections.

Instead of making snide remarks against the boycott campaign, they can concentrate on attacking the Marcos regime for being tyrannical and for refusing to heed the call for meaningful elections. The few concessions on minor procedural matters are not enough to ensure clean and honest elections.

I see that the boycott campaign is concentrating its fire on the Marcos regime—discrediting KBL candidates—and therefore would indirectly be supporting opposition candidates who take up issues against the Marcos dictatorship. So, if there is honest counting of votes, these opposition candidates stand a good chance of being elected by those who believe in the merits of participation.

The problem of would-be opposition candidates is not the boycott movement but the rigging of the elections by those in power. Marcos will use a KBL “independent slate,” the Roy Nacionalistas and some “instant” political parties to create a merry circus and then say that these parties took votes away from candidates of the opposition so as to justify an overwhelming KBL “victory.”

How do you weigh the boycott campaign in the oppositions' overall struggle for democracy?

The rigged elections in May are a thing of the Marcos regime. It is merely a short-term circus. It will not make or break the opposition. The boycott campaign is the correct tit-for-tat response. We see a Captain Boycott in Mr. Marcos and the people must come together in refusing to deal with him.

It is obvious that the boycott campaign is only one of several campaigns of the national democratic movement within a given period of time—a few months. It is subordinate to the general line of seeking to dismantle the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and establish a new democratic form of government.

In carrying out the boycott, the campaigners and the people are positively and vigorously taking up the full scope of issues for national liberation and democracy against the US-Marcos clique in the political, economic, cultural and foreign policy spheres.

As a matter of fact, the main battlecry is: “Unite and fight for democracy against the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship! Boycott its sham

elections for a sham parliament!” That puts the boycott campaign in the proper context. It is proper to stress the call for boycott in many mass actions up to May.

What do you think will be the measure of success for the boycott campaign? The advocates of participation say that there will be a lot more voter participation in May than in the January plebiscite because of the contest of personalities and parties?

The measure of success for the boycott campaign will not be the fictitious figures on voter turnout and election results to be issued by the Comelec. It will be the great number of people aroused, organized and mobilized by the boycott campaign through mass actions all over the country.

I am sure that this campaign will be drawing a far greater number of people through various forms of mass actions than either the KBL or any of the opposition parties that would be fielding candidates.

The cause-oriented rallies clearly have a large voluntary mass following. Generally, the parties fielding candidates will be able to get large crowds by spending a lot of money through the *hakot* system. But by taking up the people’s cause and vigorously speaking out against the regime, some candidates will become big crowd drawers.

Why will you not consider Comelec-issued results as a good measure for the success or failure of the boycott movement?

The figures that would be handled and released by the Comelec will not be a good basis for gauging the success of the boycott campaign because the new voters’ registration as well as the electoral process are still securely controlled and subject to manipulation by the Marcos dictatorship.

The barangay councils are subjects to pressures and manipulation by local KBL big shots. The majority of teachers are not yet up to the level of consciousness and activism of members of the Alliance of Concerned Teachers and teachers in Metro Manila and San Fernando, Pampanga. Most of them are still subject to pressures by local KBL big shots.

The opposition candidates, their parties and NAMFREL cannot go into the secret rooms of Malacañang, the Ministry of Local Government, the Comelec and the local big shots of the regime to stop the

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manipulators from conjuring ghost precincts and preparing election results ahead of election day.

By the law of uneven development though, there would be places where the regime will not be able to fabricate or manipulate the lists of voters and precincts. In such places, the strength of the boycott campaign and the pro-participation opposition may be accurately reflected in official results.

Laurel is probably correct when he says that UNIDO will win 60 to 70 percent of assembly seats if elections are clean and honest. But elections will be rigged.

There is a view that boycott is negative and difficult to campaign for among the people. Participation is supposed to be positive and attractive to the people. Unlike in a plebiscite, the clash of personalities in the May elections will generate wider participation. What do you think?

The boycott campaign as it is being waged by its proponents cannot but be positive because it rallies the people to the national democratic program. It would be a different story altogether if the boycott proponents do not explain the reasons for the boycott. Not only are the issues concerning national liberation and democracy being projected but so are the parties, alliances, mass organizations and personalities in support of these.

Under the circumstances, one cannot be positive without combating the evil of tyranny and puppetry. I think that the pro-participation parties will simply have to be positive and negative in this sense if they wish to save themselves from utter obsequiousness to the US-Marcos regime.

Participants in a sham elections will try to generate a lot of hoopla. But I think that the real voter turnout will be small. There will be more people drawn by mass actions of the boycott campaign.

Both the KBL leaders and the pro-participation opposition say that boycott is running away from a fright and that participation is macho. What do you say?

Participation is submission to the electoral farce of an illegitimate and terrorist regime; it is *matsunurin*, not macho.

Boycott consistently and forthrightly fights for the fundamentals of democracy against the autocracy. You are already witness to the

sustained and spreading militant mass actions. Are these not positively macho?

You know too that boycott is not the monopoly of the legal organizations, alliances and unarmed people. If you consider the boycott stand of the armed revolutionary organizations, what is more macho than what they are capable of doing?

What do you think of the view that President Marcos actually wants the real opposition to boycott the elections? That is supposed to be the reason why he ignored the six-point call for meaningful elections. He is also reported to be preparing to field a KBL "independent" slate and/or tap the Roy Nacionalistas to compete with the KBL.

The Reagan administration wants Mr. Marcos to stage an electoral exercise that is not so flagrantly fraudulent so that Mr. Reagan can tell the American people, the American press, the US Congress and the rest of the world that his boy in the Philippines is not so bad after all and is "democratic." Thus, credible opposition candidates and parties are needed for the exercise.

To keep the concessions that he has to give to UNIDO as small and negligible as possible, Marcos acts as if he can run a circus pleasing to the US by having a KBL "independent" slate or the Roy Nacionalistas as electoral opponents of the KBL.

Mr. Marcos is a puppet of the US but he has his extraordinary appetite for power. He is an autocrat in the mold of a Ngo Dinh Diem, a Shah Pahlavi and a Somoza. He thinks that if he still controls the reactionary armed forces and civil organs of government, the United States and various international agencies will have no choice but to deal with him.

He is compelling more and more people to opt for armed resistance. It is very likely that he will not know when he is already overtaken by developments.

Do you think the boycott campaign will actively denounce the opposition parties participating in the elections as capitulationists and helpers of the Marcos regime in prettifying itself?

I think that the boycott campaign should unerringly concentrate its fire on the US-Marcos clique and avoid dissipating its strength by berating the oppositionists who participate in the sham elections.

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There are venues for the boycott and participation sides to be on talking terms. Both sides were able to agree on the six-point call for meaningful elections. Of course, some of the signatories are more faithful to their signatures than the others.

On previous occasions, there were some spontaneous booing directed against a few political leaders advocating participation. That was because there were imprudent remarks and they wanted to seize the initiative in the same big gatherings.

When the boycott and participation sides of the opposition hold their respective rallies, there will be less or even no occasions for both sides to compete for support from the same gathering. However, this does not mean an absolute division between the two sides, especially after May.

What will be your attitude to participating opposition parties and their winning candidates after what you call sham elections for a sham parliament?

As I have already said, those for participation and those for boycott can always close ranks along the line of opposing the US-Marcos dictatorship and fighting for democracy.

Opposition candidates who win seats in the sham parliament can continue to fight for democracy inside and outside that assembly. But that assembly will still be a thing of the autocracy.

As the armed resistance advances, it will be interesting to see how the US will react to the Marcos puppet clique. The Reagan administrative definitely wants to prolong the Marcos regime. But the US will always place US interests above those of Marcos.

Suppose President Marcos heeds the six-point call for meaningful elections any time before the May elections, do you think the boycott side would decide to participate in the elections?

It would be some kind of a miracle if Mr. Marcos heeds that call. I am not inclined to think that he would ever do that. He is deadset on retaining a monopoly of political power.

The Reagan administration is still committed to propping up the Marcos regime. That is why Mr. Marcos is intransigent and arrogant. The US will decide to ease or kick Marcos out probably when the armed resistance reaches a certain point. At any rate, the Filipino people are fighting resolutely for national liberation and democracy.

If I may insist, in case President Marcos heeds the six-point call, including the release of all political prisoners and general amnesty, what will you do? Will you run for office or participate in the electoral campaign?

I would rather concentrate on teaching, research and writing right away. I can best serve my country and people that way.

But according to reliable sources, Mr. Marcos has vowed never to let me out of prison. So, I continue to place my hopes of freedom on the advance of the national democratic movement. The Aquino assassination is an indication that the regime might even send me to the firing squad or use other foul means to kill me for the purpose of exemplary terror.

The Filipino political exiles in the United States, who face trumped-up political charges of subversion, rebellion and the like, cannot even return home with guarantees that they will not be persecuted or murdered like Ninoy Aquino. Their condition is an indication of how much the US supports the Marcos regime.

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Statement of Solidarity with Lakbayan

February 29, 1984

I wish to express my solidarity with all the people and organizations participating in Lakbayan. I wish I could in person partake in the joy, rigors and risks of this historic event. Although I remain cramped in a solitary cell, I am with you all the way in mind and spirit.

I admire and support the patriotic effort to peacefully and militantly manifest the Filipino people's determination to unite and fight for democracy and dismantle the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique. Here is one more great occasion to push the struggle for national democracy forward.

Lakbayan is a venue for projecting all-important demands of the people in every sphere of our national life—political, economic and cultural. The overriding objective is to achieve national liberation and democracy.

Whatever is the variance in levels of understanding the evil of US imperialism, we must fully agree with the demand that the US stop propping up the Marcos puppet regime. Without kowtowing to the US for its support, this tyrannical regime cannot last a single day. Yet it has the temerity to ascribe its own treasonous character to all its opponents.

We must condemn the Reagan administration for conspiring with the Marcos puppet clique in its futile attempt to destroy the people's democratic movement, cover up fascist crimes and deck out its autocracy as democracy. We can expect that if the US-Marcos combine succeeds in deceiving the world with the forthcoming sham elections, fascist violence against the entire people, including the legal opposition, will escalate.

The Marcos regime has been emboldened to perpetrate the Aquino assassination and other fascist crimes because of US assurances of increasing military support under a military "modernization" (requirement) program and under Oplan Katatagan, in connection with the US-RP Military Bases Agreement.

There is also the ceaseless drive of US imperialism to keep the Philippines under a pseudodevelopment scheme, plunging it into a debt trap and extracting from a bankrupt and desperate Marcos

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regime increasing superexploitation privileges for US multinational firms. Thus, the US—especially the Reagan administration—wants to prolong the despotic rule of Marcos.

I anticipate that you will lay stress on the refusal of the US-Marcos regime to heed the just and reasonable six-point call for meaningful elections and that you will thoroughly expose the farcical character of the forthcoming May electoral exercise for a sham legislature under the fascist puppet autocracy.

Boycott is the correct and appropriate stand of the people. This is thoroughly consistent with the overall line of fighting for democracy and dismantling the Marcos dictatorship. The caravans, marches and rallies that make up Lakbayan must be very emphatic about this line and try to win over more people to the boycott stand.

The continuing and ever growing mass actions for democracy and against the fascist dictatorship—not fake electoral results in most places in May—are the true gauge of the people's will. The people realize their democratic power against tyranny through mass actions and other forms of resistance and not by submission to the US-Marcos clique through participation in some brief exercise manipulated by it.

With firm initiative and clear goal, the people must build up their own strength for more decisive battles against the enemy. We must be relentless in conducting and developing peaceful but militant mass actions that assert basic democratic principles and drown out any quickie exercise rigged up to prettify and perpetuate the fascist regime of the US-Marcos clique.

The success of Lakbayan will mark a higher level of development in the people's democratic movement. I hope for the utmost success of the northern and southern columns and the gigantic convergence in Manila. I also extend my best wishes to similar mass actions in the Visayas and Mindanao and all over the country.

Unite and fight for democracy!

Stop US support for the Marcos regime!

Remove the Marcos fascist clique!

Boycott the May 14 sham elections!

Justice for Aquino, justice for all!

Long live the Filipino people!

★ ★ ★

Message to Nagkakaisang Progresibong Artista/Arkitekto

March 10, 1984

Warmest revolutionary greetings!

I am exceedingly glad to learn that you are reviving the Nagkakaisang Progresibong Artista/Arkitekto (NPAA), an association that was propelled by the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and was an outstanding champion of the national democratic movement before the fascist coup of the US-Marcos clique in 1972.

You are upholding a great tradition of artists in the struggle for national liberation and democracy and against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. I am sure that you are as deeply committed to the revolutionary cause of the people as your predecessors.

I am aware that in moving toward the revival of NPAA you have been militantly participating in the great resurgence of the legal democratic mass movement against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

Giant paintings, posters, drawings and other artistic works depicting the people's revolutionary struggle and its heroes have taken a prominent role in mass education and mobilization. These works inspire the people to unite and fight ever more militantly for national democracy against a fascist puppet tyranny.

I am confident that the revival of NPAA will result in a higher level of revolutionary consciousness and militancy among you and more works of art in the service of the people and their revolutionary struggle.

Your decision to revive NPAA among fine arts students is wise. With a secure base of young artists still in school, you can easily proceed to link yourselves with the alumni and other professional artists.

I congratulate you for reviving NPAA. Always keep in mind its fine tradition that has meant in the concrete artists who have become well-rounded cadres in the revolutionary movement and works of art that have continuously inspired the people to fight for their national and democratic rights.

I wish you all the success in your ideological, political, organizational and artistic work. Integrate the proletarian revolutionary theory of

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art, socialist realism and revolutionary romanticism with the concrete conditions of the Filipino people's struggle for national independence and democracy.

Long live Nagkakaisang Progresibong Artista/Arkitekto!

Unite and fight for democracy!

Down with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Create works in the service of the Filipino people!

Long live all Filipino artists!

Continue the national democratic revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

★ ★ ★

Questions to Ask General Fabian Ver in Connection with the Aquino Assassination

March 1984

The military version of the Aquino assassination is that former Senator Benigno S. Aquino, Jr. was shot on the tarmac by Rolando Galman who darted from behind. The alleged assassin had been variably referred to by President Marcos and his military agents as an NPA (New People's Army) commander and as a notorious gun-for-hire used by criminal syndicates, politicians and subversives.

This version has collapsed upon the surfacing of incontrovertible facts which belie the self-interested "findings" of the military. The Suzuki sonogram analysis and the corroborating testimonies of Balang, Viesca, Wakamiya, Ueda, Ranas, Reyes and Layoso have established the following:

1. Aquino was shot to death while still on the stairway and while exclusively in the company of his military escorts; and
2. Galman was not in any position to dart from behind and shoot Aquino, and was himself a murder victim, clearly a fall guy.

Against this background, General Fabian C. Ver is reported to have been summoned to testify before the Agrava Board on March 26, 1984.

What has been announced as the immediate basis for calling him to witness is his alleged complicity in the disappearance of Lina Lazaro, common-law wife of Galman, on January 29, 1984. She is a vital witness who might be able to shed light on Galman's connections with the military, especially Col. Arturo Custodio.

But General Ver should as well be asked a series of questions proceeding from the fact that he ordered the making of Oplan Balikbayan and approved it according to a prior testimony of Aviation Security Command Chief Brig. Gen. Luther Custodio. Thus Gen. Ver's appearance can be made most useful in arriving at the truth about the Aquino assassination.

These are the questions that General Ver should be made to answer:

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1. Why did he approve Oplan Balikbayan without the strict elementary requirements of security agents with hand cameras covering and making a photographic record of all the movements of Aquino and his escorts? In providing maximum security for a person like Aquino, security photographers are an absolute necessity.

2. Why did the Presidential Security Command press liaison officer, Col. Tigas, herd and position the local news photographers in a manner as to prevent them from taking pictures of Aquino and his escorts as they moved down the stairway to the tarmac?

3. Why did the security agents forcibly prevent the foreign news photographers who had accompanied Aquino from taking pictures of Aquino as he was led out of the plane? They went to the extent of putting their hands over the lenses of the cameras of the foreign news photographers.

4. Why did Gen. Ver not make sure that the three TV monitoring systems of the Presidential Security Command, the Aviation Security Command (Avsecom) and the Bureau of Air Transport cover and record the descent of Aquino and his escorts to the tarmac? The failure of these monitoring systems to function as they should only stresses the need for security photographers with hand-held cameras.

5. Why is there apparently an erasure (a lack of continuity) in the video tape of MBS-Channel 4 between Aquino's appearance at the top of the stairway and the fallen figures of Aquino and Galman amidst the histrionics of the Avsecom troops from the van? The person operating the video camera would have sought cover only after the first shot had rang out and not so many seconds before it.

6. Why were the films of local news photographers taken by the military through MBS official Riofrr and then processed in the absence of the photographers who owned or were responsible for them?

7. Does not the overall effort to prevent the photographic recording of the assassination and then to check the films of the news photographers indicate an attempt to conceal responsibility for the assassination?

8. Why did Gen. Ver decide to have Aquino fetched from the plane contrary to his previously announced plan to have the papers of Aquino checked on the plane and to send him back on the same plane if the papers were not in order? Did he give Gen. Custodio the discretion of bringing Aquino out of the plane? And why were minor subordinates—a

Questions to Ask General Fabian Ver in Connection with the Aquino Assassination

mere lieutenant and five sergeants—tasked to fetched Aquino from the plane?

9. Did Gen. Ver give Gen. Custodio the discretion to have Aquino brought down the stairway? Into the open space without adequate protection at the stairway and at the foot of the stairway? And without photographic coverage? Why?

10. Why is it that guards at the foot of the stairway were moved elsewhere at the time that security at that spot was most needed? Was this to accommodate the subsequent claim that Galman had darted from under the plane?

11. As borne out by their testimonies, no one among the several scores of military security agents on the tarmac was a comprehensive witness to Aquino's descent on the staircase up to the precise moment of the assassination. Was it the task of all these agents to be on the lookout for nonmilitary witnesses, ignore Aquino or what else?

12. Was it not the overriding task of at least a sufficient number of guards at the foot of the stairway to watch Aquino as he descended because so many other security agents on the tarmac were already on the lookout for any possible assassin?

13. Why did the security agents in the van that was supposed to ferry Aquino coop themselves up in the same van? Was it more important that they hid themselves and limit their vision than prepare themselves to look out for and receive Aquino?

14. The security agents succeeded in preventing the photographic coverage of the Aquino assassination by the foreign photographers. But as an experienced security officer, does not Gen. Ver think that the security failed to prevent the audio recording of what transpired at the stairway?

15. On the basis of the television footages of NHK and ABC and the voiceprint analysis of Dr. Suzuki, it was Lt. Jesus de Castro, leader of the team escorting Aquino, who gave the order "Pusila!"—the order before the first shot or the order to shoot Aquino. Who in the AFP command structure authorized Lt. Castro to give the order?

16. To whom did Lt. Castro give the order? Who executed the order or fired at Aquino? There can only be either Sgt. Arnulfo de Mesa or the security agent in barong tagalog who could carry out the order.

17. Why have the escorts of Aquino given sworn statements contrary to the facts? Why is it that all security agents on the tarmac who

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obviously had Aquino in full view given statements denying a view of the assassination?

18. In view of the Suzuki sonogram analysis and the corroborating testimonies of Balang, Viesca, Wakamiya, Ueda, Ranas, Reyes and Layoso, does Gen. Ver still agree with Gen. Olivas' findings that Galman darted from under the plane and shot Aquino from behind on the tarmac?

19. How does the general view the military version that Galman was able to penetrate the security perimeter of some 1,200 men and then the most sanitized area of the MIA at Gate 8? It is well-known that under the overall command of Gen. Ver, no one gets through a maximum security perimeter without some obscure countersign in addition to uniform, identification card and familiarity of face.

20. In view of the failure of Oplan Balikbayan to protect Aquino and also in view of facts destroying the military version of the Aquino assassination, does Gen. Ver agree that command responsibility, criminal culpability and negligence must be looked into? Was not Oplan Balikbayan practically a death trap for Aquino?

21. Why was Sgt. Arnulfo de Mesa promoted recently to the rank of second lieutenant? As AFP Chief of Staff, did Gen. Ver recommend the promotion? Was de Mesa credited for escorting Aquino and supposedly parrying off the arm of Galman?

22. President Marcos, Mrs. Marcos, and Minister Enrile had publicly and privately warned Aquino of serious threats to this life. There were supposed to be serious threats coming from 1) some friends of the President, 2) communists and 3) opposition politicians. As the source of his superior's information, will Gen. Ver present the *solid facts* about each of these threats, without resorting to conjectures and hearsay? The public has had enough of the tales of Cawigan and Darawan.

23. Is it not unfair to the public that Cols. Kintanar, Galido and Gavino as well as NBI director Jolly Bugarin invoked national security and testified behind closed doors before the Agrava Board on matters pertaining to the investigation of the Aquino assassination? Does not Gen. Ver agree that public interest demands that their testimony be made public?

24. Galman was not a stranger to President Marcos and Gen. Ver. He was detained under a Presidential Commitment Order (PCO) up to March 1983 at Camp Olivas although he had been suspected of common crimes, not of any political crime. Why and how was that

Questions to Ask General Fabian Ver in Connection with the Aquino Assassination

PCO imposed on Galman and eventually lifted? Only the President upon the recommendation of Gen. Ver could impose and lift PCOs.

25. Why did President Marcos and Gen. Ver pretend not to know the identity of Galman? Their loyal subordinates such as Col. Arturo Custodio, Maximo Mejia as well as officers of Camp Olivas knew Galman extremely well. What was the purpose of the well publicized ₱500,000 reward offered by President Marcos for the identification of Galman so many days after August 21, 1983?

26. Is it true that Col. Mejia, a protégé and security aide of Mr. Eduardo Cojuangco, recommended Galman to Cojuangco who subsequently hired Galman and that Galman was detained at Camp Olivas after killing another employee of Mr. Cojuangco? Was not the PCO imposed on Galman to allow his indefinite detention without charges, give him the coloration of a “subversive” for the purposes of those who had been coddling him?

27. Other than the self-incriminating claims and hearsay of Rosendo Cawigan and the loose-leaf NPA “order of battle” arbitrarily drawn up by AFP intelligence agencies at various levels, are there solid proofs of Galman’s connections with the NPA?

28. How could Cawigan be an undercover agent against the NPA when it was publicly known that he had not only turned against his former employer Senator Benigno Aquino, Jr. but had become a Marcos agent soon after the declaration of martial law? He was rewarded with employment as intelligence officer of the National Grains Authority (now National Food Authority). He was convicted of illegal possession of firearms in 1974 only to buttress the charge of illegal possession of firearms against Aquino but he did not serve a single day of his sentence. The whole world knew that he was a government witness in the case against Aquino and suspected leaders of the CPP and NPA.

29. Cawigan never had the time, opportunity and qualifications to become an NPA commander. On the other hand, there is incontrovertible proof that he enjoys good connections with the Presidential Security Command. Why did Col. Balbino Diego motivate Cawigan to go to the MIA on August 21, 1983 and try to kill Aquino? Why does the PSC maintain good relations with a notorious self-confessed criminal like Cawigan and allow him to go scot free?

30. In his published interview with Ms. Ma. Victoria Gochoco (*Businessday*, February 27 issue), General Ver is directly quoted as saying that the death sentence on Aquino had been confirmed by the Military

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Commission trying him and that he was already “legally dead” even before he was shot to death. Has the pertinent Military Commission indeed confirmed Aquino’s previous death sentence? Has not President Marcos granted Aquino a reprieve in connection with the latter’s participation in the 1978 Interim Batasang Pambansa elections?

31. The above statement of General Ver echoes the press report some one week before the Aquino assassination that Aquino’s death sentence had been confirmed. Why was this press report made? Who was its source? Was it to assure the triggerman that he would not be criminally culpable because his target was a condemned man in the first place?

32. Was General Ver aware that Col. Custodio had close connections with Galman and that he and his men, including a certain Boy Busuego, had taken Lina Lazaro from her home for the first time on August 23, 1983?

33. Why is it that the military took Galman’s mother and his sister into *official* custody but not Lina Lazaro who had lived with Galman and was in a better position to shed light on his activities and connections? Was not the *official* seizure of Galman’s mother and his sister a diversionary ploy and the *unofficial* seizure of Lina Lazaro intended to cover up Galman’s connection with the military, especially Col. Custodio?

34. There is proof that up to the evening of September 4, 1983, Ana (Baby) Oliva, the woman who was reported to have been with Galman at a motel near the MIA from August 19 to 21, 1983 could easily be located. Why did not the military investigators *officially* and properly locate and investigate her? Instead, Ana and her sister Catherine were kidnapped on September 4, 1983 obviously by military operatives. A certain Evelyn, the friend of the Oliva sisters, would subsequently disappear after a week. What action has General Ver taken in connection with the disappearance of these three women?

35. Did Col. Tigas make any report to higher military authorities regarding the “crying lady” (Rebecca Quijano) who appeared to have witnessed the assassination? Where is she now? There should be some record of an investigation of her done by the military.

36. Where is Rebecca Abenir, a lady guard of the Lantin Security and Watchman Agency, who probably witnessed the assassination? She disappeared a week after August 21. Where is she now? Too

Questions to Ask General Fabian Ver in Connection with the Aquino Assassination

many innocent women have disappeared either because of fear for their lives or some criminal scheme of people in authority.

37. Why is it that the military investigators headed by Gen. Olivas never succeeded in getting any witness or material evidence running counter to the military version of the Aquino assassination? Is it true that witnesses were coerced? Why were fingerprints on the supposed death gun messed up? Why were the height measurements of both Aquino and Galman repeatedly adjusted?

38. What is the progress on the investigation of the death of Brig. Gen. Baltazar Aguirre and his wife? Is it true that he was a close friend of Aquino and had warned him of the assassination plot in a one-hour conversation taped by the Taiwan Garrison? Is it true that Gen. Aguirre was shot in the back in the course of the "accident" that killed him and his wife? Who owned the truck that bumped the vehicle of Gen. Aguirre?

39. Was Gen. Ver aware that Aquino was monitored by Gen. Kanapi and a relay of Filipino intelligence agents, Philippine missions, the US Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Interpol from the United States through Singapore, Hong Kong and Taipeh to Manila? Was General Ver aware of radio and teletype intercepts of the US intelligence agencies on the conversations between Manila and Taipeh authorities regarding Aquino?

40. Is it good management for President Marcos and Gen. Ver to bypass and keep the Minister of Defense ignorant on such an important matter as providing proper security for Aquino?

(More questions pertinent to Ver can be formulated. Please ask lawyers to improve on the questions and add more questions.)

President Marcos has described the Aquino assassination as a national shame. It is an old Marcos propaganda trick to obscure his own responsibility for some wrongdoing by pretending to condemn it in words.

At any rate, many retired generals and flag officers of the Armed Forces of the Philippines have passed a resolution holding General Ver responsible for this national shame and asserting that he is a dishonor to the Armed Forces of the Philippines and have therefore called for his ouster from the position of AFP Chief of Staff.

The courageous stand of these conscience-stricken retired AFP officers of the highest rank reflects that of a rapidly growing number of active officers and men. All of them condemn the blind loyalty of

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General Ver and his narrow clique to the tyrant Marcos as well as the gross treachery involved in the Aquino assassination and the subsequent attempt to cover it up.

If General Ver considers himself a man of honor, he should resign from his position because he cannot escape direct command responsibility for the occurrence of this treacherous crime. The facts show that he and a number of his subordinates in Oplan Balikbayan are also criminally liable for the coldblooded murder.

As commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, President Marcos has the highest command responsibility for the Aquino assassination. The longer he retains General Ver in the Armed Forces of the Philippines, the more Mr. Marcos exposes his complicity with his top *verdugo* and above all his own role as principal by induction.

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Fraudulent Registration of Voters

March 26, 1984

The fraudulent registration of voters is one more reason for the boycott of the forthcoming rigged election for a sham parliament under the fascist dictatorship.

The registration of “flying voters,” illegal registration centers, noncorrespondence of precinct and territory, monopoly of citizens’ election committees by agents of the dictatorship and so many other fraudulent practices have been rampant and very visible to the people all over the country.

It appears that cheating by a variety of means has been perpetrated by lower level politicians of the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL) and their ward leaders. In fact the worst kind of cheating is done at the highest level of the dictatorship not by the clear condoning of highly visible fraudulent practices but by the systematic nationwide manufacture of ghost precincts in some secret rooms in Malacañang, in the Commission of Elections and in the Ministry of Local Government using as a smokescreen the highly visible fraudulent practices.

The problem is not just of ghost voters but of entire ghost precincts on a massive scale. Mr. Marcos and his Comelec are again set to claim a fictitious number of registered voters far beyond the actual number of persons who have properly registered.

On the basis of the fraudulent registration of voters, it is not only the forthcoming May elections that will be rigged but also all the voting exercises in the next twelve years, if the fascist dictatorship can last that long in the face of the mounting resistance of the broad masses of the people.

The implication of the fraudulent registration of voters is that peaceful change toward democracy is not possible through elections controlled and manipulated by the dictatorship and certainly not through those who may get elected to serve under an undiminished autocracy that has usurped supreme and unlimited executive, legislative and judicial powers.

The dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique continues to insult the sovereign people who have in turn opted to wage all forms of

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resistance on a day-to-day basis and not through some periodic rigged electoral exercise.

The forthcoming sham elections in May will certainly fail to misrepresent the Marcos despotism as a democracy but will further outrage the people and further move them to assert and fight for their national and democratic rights with ever increasing resoluteness and militancy.

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On the Government's Intensified Counterinsurgency Campaign and Related Issues¹⁹

Circa April 1984

Can you comment on the announced policy of President Marcos to wipe out the CPP and NPA? Do you think it will succeed?

Such a policy will fail as it has consistently failed since 1969. The CPP and NPA have been able to overcome everything dished out by the fascist dictatorship since 1972 and have grown in strength on a nationwide scale in the course of revolutionary struggle.

The CPP/NPA strategy of protracted people's war will outlast the US-Marcos regime and will bring the national democratic revolution to final victory. Revolutionary forces fighting for the national and democratic interests of the people are invincible.

But will not the insurgents be defeated if President Marcos calls on the US to bring its troops into the Philippines?

The revolutionary forces are ideologically and politically prepared to confront even an all-out US war of aggression similar to that unleashed in Vietnam.

It is futile on the part of Marcos to call for overt US military intervention in order to frighten the Filipino people. He himself will be discarded as a bungling puppet if and when the US starts to bring in its troops and launch a war of aggression in the Philippines.

As a matter of fact, the maturation of the strategic defensive or the start of the strategic stalemate in the people's war will cause the US to junk Marcos completely.

¹⁹ Interview released for publication by the Free Jose Maria Sison Committee.-Editor

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Will not a combination of military suppression (the right hand) and civic action (the left hand), especially with an economic recovery program going into full swing, result in the defeat of the NPA?

No amount of military suppression can defeat a people's army that defends the fundamental national democratic interests of the people against the fascist dictatorship and the foreign and feudal interests behind it.

No amount of civic action by the AFP can prettify the ugly fact of fascist puppetry, terrorism and corruption. A civic action fund of one billion pesos cannot succeed where hundreds of billions of pesos poured into overpriced infrastructure failed during the 1970s.

The political and economic crisis of the ruling system is not something that will blow over after a short while. It continues to weaken the system to the core.

The so-called economic recovery program and the intensified campaign of fascist terrorism merely serve to aggravate the crisis, cause further social unrest and incite more people to take up arms.

What can you say about the claims of President Marcos that the legal opposition parties are conspiring with the CPP, NPA and NDF to disrupt the forthcoming elections?

The claim is simply self-serving. Mr. Marcos is accusing the revolutionary forces and the legal opposition parties of conspiring to disrupt the forthcoming elections in order to pave the way for his own massive use of fraud and terrorism.

What do you think are the chances of the opposition in the local and presidential elections?

Wherever the elections, especially the local elections, relatively are clean and honest, the opposition will win. It is probable however that the fascists will be able to rig the elections in most areas.

In the case of the presidential elections, the fascists will exert more effort to have their way through fraud and terrorism. From the very start, the real opposition will have a great disadvantage if the dominant opposition party (DOP) accreditation is given to the Nacionalista Party (Roy) or if the elections are synchronized and inspectors are granted to the opposition parties on a fragmented basis.

On the Government's Intensified Counterinsurgency Campaign

If the likelihood that elections will not be fair, clean and honest is great, why then should legal forces of the Left consider participating in them?

One major consideration is to help antifascist and progressive candidates win wherever possible. Another is to be with other antifascist forces so that if the elections prove to be completely rigged and rotten, it would be easier to form the broadest possible united front for more militant and effective actions.

At any rate, from a revolutionary viewpoint, electoral struggle is rated third after armed struggle and consistent and timely mass actions. Elections under the auspices of the US-Marcos clique cannot bring about any fundamental change. However, it can exacerbate the contradictions within the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords.

What do you think would happen should the ruling party win through massive fraud and terrorism?

Those who "win" through fraud and terror will not be able to enjoy their position. A fake reelection of Marcos or a fake election of his surrogate will further fan the flames of the revolutionary armed struggle.

Another six years of fascism will be fatal to the entire ruling system. There will be more than enough time allowance and enough opportunity not only for the development of the strategic stalemate but also for reaching the stage of the strategic offensive.

In case an opposition candidate wins in the presidential elections, do you suppose the CPP will accept legalization and agree to dis-mantle the NPA?

The CPP is a revolutionary party firmly committed to the completion of the national democratic revolution. Without a people's army at its command, it would be at the mercy of US imperialism and its armed puppets. Most important of all, without a people's army, the people have nothing.

It would be a miracle if the Marcos fascist gang would voluntarily and peacefully (through clean and honest elections) yield its power to any of the legal opposition parties.

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It would be another miracle if the guns and goons of the US and the Marcos fascist gang would just evaporate as soon as the opposition won in the elections.

It would be still another miracle if the successor party would be a complete instrument of the people against US imperialism and the local reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords.

A revolutionary party will never allow itself and the people to be at the mercy of US imperialism and its armed puppets. The US policy regarding genuine Filipino revolutionaries and communists is to exterminate them one way or another.

Do you think the Aquino assassination will still be a big issue in the forthcoming elections?

Definitely yes. The almost sure acquittal of General Ver and General Olivas and six other accused further exposes the fact that there has been a process of serialized whitewashing of the crime from the Agrava Board to the Sandiganbayan under the direction of the US-Marcos clique.

Not only the assassination of Aquino and other prominent persons but also the entire range of terrorist policies and acts of the fascist dictatorship against the people will continue to be a big issue in the forthcoming elections and afterwards.

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On Cultural Work among the Workers²⁰

May 1, 1984

It is my honor and privilege to address the national council and induction of officers of Makabayang Alyansa sa Sining Anakpawis (MASA).

The organization of MASA is highly significant. It is the first of its kind in the entire history of our country; an alliance of organizations of cultural workers based in factories among trade unionists and in communities among the urban poor.

I wish to congratulate all the officers, members and individual organizations of MASA for having come to this point of crowning their achievements with the formation of an alliance; and with the determination to forge ahead in developing the people's culture.

MASA consolidates your organizational efforts and achievements as it enhances the work of organizational expansion and of bringing the cultural and political struggle to a higher level.

It is my hope that with the formation of the alliance you would advance the work of reflecting and inspiring the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the entire people for national liberation and democracy against fascist, foreign and feudal domination.

You have taken a proletarian stand in building cultural organizations and doing cultural work, particularly in the arts, among the workers. To take this stand is to think, feel and act according to the needs, interests and aspirations of the working class as well as in the light of revolutionary theory.

You must firm up your stand by constantly conducting social investigation among the working class and political and theoretical studies on the historic mission of the working class among your membership.

Only by creating and presenting artistic works based on the lives of the workers and showing their struggle to overcome the forces that oppress and exploit them can you succeed in your cultural work among the workers.

²⁰ Due to certain circumstances, the speech could not be read by the author's wife at the MASA Founding Congress. However, we include this in our publication as a basic study material of our alliance.—Editorial note from the pamphlet issued by MASA.

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Even if all or most of you are workers, each of you or each organization can only have a limited knowledge of the lives of workers at every given time. You must therefore always strive to learn more through investigation, closer links with more workers and participation in their struggles.

Cultural work is an important and necessary part of the working class movement. To be able to rise as the vanguard in the national democratic revolution, the proletariat must wage struggles and win victories not only in the economic and political spheres but also in the cultural sphere.

The workers must shake off the deadening influence of decadent bourgeois and feudal culture that outrightly denigrates them or subtly distracts them and at the same time glorifies those who oppress and exploit them. The workers and their own cultural workers must create their own proletarian revolutionary culture.

You must bring to the fore the heroic qualities of the working class as the most advanced productive and revolutionary force in this country and in the whole world destined to free the nation and mankind from the scourge of imperialism and all reaction. Proletarian revolutionary ideas, sentiments and values must arise to strengthen the spirit not only of the proletariat but also of the entire people.

There is the need for all of you to devote time to the study of the national democratic program of the proletariat and the people in the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions of our country. In connection with the general program, you can find your own bearings and define the specific program for your own work.

Although the working class is the vanguard class in production and revolution, it is still very much less in number than the peasantry which constitutes the majority in our semicolonial and semifeudal society. The working class cannot free itself if the entire nation were not freed—if it did not combine with the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie in revolutionary struggle.

The artistic works that you create or present must take into account and give expression to the basic worker-peasant alliance; the alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie as the basic forces of the revolution; and the alliance of these basic forces with the vacillating national bourgeoisie.

Of course, you must give the utmost importance to the worker-peasant alliance because this covers more than 90 percent of the

people. You must present the strong natural and social links between the workers and the peasants.

There must be close coordination between the workers and the peasants as they struggle for their national and democratic rights in their respective areas. The trade union and strike movement up to the nationwide strike and general uprising are certainly related to the peasant movement and armed struggle in the countryside.

Proletarian cadres lead the national democratic revolution in both urban and rural areas. Workers who can no longer earn their living or work for their cause in the urban areas can easily take up revolutionary work in the countryside under the guidance of the revolutionary party of the proletariat.

Those of you who have received basic political education by studying the national democratic program and the specific program of your alliance must strive to learn the revolutionary theory of the proletariat, which includes philosophy, history, political economy (including a critique of imperialism), social science, ethics and aesthetics.

You can have a primer and a selection of articles by which individuals and groups can learn basic principles and firm up their proletarian world outlook and methodology.

Those who wish to lead in the cultural front must always improve their understanding of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat. And, of course, they should take special interest in proletarian aesthetics which they must be able to transmit in down-to-earth terms to all cultural workers.

The class struggle which begins in the economic sphere and rises to the level of revolutionary class struggle in the political sphere must be reflected in the cultural sphere. Whether you use traditional or new art forms, you must infuse these forms with the concrete sensuously human content of the national and social struggle.

Theory hastens your understanding of reality in general and guides your practice. Political education gives you an understanding of the national reality and the national direction. Social investigation gives you the raw materials for artistic creation.

It is the task of the artist to grasp the essential and typical in the social situation and to create the work of art as a beautiful organism pulsating with the sensuousness of human experience yet exuding general significance. An excellent work of art is both entertaining and enlightening.

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Works of art for the workers should not be regarded as one-sided reflections of the economic and political conditions and struggles of the workers. These workers should also inspire more workers to join the struggle and raise it to new levels. There is a dialectical relationship between cultural work and other forms of work in the struggle.

It is gratifying to know that workers' cultural organizations have been very active and successful in entertaining, enlightening and inspiring workers in the course of strikes, marches, rallies and in other gatherings in work sites as well as in communities.

I understand that it is in the performing arts, music, drama, pageants, poetry readings and so on, where your work is most developed. Performances are being held on just about any available space—improvised stages, streets and plazas.

Your work has caught on. Spontaneously, while at work, workers individually or in groups sing the songs of the struggle and recite revolutionary poems and passages from dramatic works to fight off boredom in routine work, strengthen their revolutionary spirit and banish the negative influences of imperialist and reactionary culture.

You have done creditable work in the visual arts, such as posters, giant streamers, effigies and photography. In due time, you will probably be producing sculptures, paintings as well as producing documentary films and full feature films.

Meaningful images are powerful. A single picture can tell a story much more quickly than written words. And more people are reached. In great numbers, workers and their children can learn to draw caricatures against the enemy just as they can easily compose ditties, rhymes, skits and tableaux.

Creative writing for workers has also made some progress, especially in poetry, music, drama and other forms which can be used by the performing arts. But forms of creative writing such as the short story, novelette and novel lag behind in quantity and attention given.

Creative writing for the performing arts and private reading need to be promoted by your organizations. You can encourage the workers in general to submit story lines and some workers who have the ability to write what they can. But you must have a reliable group of writers who can create works of increasingly high quality for the workers.

The staging and publication of their works are powerful moral incentives for writers. But they must also be compensated. Income from performances and publication sales must be able to support full-time

cultural workers, including writers of proven merit. You can also commission writers.

While I have lauded the success of your organizations in cultural work, I propose that MASA and its component organizations continually seek to improve on the content and form of the works that you create and present.

There is indeed a need for ditties, pageants, skits, rhymed statements, effigies, posters and the like. These are very popular forms of art. They are very effective forms for propaganda and agitation. These are easily done and understood.

Especially because you are doing cultural work among the masses of workers, you must uphold the importance of these simple forms of popular art and popularize them further. But in response to critics who demand higher aesthetic standards, you must indeed encourage the creative writers to produce works of higher quality that can be appreciated by the workers and the people, including university audiences.

I would like to see the day that under the auspices and stimulus of your alliance proletarian multi-act plays, operas, novels, full-length feature films and the like would flourish. The creation and presentation of these works would constitute the high points of your mass cultural work.

Having formed an alliance, you can make greater achievements in your cultural work. You can set and realize a program of ideological, political, organizational and artistic achievements. You can pool more human and material resources to advance your work. You can have exchanges of artists and art works between the organizations, factories and communities. You can conduct seminars and workshops on a wide scale. You can hold comprehensive cultural festivals as well as specialized festivals in the various art forms. You can choose the best of the works in every art form and hold these up as models and anthologize them from year to year.

I wish you all the success in your work. I am sure that you will contribute an ever larger share in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the workers and the rest of the people for the victory of the national democratic revolution.

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Post-election Views²¹

May 20, 1984

What is your general view of the conduct and outcome of the elections for the Batasang Pambansa?

The elections were farcical as these were conducted within the parameters of a tyrannical regime. The cards were stacked against the opposition. There were fraudulent registration of voters, massive vote-buying, fabrication of tally sheets, substitution or stuffing of ballot boxes and so many dirty tricks made possible through intimidation and terror by the regime.

Despite all these, however, the reformist opposition won a sizeable minority of seats in the batasang pambansa. What is pleasantly surprising to many is that the number of seats exceed the twenty to thirty arrogantly predicted by the dictator.

What do you think were the factors that helped to elect this sizeable minority.

First, there is the regime's performance record of puppetry, tyranny, brutality, waste and profligacy, corruption, and chicanery. The people found this performance record utterly intolerable. Issues were in favor of the opposition candidates.

Second, is the incessant unity of the boycott and participation sides of the opposition in condemning the US-supported Marcos dictatorship, divided though they were on the issue of participation in the elections. The boycott movement served to stress the people's rejection of the evil of Marcos tyranny and gave steady covering fire to the participation side of the legal opposition.

But, of course, the participation side of the legal opposition deserves full credit for campaigning well and getting the votes directly for its candidates.

²¹ Answers to interview questions from various sources put forward through, and collated and released by the Free Jose Ma. Sison Committee to various media outlets.-Editor

Detention and Defiance against Dictatorship

How do you argue against the view that the boycott movement prejudiced the participation side of the legal opposition in the elections?

Long before the sham elections, I said categorically that the boycott campaign would indirectly help the opposition candidates. The unity of the two sides in denouncing the fascist dictatorship weighed far more than any disadvantage that may have been caused by the boycott to the participation side of the opposition.

The only real disadvantage caused by the boycott to the participation side were the narrowed range of deserving candidates to choose from on a nationwide scale and the initial difficulties of the opposition candidates in holding big rallies in some areas.

The boycott did not fragment the votes for the opposition candidates in favor of the KBL. Neither were pseudo-opposition candidates able to do so in favor of the KBL. The Marcos regime and the general run of its candidates were simply detested and rejected.

In so many families made typical by the Aquino family, boycotters advised their relatives to vote for the opposition candidates if they could not be persuaded to join the boycott movement.

More than anything else, the boycott and participation sides of the opposition were complementary. This is proven by the outcome of the elections.

Don't you think that if the opposition had been united on the issue of participation in the elections it could have won the overwhelming majority of BP seats?

Notwithstanding the boycott movement, the opposition candidates actually won the overwhelming majority of seats through the number of legitimate votes cast. But this victory has been nullified by the fascist regime through massive fraud and intimidation in all phases of the electoral process—registration, voting and canvassing.

Marcos in his simplistic calculation overestimated as a factor in his favor the effect of the boycott movement in reducing votes for the opposition candidates. And so in quite a number of places, the extent of fraud committed by Marcos' KBL henchmen could not offset or nullify the overwhelming number of votes actually cast for the opposition. The trick of delayed canvassing eventually had to be resorted to after the voting trend had been established so as to accommodate more fake tally sheets and further reduce the number of winning opposition candidates.

Had the opposition been united on the issue of participation in the sham elections, the regime would have been more vicious in the commission of fraud all over the country. The elections would have been more fraudulent than all the previous sham elections, plebiscites and referenda.

It is a matter of principle that the boycott was conducted. The boycott movement would have nothing to do with rigged elections for a fake parliament under a fascist dictatorship.

Does not the heavy voter turnout prove that the boycott movement failed?

I do not agree that there was a heavy voter turnout. But I would agree that the overwhelming number of those who voted did vote for the opposition candidates. The votes that were credited to the KBL candidates were fake to the extent of 25 percent up to more than 100 percent, varying from place to place.

In so many places, the registrants and the voters exceeded the estimated number of qualified voters and even the population. Babies and unborn babies were made to vote for the KBL.

There is one independent estimate that at least sixty percent of all persons of voting age did not vote. And of those who voted, at least eighty percent voted against KBL candidates. The KBL had to offset this through massive fraud.

*The participation opposition at least won a sizeable minority bloc in the *batasang pambansa*. And so in relation to it, was not the boycott movement the loser?*

The boycott movement and the participation opposition were both winners against the fascist regime. The boycott movement expanded the politically advanced section of the people. The participation opposition was able to draw a large number of votes from the middle section (in the political spectrum from left to right).

The politically backward section—that which is still hoodwinked, awed or cowed by the Marcos regime—has shrunk. Thus, the regime has been fabricating its votes all over the country.

It would be wrong to say that the participation opposition was a winner while the boycott movement was a loser in the sham elections. Being in the minority or even being in the majority of a body subordinate to an autocrat is not by itself something to rejoice about.

Detention and Defiance against Dictatorship

The successful candidates of the opposition can be proud of their election only if they continue to fight for national freedom and democracy in the *batasang pambansa* and deliver effective blows against the fascist puppet dictatorship. To be able to do so, they will need the support of the people and all the organized democratic forces.

Whatever breach enlightened assemblymen can make on the fortress of tyranny will be helpful to the more important overall democratic movement outside of the sham parliament.

As a member of the Kampil national council of leaders, are you aware of moves to regroup and strengthen both boycott and participation opposition in one united front?

There are several well known moves to coordinate the various democratic forces in a broad front. It would be easy to coordinate those who opted for boycott and those for participation because they have always been united on the need to dismantle the US-supported Marcos dictatorship and to restore democracy.

There is a rising determination to compel the removal or the resignation of Marcos and his entire clique before 1987. The struggle will be carried out on all fronts—in the cities and in the countryside, in halls and in the streets, in the country and abroad. There will have to be a broad united front to carry out this struggle.

What would you wish opposition assemblymen to do in the BP?

As espoused by former Justice Cecilia Muñoz Palma, they should fight for the dismantling of the entire Marcos constitution which is antinational and antidemocratic.

They should consolidate and expand their ranks by winning over independent-minded and self-respecting KBL assemblymen, and assert their legislative prerogative by at least striking at Amendment 6 and other obnoxious features of the Marcos constitution.

All enlightened members of the sham parliament should work in consonance with the organized democratic forces outside of that sham parliament to immediately repeal all the antinational and antidemocratic decrees and issuances of the puppet autocrat Marcos.

If Marcos arrogantly exercises his autocratic powers to stop democratic reforms, he becomes more exposed as an enemy of the people and becomes further isolated for eventual removal from power.

Will the just concluded elections and the regular batasang pambansa defuse and stabilize the situation in our country or at least help to do so?

I do not think so. The political and economic crisis continues to worsen rapidly. In the main and in essence, the batasang pambansa is still a plaything of the US-backed autocracy. The open rule of terror goes on under the despot who continues to be the superexecutive, superlegislator and supermagistrate.

The exploited masses of workers and peasants are not represented in the sham parliament. They will continue to suffer increasing oppression and exploitation. The revolutionary forces and the armed revolution will advance rapidly.

In our historical experience, so many sham parliaments created by the US and its fascist puppet regimes have only served to aggravate the violent contradictions among reactionary factions and stimulate the growth of revolutionary forces.

At best, the opposition in the batasang pambansa can expose and condemn the evil character and crimes of the US-Marcos regime. The oppositionist minority can become significant only as they fight for the national and democratic rights and interests of the people.

Do the elections improve the international image of the Marcos regime and therefore hasten the approval of financial packages for it? Will these solve the economic and financial crisis?

The people abroad know that the elections have been conducted within the parameters of a fascist dictatorship. They know that the batasang pambansa is a sham parliament subordinate to the supreme legislative power of the dictator.

By now, the people abroad would know through the foreign correspondents the massive fraud perpetrated by the Marcos regime so as to have a comfortable majority in the fake legislature.

I think that the elections have been contrived by the US and its puppet regime to mislead the American people and the US Congress about conditions in the Philippines. One of these days, US President Reagan will praise Marcos for a job well done in the name of "democracy."

The financial packages are being worked out on the basis of a wide range of considerations serving the interests of the official and private financial institutions and the transnational corporations.

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But we must remember that it took Mexico and Brazil 18 months to reschedule their debts and get new loans.

So what if Marcos gets the IMF standby credit of \$650 million, debt rescheduling and new loans after elections or after the Agrava Board inquiry on the Aquino assassination or some time between October and March next year?

New loans of \$3.3 billion will not lift the Philippines from the economic and financial crisis. The amount is just about the amount needed for interest payments on the \$30 billion foreign debt. The country will be deeper in debt and will continue sinking into the quagmire of semifeudal dependence and chronic indebtedness.

As a consequence of the elections, what do you suppose will be the tendency of President Marcos?

Marcos is aware of the deepgoing hatred of the people for all the injustices heaped on them by his regime. But he is determined to hold on to his ill-gotten power and wealth because he is in mortal fear of his victims.

He likes to imagine and pose himself as a cunning master of counterrevolutionary dual tactics. But in fact, he will be torn apart by two contradictory tendencies due to the worsening crisis and the rapid rise of popular resistance.

One tendency is for him to take the stance of "maximum tolerance" and call for "national reconciliation." He will try to bait the reformist opposition into a counterrevolutionary anticommunist alliance and into sharing the blame and discredit for the grave ills of the moribund ruling system.

The other tendency is for him to escalate campaigns of intimidation and violence against the people. But every act of terror by his regime will outrage the people and will be politically costly to him.

How would the movement to restore democracy fare under such circumstances?

This movement will continue to raise the level of its consciousness and militancy and will grow in number and strength. The legal democratic movement in the urban area and the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside will advance rapidly.

Everyone knows the fatal weaknesses of the US-Marcos regime. The people see its corruption and rottenness behind its campaign of

violence and deception. This regime and the entire ruling system are being destroyed by a series of contradictions.

What are these contradictions?

The US wants the Marcos puppet clique to put up a “democratic” facade and blames Marcos for his crude tactics. But the same imperialist power dictates economic policies and supplies the regime with arms that both result in intolerable suffering among the people who increasingly put up resistance.

With the dwindling of foreign exchange in an import-dependent semifeudal economy, the rest of the ruling classes are mad at the Marcos clique for its extreme greed. The most astute politicians of the reformist parties gain the support of the anti-Marcos groups of big compradors and landlords even as they seek support from the exploited masses of the people.

The worsening political and economic crisis of the ruling system is bound to weaken Marcos’ grip on the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the politicians of the KBL. The results of the elections have demonstrated that Marcos is already a losing proposition.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants as well as the members of the middle strata of our society who are increasingly suffering the ravages of massive unemployment, depressed incomes, soaring inflation, drastic devaluations, shortages and so on, have increasingly rallied to the legal democratic mass movement as well as the armed struggle.

The armed mass movement led by the revolutionary army of the proletariat and based in the countryside among the peasants continue to expand and intensify. As the big compradors and big landlords try to extract more profit from agriculture, they exacerbate the land problem and push the peasants further towards armed struggle.

There have been reports that the New People’s Army intensified its armed activities in terms of raids and ambushes on military detachments during the electoral campaign period and on the very day of elections. What do you suppose did the NPA prove by these increased activities?

I think that the NPA proved that it can increase its rifles by several hundreds within a relatively short period. On the basis of news reports released by the Armed Forces of the Philippines, I can say that the

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NPA was able to seize more than a hundred rifles on or around the day of the elections.

The proven ability of the NPA to seize a large number of arms from the AFP within a short period is far more significant than the election of a minority bloc of oppositionists to a sham legislature. But, of course, I do not discount the usefulness even of such a minority bloc to the overall struggle of the people to dismantle the US-Marcos dictatorship.

President Marcos made a call for national reconciliation a few days before the elections. Do you welcome such a call?

I welcome any serious move towards national reconciliation on the basis of advancing national liberation and democracy. I have always wished for the reestablishment of democracy and the realization of formal democratic principles through a truly democratic coalition government with adequate representation of the workers, peasants and the middle strata of society.

All patriotic and progressive classes, parties, groups and individuals must continue to unite in order to dismantle the system of puppetry and fascist dictatorship. They should not be misled by any call for national reconciliation that is merely calculated to endorse an electoral farce and, worse, the entire regime of tyranny.

If Marcos wants his call to be believed, why does he not show good faith for a start by renouncing Amendment 6 of his constitution, restoring the writ of habeas corpus, repealing all his repressive decrees and other issuances, releasing all political prisoners and rectifying the worst of his policies?

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On the Agrava Board²²

Circa May 1984 (after the May 14 elections)

Like the recently held farcical elections for a sham parliament, embellishing on an autocracy, the investigation work of the Agrava Board is an exercise within the framework of the US-Marcos conspiracy and is intended to defuse the people's resistance to a tyrannical puppet regime and to stabilize that wobbly regime.

Again like those of the elections, the results of the Agrava Board's work are quite predictable. There are sufficient indications that the board will not hold Marcos and Ver responsible in any way for the Aquino assassination—whether by command responsibility or for criminal culpability.

In consonance with the US Reagan administration's policy of rabid anti-communism, the Agrava Board will most likely uphold the Marcos-military version that the hapless fall guy Galman was a communist and NPA commander and that he was the assassin of Aquino. A possible sop to the betrayed public would be an immediate censure and/or rigged court martial of the Avsecom close-in security men for mere negligence.

The US hand in the predictable results of the investigation is made obvious by the handpicking of a retired US ballistic expert or ballistician who has already upheld the report of the NBI ballistics expert; and a US sonogram expert who has cast doubt on the findings of the Japanese sonogram expert.

Once again, we are in a situation similar to the rigging of the last elections, when behind-the-scenes the US played a decisive role in arranging the balance of procedural concessions with tremendous odds for the opposition as well as the mechanisms of delayed canvassing for the purpose of producing a 70-30 percent division of seats in favor of the KBL or the Marcos regime.

By its own glaring acts, the Agrava Board has clearly provided the basis for the predictability of the results of its investigation. Some of these acts are the following:

²² Communication to the CPP leadership.-Editor

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1. The commission has for so long failed to subpoena such vital witnesses, probably eyewitnesses, to the actual shooting, as Rebecca Quijano—the “crying lady”; two other lady co-passengers of Aquino; and the lady employee of the Lantin Security Agency who disappeared a few days after she admitted to having witnessed the assassination.

According to commission insiders, no earnest effort has been exerted to locate these eyewitnesses beyond naive requests to military agencies for locating them. The commission has shown no interest in contacting or pursuing these witnesses by its own means independent of the military. The voluntary contact previously made by the “crying lady” with the board was even leaked out to outsiders by a Marcos agent within the board.

Considering the delay in the issuance of a subpoena to these witnesses and in providing protection to them, they must have already been silenced by death, bribery or threat (direct or indirect through close relatives). If they ever surface, they may no longer be able to tell the whole truth or the military suspects may have been by then cleared.

2. By failing to immediately or promptly subpoena and give protection to Lina Galman, the board has a major share of the responsibility for her probably fatal disappearance. Certainly, this woman and her two children would have had more relevant information about Galman than his mother or his sister who did not live with him would have.

This patent ineptness is a continuation of that of the Fernando Commission which also failed to subpoena and give protection to Lina Galman and Ana Oliva. The disappearance of these two women as well as Ana’s sister and two other co-employees could have been averted.

Like the Fernando commission, the Agrava Board for so long went along with the military in focusing attention on Galman’s mother and sister as decoys rather than on what could have been far more important witnesses like Lina Galman and Ana Oliva.

3. By failing to send its own investigators to immediately get the sworn statement of Ruben Regalado soon after his Tokyo interview with NBC, the board gave other entities all the time and opportunity to exert pressure on him directly or indirectly through his relatives left in Manila for him to change his testimony.

It was certainly within the ordinary powers (not even its supposedly extraordinary powers of investigation) of the Agrava Board to secure the sworn statement of Regalado long before the big show at the Sheraton Hotel in Los Angeles.

The crucial importance of Regalado's testimony (especially with regard to his witnessing the actual shooting) and his special fearful circumstances merited prompt attention from the board way ahead of its Los Angeles trip. Or was the trip made only after a change in the testimony of Regalado had been ensured?

4. After issuing a subpoena to Jose Ma. Sison to testify on the veracity of Rosendo Cawigan's claims against the CPP and NPA, the Agrava Board changed its mind and coordinated with the Avsecom counsel, the chief legal officer of the Presidential Security Command and the Office of the Solicitor General in preventing Sison from giving his testimony.

The commission wanted Sison to incriminate himself first and refused to acknowledge that he is accused by the state and the military of being no less than the former chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines. He is undoubtedly in a position to give expert testimony on the CPP Constitution and NPA Rules against the preposterous claims of Cawigan.

The commission has also failed to call Bernabe Buscayno, alleged NPA chief and a knowledgeable Tarlac leader, to the witness stand. The commission is determined to uphold the Cawigan testimony and the contention of the military that Galman was a communist and was the assassin of Aquino.

5. While the Agrava Board was touchy about Sison possibly turning one hearing into a political forum and prevented him from giving a preliminary statement, the same commission was extremely obsequious toward General Ver and gave him all the leeway in three hearings to make the most unsubstantiated tales, speculations, conjectures, slanders and hearsay against the CPP, the NPA, the legal opposition and other opponents of the Marcos regime as well as against the person of Lina Galman.

No limit or restriction is made on the testimonies made by the military officers and civilians so long as their testimonies are directed against opponents of the Marcos regime. Recall the testimonies of such military officers as Cols. Abadilla, Mejia and Peralta and Gen. Singson in public and reports on the testimonies of Cols. Kintanar and Galido behind closed doors. These testimonies are of the same fictive and irresponsible character as those of Cawigan and Daraman.

In being obsequious to military officers, the board suppress or limit the questions asked of these officers by accredited private counsels.

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6. The game plan of the Agrava Board has served mainly to give the fullest time and opportunity to the close-in security men to “perfect” their neatly compartmentalized and yet unbelievable testimonies; and to higher authorities to iron out kinks in the aftermath of the Aquino assassination.

7. By and large, the Agrava Board has been too dependent on the “findings” of Gen. Olivas and his team of military investigators. No special credit goes to the board for the testimonies of Balang, Ranas, Reyes, Layoso, Burton, Wakamiya, Ueda and other independent witnesses. We give credit to the individual consciences of these people which the board now is bent on overriding in favor of the military version of the killing.

8. Upon the request made indirectly by its creator (Mr. Marcos), the Agrava Board docilely suspended its hearings on the ground that these might favor the opposition in the electoral campaign. In view of such subservience, can we really expect much from the board?

9. The investigation work of the Agrava Board is about to end. And the command as well as criminal responsibility of the commander-in-chief, the chief of staff and other high military officials is a question that is obscured by lesser questions. Even the team leader of the close-in security can be expected to escape responsibility.

10. The chairman of the Agrava Board has repeatedly said that the final decision of the board will be geared toward the stability of the Philippines (i.e., the Marcos regime) and economic recovery (i.e., restoring the confidence of foreign creditors in the Marcos regime).

With such a bias, the Agrava Board cannot give justice to Aquino. Its predictable decision will only further outrage the people. This should move them to fiercer resistance against the machinations of the tyrannical regime.

A decision made to favor the Marcos regime by absolving it of responsibility will work against economic recovery. The continuing rule of the US-Marcos clique will aggravate the economic crisis. Marcos and his privileged kins and cronies—all under the auspices of the US—are an economic bane that must sooner be removed if there is to be a way out of the crisis.

Since the beginning, the Agrava Board has not been in a position to do justice for Aquino. Let us review comprehensively the reasons why.

1. The commission is a creation of the prime suspect in the Aquino assassination and is vulnerable to manipulation and even dissolution

by its creator. It is beholden to him legally, materially and psychologically. A commission of only five members cannot be any superior to large elected bodies like the constitutional convention and congress, which Marcos manipulated and dissolved, respectively. Executive meetings and public hearings of the board are constantly monitored by Malacañang, especially by the PSC and NISA. The commission cannot make any move that will surprise and offend Marcos.

2. Notwithstanding its much touted extraordinary investigative powers, the board is in the final analysis impotent because it can only make recommendations to Marcos and file a complaint with the proper fiscal's office. The commission cannot even file an information with any court; it can only file a complaint on which the fiscal's office will still have to decide.

The fine print of the decree creating the Agrava Board limits the end result of its investigation to a mere complaint subject to the further hearing and discretion of a fiscal's office. Thus, those in power suspected of the assassination are not perturbed by the result of the investigation of the Aquino assassination.

3. The chairperson and members of the board were selected by Mr. Marcos and his political advisers (especially Ministers Perez and Ople) on the basis of such criteria as their political stand against communism and close links to the US-Marcos regime. They are predisposed to accept the official anti-communist version as well as advice from the US and Marcos regime.

4. An inquiry into the background, record and personal tendencies of each of the members of the board confirms the following:

a) Mrs. Corazon Juliano Agrava is a close personal friend of Mr. and Mrs. Marcos. She is a Blue Lady of long standing and is a former classmate of Mr. Marcos. Moreover, she is the sister of a retired high-ranking officer of the Philippine Air Force, the mother unit of the Avsecom.

b) Dante Santos is the brother-in-law of Atty. Teodoro Regala, a senior partner in the ACCRA—the law firm built by Eduardo Cojuangco and his UNICOM empire. Santos is also the owner of Philacor which is dependent on dollar accommodations from the Marcos regime.

c) Ernesto Herrera is general secretary of the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP), a federation controlled and subsidized by the Marcos regime through the Ministry of Labor and Employment. Herrera has not made a clear breast of his conference with military

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intelligence officers who kept him from attending the birthday party of a commission official.

d) Luciano Salazar is one of the principal owners and managing partner in a law firm whose principal clients are US official agencies, US multinational firms and Marcos or crony firms. The law firm is also sister firm to the biggest accounting firm in the country serving the Marcos regime as well as US entities.

e) Amado Dizon has been a consultant of the FAPE of the MEC and has facilitated World Bank loans to universities with which he is connected.

Even if the chairperson and members of the Agrava Board were to strain in overcoming their close connections with the US and the Marcos regime, they cannot overcome the conditions of fascist rule—the same conditions that have allowed the military to prevent the surfacing of vital witnesses and evidence.

It can be expected that after the Agrava Board comes out with its predictable report clearing the Marcos regime, the US-Marcos regime will rub in the point that the rigged elections has already cleared the regime by giving it a “new mandate.”

It looks like the US-Marcos regime will be able to sweep the Aquino assassination under the rug. But the outrage and resistance of the people will rise and grow in an even more sustained manner.

We must cast away all illusions about the Agrava Board. We must raise the level of the people’s struggle for freedom, justice and democracy. We must act to defeat the enemy that is trying to whitewash the Aquino assassination and do further injustice to Ninoy Aquino.

If the Marcos regime gets away with the murder of Ninoy, it will be emboldened to commit graver crimes against the people. A new investigation of the Aquino assassination must be made by an independent and trustworthy body. And the people must launch massive actions to frustrate the ceaseless malice of the enemy.

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Boycott and Participation Sides of the Opposition Were Complementary²³

May 22-31, 1984

*Sison, a prominent political detainee in the Philippines, shares his post-election views with **Ang Pahayagang Malaya** (The Free Press), one of the country's now thriving alternative media. Excerpts from a series of interviews published in the last week of May 1984:*

How do you argue against the view that the boycott movement prejudiced the participation side of the legal opposition in the elections?

Long before the sham elections, I said categorically that the boycott campaign would indirectly help the opposition candidates. The unity of the two sides in denouncing the dictatorship weighed far more than any disadvantage that may have been caused by the boycott to the participation side of the opposition.

The only real disadvantages caused by the boycott to the participation side were the narrowed range of high quality candidates to choose from on a nationwide scale and the initial difficulties of the opposition candidates in holding big rallies in some areas.

In so many families made typical by the Aquino family, boycotters advised their relatives to vote for the opposition candidates if they could not be persuaded to join the boycott movement.

More than anything else, the boycott and participation sides of the opposition were complementary. This is proven by the outcome of the elections.

*Don't you think that if the opposition had been united on the issue of participation in the elections, it could have won the overwhelming majority of **Batasang Pambansa (BP)** seats?*

Notwithstanding the boycott movement, the opposition candidates actually won the overwhelming majority of seats through the number of legitimate votes cast. But this victory has been nullified by the regime

²³ Excerpts also published in *Solidarity II*, Vol. 8, No. 2, April-June, 1984.-Editor

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through massive fraud and intimidation in all phases of the electoral process registration, voting, canvassing.

Marcos in his simplistic calculations overestimated as a factor in his favor the effect of the boycott movement in reducing votes for the opposition candidates. And so in quite a number of places, the extent of fraud committed by KBL henchmen could not offset or nullify the overwhelming number of votes actually for the opposition. The trick of delayed canvassing eventually had to be resorted to after the voting trend had been established to accommodate more fake tally sheets and further reduce the number of winning opposition candidates.

Had the opposition been united on the issue of participation in the sham elections, the regime would have been more vicious in the commission of fraud all over the country. The elections would have been more fraudulent than all the previous sham elections, plebiscites and referenda.

It is a matter of principle that the boycott was conducted. The boycott movement would have nothing to do with rigged elections for a fake parliament under a dictatorship.

Does the heavy voter turnout prove that the boycott movement failed?

I do not agree that there was a heavy voter turnout. But I would agree that the overwhelming number of those who voted did vote for opposition candidates. The votes that were credited to the KBL candidates were fake to the extent of 25% up to more than 100%, varying from place to place.

In so many places, the registrants and the voters exceeded the estimated number of qualified voters and even the population. Babies and unborn babies were made to vote for the KBL.

There is one independent estimate that at least 60% of all persons of voting age did not vote. And of those who voted, at least 80% voted against KBL candidates. The KBL had to offset this through massive fraud.

The participation opposition at least won a sizeable minority block in the Batasang Pambansa. And so, in relation to it, was not the boycott movement the loser?

The boycott movement and the participation opposition were both winners against the regime. The boycott movement expanded the

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politically advanced section of the people. The participation opposition was able to draw a large number of votes from the middle section (in the political spectrum from left to right).

The politically backward section—that which is still hoodwinked, awed or cowed by the Marcos regime—has shrunk. Thus, the regime has been fabricating its votes all over the country.

It would be wrong to say that the participation opposition was a winner while the boycott movement was a loser in the sham elections. Being in the minority or even being in the majority of a body subordinate to an autocrat is not by itself something to rejoice about.

The successful candidates of the opposition can be proud of their election only if they continue to fight for national freedom and democracy in the *Batasang Pambansa* and deliver effective blows against the dictatorship. To be able to do so, they will need the support of the people and all the organized democratic forces.

As a member of the KOMPIL (Kongreso ng Mamamayang Pilipino) national council of leaders, are you aware of moves to regroup and strengthen both boycott and participation opposition in one united front?

There are several well-known moves to coordinate the various democratic forces in a broad front. It would be easy to coordinate those who opted for boycott and those for participation because they have always been united on the need to dismantle the US-supported Marcos dictatorship and to restore democracy.

There is a rising determination to compel the removal or resignation of Marcos and his entire clique before 1987. The struggle will be carried out on all fronts in the cities and in the countryside, in halls and in the streets, in the country and abroad. There will have to be a united front to carry out this struggle.

Will the just concluded elections and the regular Batasang Pambansa defuse and stabilize the situation in our country or at least help to do so?

I do not think so. The political and economic crisis continues to worsen rapidly. In the main and in essence, the *Batasang Pambansa* is still a plaything of the US-backed autocracy. The open rule of terror goes on under Marcos who continues to be the superexecutive, superlegislator and supermagistrate.

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The exploited masses of workers and peasants are not represented in the sham parliament. They will continue to suffer increasing oppression and exploitation. The revolutionary forces and the armed revolution will advance rapidly.

In our historical experience, so many sham parliaments created by the US and its puppet regimes have only served to aggravate the violent contradictions among reactionary factions and stimulate the growth of revolutionary forces.

At best, the opposition in the Batasang Pambansa can expose and condemn the evil character and crimes of the US-Marcos regime. The oppositionist minority can become significant only as they fight for the national and democratic rights and interest of the people.

As a consequence of the elections, what do you suppose will be the tendency of President Marcos?

Marcos is aware of the deep hatred of the people for all the injustices heaped on them by his regime. But he is determined to hold on to his ill-gotten power and wealth because he is in mortal fear of his victims.

He likes to imagine and pose himself as a cunning master of counterrevolutionary dual tactics. But, in fact, he will be torn apart by two contradictory tendencies due to the worsening crisis and the rapid rise of popular resistance.

One tendency is for him to take the stance of "maximum tolerance" and call for "national reconciliation." He will try to bait the reformist opposition into a counterrevolutionary anticommunist alliance and into sharing the blame and discredit for the grave ills of the moribund ruling system.

The other tendency is for him to escalate campaigns of intimidation and violence against the people. But every act of terror by his regime will outrage the people and will be politically costly to him.

How would the movement to restore democracy fare under such circumstances?

This movement will continue to raise the level of its consciousness and militancy and will grow in number and strength. The legal democratic movement in the urban areas and the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside will advance rapidly.

Everyone knows the fatal weakness of the US-Marcos regime. The people see its corruption and rotteness behind its campaigns

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of violence and deception. The regime and the entire ruling system are being destroyed by a series of contradictions.

(For instance) the US wants the Marcos puppet clique to put up a “democratic” facade and blames Marcos for his crude tactics. But the same imperialist power dictates economic policies and supplies the regime with arms that both result in intolerable suffering among the people who increasingly put up resistance.

President Marcos made a call for national reconciliation a few days before the elections. Do you welcome such a call?

I welcome any serious move towards national reconciliation on the basis of advancing national liberation and democracy. I have always wished for the reestablishment of democracy and the realization of formal democratic principles through a truly democratic coalition government with adequate representation of workers peasants, and the middle strata of society.

All patriotic and progressive classes parties, groups and individuals must continue to unite in order to dismantle the system of puppetry and fascist dictatorship. They should not be misled by any call for national reconciliation that is merely calculated to endorse an electoral farce and worse the entire regime of tyranny.

If Marcos wants his call to be believed, why does he not show good faith for a start by renouncing Amendment 6 of his constitution, restoring the writ of habeas corpus, repealing all his repressive decrees and other issuances, releasing all political prisoners and rectifying the worst of his policies?

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On the Mode of Production in the Philippines

Interview with Jose Ma. Sison by Julieta de Lima

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Soon after I was out on temporary release from detention on March 30, 1982, many friends and acquaintances in the academy asked me for the views of my husband on many questions being debated by them concerning the dominant character of the mode of production in the Philippines.

The main issue raised may be expressed in the following manner: Has the US-Marcos regime pursued a policy of industrialization and thereby changed the backward semifeudal character of the economy?

I propounded this and other related questions to my husband. We engaged in lengthy discussions during my weekly visits to him. I also provided him with the latest available economic data as well as analyses and articles from various viewpoints.

I took mental note of his answers. Everytime I got home from his prison cell, I would commit these to writing. He gave me the leeway to write freely on condition that I would be faithful to his ideas.

Due to our many years of intellectual intercourse and research partnership (since 1959), I felt confident in putting this question-and-answer article into shape. However, due to many absorbing obligations including childcare and public engagements on behalf of political prisoners, I was able to finish the final draft only last July 1983.

The typescript of the final draft became a discussion paper of several friends, most of whom are brilliant economists and political scientists. They subsequently gave comments and suggestions which my husband and I further discussed and took into account in finalizing the article in its present form.

This article is an effort to make a comprehensive and deepgoing study of the mode of production on the current ruinous economic crisis. JLS

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1. Will you describe the forces of production in the Philippines? As much as you can, present the level of development of the means of production and the mass of actual producers.

The forces of production in the Philippines are still mainly agrarian and nonindustrial. They are backward or underdeveloped.

The means of production lack a backbone in capital goods industries. There are no heavy and basic industries, no machinetool industry, no basic metal and chemical industries, no engineering industries beyond the superficial handling or slight processing of components that have been basically processed abroad.

Even hand tools are imported to the extent of 85%, according to economist Alejandro Lichauco. The rest of our hand tools are fabricated locally from imported metals. Whatever modern industrial equipment the country has is imported and paid for by earnings from export of raw materials (mainly agricultural: sugar, coconut, logs, etc.) and increasingly by foreign loans.

The US imperialists and their big comprador agents have so far been quite successful in preventing the country from acquiring the kind of equipment that would industrialize it in a profound and comprehensive way. They have allowed only some light manufacturing heavily dependent on imported equipment, semimanufactures and raw materials. The situation is tragic because we have a comprehensive and abundant natural resource base for heavy and basic industries to work on.

Under the present regime, even the light manufacturing that serves the domestic market is being crushed. The so-called import-substitution industries of the 1950s and 1960s are being undermined by direct importation of finished products. An embellishment on this scheme is the promotion of the so-called export-oriented industries that are even more import-dependent and are actually involved in mere fringe processing and packaging for local market penetration, tariff circumvention and reexport.

The promise of Marcos in 1979 to put up 11 major industrial projects has not materialized. Since the beginning, it has been clear that these projects were merely tokens of industrialization. Even as such, these projects are strongly opposed by the very foreign monopoly interests whose investments Marcos wants for funding these projects. After four years, the result is one overpriced copper smelter with a capacity limited to 30% of ore production in the country. This copper smelter is

under the control and manipulation of Japanese interests which have their own copper smelters to protect in Japan.

Despite its slogan of "economic development," the fascist dictatorship has not put the economy into extensive processing of the raw materials that it has long been producing for export. The bulk of Philippine exports continues to be raw sugar, copra, coconut oil, logs, metal ores and concentrates, and so on. Primary products account for practically all actual earnings on exported goods, with agricultural exports accounting for at least 80%.

Government technocrats claim that we earn a lot from the reexport of garments, electronics and the like. This is not true. We lose a lot on these so-called manufactured exports because of the high cost of imported equipment and "raw" materials, tariff circumvention, transfer pricing, profit remittances, capital repatriation, debt service, royalties, and the infrastructure and special facilities put up for them.

Agricultural land, totalling 12 million hectares in 1980, is still the principal means of production in the country. It produces the food staples for the people and some amount of raw materials for local light manufacturing and handicrafts; as well as the overwhelming bulk of surplus products for export.

The use of modern technology (primarily imported) is negligible. It is still peasant brawn, hand tools, plow and draft animals working the land devoted to food crops (chiefly rice and corn) and to coconuts, all of which comprise 64.6% and 25.8%, respectively, of total agricultural land. Modern technology in the Philippine context means the promotion of costly imported farm inputs (chemicals, equipment and irrigation facilities) involving, during the 1970s, only a few hundreds of thousands hectares.

Reliance on sheer brawn and traditional peasant tools is still widespread even on land devoted to sugarcane, banana, pineapple and other new crops for export. It is on land devoted to these crops, comprising no more than seven percent of total agricultural land, where there is a relatively more impressive use of tractors and chemicals. Sugar land, which comprises only 3.5% of total agricultural land is still worked mainly by peasants and farm workers using handtools rather than by workers operating harvester combines and other farm machinery.

No more than four percent (480,000 hectares) of total agricultural land is worked by tractors. Harvester combines are still a rarity and

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are a socially explosive proposition amidst the abundance of cheap farm labor that cannot be absorbed elsewhere. As of this year (1983), only a few landlords on a few thousands of hectares (less than 10,000) have turned to harvester combines. In this decade, the steeply rising cost of imported inputs and the falling price of agricultural exports hold back the adoption of modern technology even by landlords producing export crops.

What comprises the mass of actual producers? According to NEDA figures, there were supposed to be nine million peasants and farm workers accounting for 52% of employment; 2.5 million industrial workers, 14%; and 6 million service workers, 34% in 1979.

Let us take these figures at face value and reinterpret them. Note however, that 1979 was a far better year for nonagricultural employment than any of the succeeding years of the 1980s.

Of the direct producers of goods, peasants and farm workers comprise 78% and industrial workers 22%. There are four peasants for every industrial worker. If the category of service workers is disaggregated, the great majority would be found to be direct adjuncts and immediate spillovers of agriculture and the peasantry. Even in construction, mining and provincial "manufacturing," many nonregular workers are sidelining peasants.

Most peasants (poor and middle peasants) have the following means of supplementary livelihood: farm work for others, fishing, forestry and animal husbandry, handicrafts, construction or carpentry, hauling and petty peddling. Seasonal farm work for others though is the most common sideline occupation and is the main recourse for surplus labor in the countryside.

The proportion of industrial workers (in manufacturing, mining and quarrying, construction and utilities) is even more unimpressive. Only 74% of these are in so called manufacturing; and in turn, 70% of workers in manufacturing are employed in small fabrication and repair shops, each employing less than ten workers and therefore hardly qualifying as truly manufacturing enterprises.

Only a minority of so-called service workers (in transport, communications and storage, trading and banking and other services, including government, entertainment, etc.) possibly not more than 30% are regular wage earners. In the main, these regular wage earners are employed by the government (some one million are civilian and military employees) and by the multinational, big comprador and

middle bourgeois firms. Most so-called service workers are actually underemployed or have no regular employment or are even unemployed but are misrepresented as fully employed by NEDA statistics. Many are superfluous helpers of their own families, house servants, street peddlers, shop attendants, porters, scavengers, prostitutes and the like who do not receive regular wages.

During the 1970s, the proportion of both industrial and agricultural employment shrank. Industrial employment stood at 17.6% in 1970 and went down to 14% in 1979. Agricultural employment stood at 59% in 1970 and went down to 52% in 1979. Employment in the service sector, meanwhile, is made to appear as having risen from 23.5% in 1970 to 34% in 1979, supposedly absorbing the decrease in employment in both industry and agriculture.

Since 1980, unemployment has been increasing by leaps and bounds, especially in the industrial and service sectors. The unemployment rate is now running at more than 50%, at least 25% above the chronic rate of 25% (established from the Bell Mission Report up to the Ranis Report), especially if we take into account all out-of-school youth ten years and above and women. A worsening state of depression and unemployment afflicts the entire economy.

Some people say that the Philippine economy is already industrial rather than agrarian because, for instance, the 1979 GNP figures show that agriculture accounts for only 27.3% of gross national product and is outstripped by industry at 33.1% and services at 39.7%.

These figures are misleading. We must take into account the high imported content of the product of both industry and service sectors and the consumption orientation of such imports, and the lack of industrial development. The gross output value of the service sector is bloated; this sector is also the most import-dependent sector of the economy although it does not produce goods. The gross output value of agriculture tends to be undervalued because most of the agricultural product remains with the peasants for their subsistence and needs and does not reach the market.

For purposes of transfer-pricing, foreign TNC's and the big compradors grossly overvalue their imports and undervalue their exports and reexports.

In their attempt to sustain the illusion of industrial development, government technocrats constantly overestimate the entire GNP, overvaluing the gross output of both industrial and the service sectors. Even the

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IMF was scandalized by the NEDA (National Economic Development Authority) claim of 4.9% growth rate for 1982 and ordered it to scale down the figure to something less incredible. The figure was finally lowered to 2.6%. Even this is highly questionable in many respects.

The Philippine GNP is supposed to be dependent on foreign exchange to the extent of 40%, according to Prime Minister Virata. So GNP must shrink as primary export receipts, foreign loans and other foreign exchange receipts decrease. Whether the GNP grows bigger or smaller, its content does not mean any development of the industrial base of the country.

To a great extent, it reflects rising expenditures for imported manufactures, decreasing primary export income and rising debt burden.

2. Will you describe the relations of production? As much as you can, present the socioeconomic classes as determined by the ownership of the means of production, position in the organization of production, and the methods of appropriating the product. Will you point out the single most dominant class that dictates on the entire relations of production? I assume that you can apply on the entire mode of production the term that you use to refer to the dominant character of the relations of production. Is it feudal, semifeudal, semicapitalist, in transition to capitalism or already capitalist? Explain why you do not use the terms other than your choice?

Under the auspices of US imperialism, the comprador big bourgeoisie has become the single most dominant class in the Philippines. It is the standard bearer of the dominant semifeudal production relations. In collaboration with the foreign monopolies, it is in command of a commodity system that is mainly and essentially determined by the unequal exchange of raw material exports and manufactured imports; and that gives the most strategic importance to the production of raw materials for export.

The comprador big bourgeoisie has replaced the landlord class as the No. 1 exploiting class in 20th century Philippines. And certainly, the dominant production relations can no longer be called feudal; although feudalism is still a large and widespread fact. In a certain sense, we can speak of foreign and feudal domination. But we use the term semifeudal both to describe the general and basic character of the relations of production and focus on the strategic role of the comprador big bourgeoisie.

We cannot call the dominant production relations capitalist because it is a comprador big bourgeoisie rather than a national industrial bourgeoisie that has hegemony over them. As a matter of fact, the semifeudal trading big bourgeoisie in combination with US imperialism and feudalism prevents industrial capitalist development under the national bourgeoisie.

But why use the term semifeudal, instead of semicapitalist or in transition to capitalism? The term semifeudal stresses the fact that as far as the local productive system is concerned, the comprador big bourgeoisie is linked more to feudalism historically and currently than to industrial capitalist development, which is blocked so long as the economy is an appendage of US imperialism and remains within the orbit of world capitalist system.

Semifeudalism can be used in two senses: (1) to sum up the economy that is shackled by two moribund forces—imperialism and feudalism; and (2) to refer to the dominance of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the kind of production it promotes (primarily raw-material production for export).

Such terms as “semicapitalist” or “in transition to capitalism” obscure the persistence of feudalism and the commanding position of semifeudalism, as well as the fundamental anti-imperialist and antifeudal tasks of the national democratic revolution in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. The Philippines is not at all on the way to becoming fully capitalist. No wrong impression should be created about this. The national bourgeoisie is shackled by US imperialism, and by the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class. It can be liberated only together with the basic masses of the people.

Let us look more closely at the comprador big bourgeoisie. It is the principal trading and financial agent of the US and other transnational corporations. Among the local exploiting classes, it owns and controls the largest and most important trading, financial and other facilities in the so-called service sector which are not direct subsidiaries of foreign corporations. According to a study made by Doherty, about sixty big comprador families control the majority of big banks and the so-called investment houses. All these are essentially merchant banks.

Through import-export transactions and lending operations, the comprador big bourgeoisie amasses wealth in the form of commercial profit and interest, and draws to itself the highest concentration

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of capital from the surplus product of the country. Together with the multinational firms, the big comprador firms give the highest salaries to their white collar employees. But the profits are very high and the rate of exploitation is actually the highest. The profits are drawn not only from the productivity of the employees but from the entire production and distribution system in the country.

The export-import operations of the comprador big bourgeoisie including the sale of imported inputs to small merchants, is a semifeudal rather than a capitalist phenomenon: it is mercantile rather than an industrial phenomenon. The comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class are close allies.

Many big compradors are also big landlords. Thus, it is apt to speak alternately of the big comprador-landlord class. This class owns big plantations. These are after all the main source of raw-material exports. The big compradors thus assure themselves of a reliable supply base and a source of foreign exchange. They have been responsible for the semifeudal practice of hiring farm workers at peon wages in sugar and coconut plantations. But they also have some lands wherein they exploit a large number of tenants by collecting land rent.

Of course, the big compradors have large interests in sugar centrals and coconut mills, and in such other major sources of exports as mining and logging. They also own certain light manufacturing enterprises which are the largest and most profitable. But most characteristically, they follow the foreign monopolies in opposing national industrialization and the development of a well-balanced economy.

Only as a result of strong popular and national bourgeois demand for national industrialization do they grudgingly concede at certain times to the establishment of more light manufacturing industries which are import-dependent. And they control the imported inputs and the most profitable enterprises. They give a semifeudal character even to the industrial sector of the economy by preventing the establishment of heavy and basic industries in a comprehensive manner.

Because of their advantageous position, they can give higher wages to their workers than the national bourgeoisie. But the rate of exploitation is far higher in their firms because the profits are very high in relation to the wages. However, in relation to workers in capitalist countries, their workers' wages are far lower. The surrounding feudal backwardness breeds a large reserve army of labor, the source of cheap manpower for the big comprador firms.

More than any other exploiting class, the big compradors control and use the state as a source of economic privilege and as a large client. High government officials also use their public office to cut into big comprador operations. These big bureaucrat capitalists are essentially big compradors. With the protection of the fascist state, they tend to monopolize the big contracts and accumulate land rapidly. But they stay within the bounds of the big comprador class and the semifeudal system.

It is right to concentrate fire on the US multinationals but wrong to overlook the big compradors, especially the fascist compradors. Most import and export transactions pass through the big compradors. Even Westinghouse had to pass through the mediation of Disini and Marcos for it to sell a nuclear plant to the Philippine government. It is standard practice for US multinational firms to use local big comprador firms. Filipino exporters and importers of whatever size make use of the big comprador banks.

The landlord class is still the dominant class in the Philippine countryside. It is the standard bearer of the persistent feudal relations of production. In the most obvious manner, it owns vast tracts of land and collects rent from the great mass of tenants on assigned plots. To further enlarge the surplus product it extracts, it uses other methods of exploitation, such as the hiring of farm workers, usury, merchant operations, renting out of farm equipment and draft animals and the like which may be called semifeudal forms of exploitation.

The scope of landlord exploitation includes not only the tenants but also the poor and middle owner cultivators and the farm workers. Thus, the economic contradiction is not simply one between landlord and tenants but between landlords (both old-style and new-style) on one side and the peasants (i.e., poor and middle) and farm workers on the other. Semifeudal methods of exploitation proceed from and augment feudal ownership and methods of exploitation. There is a circular relationship between the feudal and semifeudal, in the absence of capitalist or socialist industrial development.

Old style landlords who collect rent from the tenants are far more numerous and own far more land than the new style landlords who hire farm workers. Feudalism is an indubitable fact even if we conservatively estimate that 40% of all Philippine farms are tenanted.

In the absence of genuine land reform, apart from the current rent reduction and anti-usury campaign of the revolutionary movement,

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claims that the tenancy rate went down from 39% in 1971 is completely unbelievable. There has been no development whatsoever to reduce the estimated 52% in 1964. This should be much higher now, because the few token sales of land to the tenants since then have been far outstripped by the accumulation of land by the landlords, especially under the fascist dictatorship, notwithstanding its bigger claims of land reform. A study by Ernesto M. Valencia points out that estimates of the tenancy rate by researchers range from 40% of all farms in 1979 (Aguirre) to 90% on the basis of a sample of 14 provinces in 1972 (Ferguson).

The landlord class including the old style landlords (not all are big compradors) initially collect the largest amount of surplus from the entire country. Subsequently, because the landlords are extremely dependent on imported manufactures, a great part of the surplus product is handed over to the comprador big bourgeoisie and becomes a highly concentrated form of capital for import-export operations. Still further, the imperialists take away their own part of the surplus product. In this pattern, the landlords are subordinated to the comprador big bourgeoisie.

Such semifeudal elements as the new style landlords, the rich peasant (rural bourgeoisie), the merchant usurers and those who rent out farm machineries are still circumscribed by feudal conditions in the rural areas. They are inclined to use their surplus income for acquiring more land and they are not averse to having tenants. Opportunities for nonagricultural investments are extremely limited. Thus, new landlord families replace the old disintegrating ones more than sufficiently.

Most new style landlords are feudal inheritors of land. Quite a number are also landgrabbers in frontier areas at the expense of poor settlers. The sheer ownership of land (even the worst land) commands absolute ground rent and only after this feudal fact is there consideration of differential rent. No landlord allows the use of his land without the payment of rent. The exaction of absolute ground rent is a matter of feudal right based on the landlord monopoly of land.

The rich peasants or the rural bourgeoisie do not advance in a large way along a capitalist course of development. They remain as such or grow to be landlords replacing old landlord families whose heirs fragment and/or sell away their land.

Farm workers are on the increase because landlord accumulation of land outstrips the expansion of agricultural land and because the

commodity system destroys the traditional labor exchange and mutual aid systems among peasants. Agricultural capitalism and farm mechanization are still minor factors. On the whole, the country is not yet at that stage of development wherein the farm capitalists in quick succession convert peasants into farm workers and then wipe them out or reduce their role through farm mechanization.

Most farm workers are still poor peasants. They come from poor tenant or owner-cultivator families which make up for their deficits by selling their labor power. In most cases, those who hire farm workers require them to bring their own hand implements. However, the increasing number of farm workers compete for less farm jobs and for less income, especially because of the depression of export crops and the prohibitive costs and risks of resettlement. Landlord and foreign agri-corporations are rapidly dispossessing the poor settlers in frontier areas.

There are at least three categories of farm workers: (1) those who are still poor peasants and lower middle peasants owning or tenancing small plots, who own some simple farm implements but who sell part of their labor power as seasonal farm workers; (2) those who have been dispossessed of both land and implements and who fully, or in the main, sell their labor power; and (3) those who are in transition to full unemployment and the worst form of pauperization and who may subsequently migrate to urban areas to do odd jobs.

The third category has increased tremendously under the US-Marcos regime. Unlike in Europe of the 15th and 16th centuries when the manufacturing phase of capitalism moved ahead to absorb surplus labor and transform this into surplus value, manufacturing in the Philippines has even fallen since 1970 and failed to absorb the increasing surplus labor. The increase of landless rural workers is leading to revolution and vagabondage rather than to full capitalist development.

If the Philippines were on the path of industrial capitalist development, the national bourgeoisie would be the standard bearer. But the fact is that it is subordinate both to the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class in the semifeudal economy; most of the surplus product goes into the hands of these two classes.

Today middle entrepreneurs are at the core of the national bourgeoisie. They own and manage light manufacturing enterprises. Some of these enterprises in the main process local raw materials and are the

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stable basis of the class. Other enterprises are dependent on imported inputs and are more vulnerable to foreign monopoly measures.

The national bourgeoisie is, in varying degrees dependent on imported equipment, manufactured and semimanufactured inputs as well as raw materials especially fuel. Such enterprises as those promoted during the 1950s have come under severe attack due to the pseudodevelopment scheme of "export-oriented development," import liberalization (i.e., reduction and removal of tariff and other restrictions on manufactured and semimanufactured imports), devaluation, heavy taxation and such other policies dictated by the foreign monopolies and the fascist big compradors.

As a matter of course, local manufacturers already manufacturing certain products tend to protect these products. The most progressive or ambitious among them want fullscale national industrialization. But it takes more than entrepreneurship to protect local products and advance local industrialization. Doing away with the entire semifeudal production relations involves the nationalization of political power.

The national bourgeoisie draws its profits from extracting surplus value from the mass of its workers. There is a contradiction between the two classes. But they can unite to oppose foreign monopoly capitalism. The national bourgeoisie can be in alliance with workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie to end foreign and feudal domination and achieve a national democratic revolution.

The fact that peasants together with the farm workers continue to be the majority of direct producers and that the industrial workers have been a shrinking minority goes to show that the Philippine economy is far from capitalist. If the national bourgeoisie rather than the comprador big bourgeoisie were the ruling class, the modern industrial proletariat would be growing and become the majority of the direct producers. It should then be aiming for a socialist revolution rather than a national democratic revolution. At any rate, the modern industrial proletariat is the most advanced productive force and carries the ideology that is correctly guiding the Philippine revolution.

Only in a broad and loose sense can we speak of a large working class by lumping together all wage-earners, like the industrial, service and farm workers. In trade union work, for instance, we do not limit ourselves to the industrial workers. But they are certainly the core of the entire trade union movement. In the analysis of the mode of production, we should distinguish the modern industrial proletariat from

the rest of the wage earners if we are to correctly measure the extent of capitalist development.

So far, it is only the urban petty bourgeoisie that we have not discussed. The urban petty bourgeoisie includes the small entrepreneurs, the small merchants and the general run of independent or salaried professionals and technicians. Most of them are employed by the reactionary government and the imperialist, big comprador and middle bourgeois firms.

The urban petty bourgeoisie is the lowest stratum of the bourgeoisie. In general, it receives a higher income and enjoys a more comfortable life than the toiling masses. It can send its children to school to receive professional and technical training under a pro-imperialist and big comprador ideology. But in the worsening crisis of the semifeudal economy, it finds itself increasingly exploited and becomes drawn to the revolutionary movement of the toiling masses.

Among the reactionary economists, it is standard practice to divide the GNP by the population and speak of a per capita income. This is a mere abstraction that obscures the fact that only a few grab the surplus product of society and the rest receive subsistence incomes. The GNP includes the superprofits of the multinational firms; the profits and interest income of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the rent collection of the landlord class. Normally, only some eight percent of the local population receive salaries, fees and profit large enough to make them enjoy a comfortable life. What is left for some 90% of the people to divide in the form of wages and crop share is so small that they must suffer a life of want and misery.

3. What is the so-called development scheme of the US-Marcos regime? Does it have anything to do with industrialization? Some individuals insist that the US has been industrializing the Philippines since 1970 or even earlier. Please comment.

Development is a term much abused by the imperialists and local reactionaries. It needs clarification. Economic development properly means industrial development for a country that is underdeveloped, agrarian and semifeudal.

Industrialization is the engine and leading factor of economic development. It must be accompanied by genuine land reform or agrarian revolution to clear the ground of feudal and semifeudal obstacles, to release the surplus product appropriated by the landlords and big

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compradors, develop agriculture as the source of food and raw materials and create a large domestic market mainly among the peasants and the growing working class. There has to be a comprehensive and balanced development of heavy industries, light industries and agriculture.

In this light, the US imperialists do not have a development scheme for the Philippines. What it has is a pseudodevelopment scheme which opposes industrialization and genuine land reform and aggravates the underdevelopment of the Philippine economy. The main thrust of US policy has been to overload the country with foreign loans and to directly invest in it so as to facilitate sale by the US of its finished products at increasing prices and its purchase of raw materials at decreasing prices.

If we review US economic policy as transmitted through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank reports and recommendations since the early 1960s (when the US decided to put the US Agency Export-Import Bank and US economic missions on low profile as channels of economic policy dictation), we will discover that the main line imposed on the Philippine government has always been “export-oriented development” and countering the demand for national industrialization.

“Export-oriented development” has meant first of all, promoting raw-material production-for-export and providing this with infrastructures, more milling equipment, transport, storage and other facilities. To supplement this, food production has also been promoted. And raising agricultural productivity through imported agricultural inputs is deemed far more important than land reform. The US, Japan and other capitalist countries provide supplies for production and manufactured goods for consumption.

The early 1960s was a time for the US to turn back the Filipino-owned light manufacturing industries and the demand of the national bourgeoisie and the people for industrialization. The import and foreign exchange controls that had favored and stimulated the growth for light manufacturing industries during the 1950s were dismantled. Decontrol was the key move for cutting down what the US imperialists considered undue presumptions of Filipino-Firsters.

The early 1960s was also a time for the US to make some accommodations for Japan and other capitalist countries in the Philippine and other Asian markets. Thus, to oversee the sharing of the market,

the World Bank became more active in this part of the world and the Asian Development Bank was established. The capitalist countries devastated in World War II had started to brim over with their industrial production. It was thought that the Philippine market for foreign manufactures would expand as the country would go on programs of infrastructure-building and of expanding capacity for raw-material production.

The expectation was that the import-dependent industries established would wither on the vine and that tariff protection would be gradually reduced and then removed. The imported manufactures would sweep away the so-called import-substitution industries or these industries would be absorbed by joint ventures controlled by the multinational firms. However, the national bourgeoisie through its nationalist spokesmen in Congress and the Press proved for some time to be resilient not only in resisting complete economic annihilation but also in preventing the enactment of a foreign investment law satisfactory to the US.

Although President Macapagal had done the US a good turn by giving way to full decontrol in 1962, he would subsequently be junked for failing to produce a foreign investment law. At that time, the US was anxious to head off by a full decade the termination of the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement in 1974. Thus, Marcos would be anointed as the replacement. And in the latter half of the 1960s he was able to deliver the laws on investment incentives and export processing zones.

A review of the type of investments made by the US and other foreign firms since any point in the 1960s up to the present would show that these have been in trading, banking, import-dependent manufacturing, mining, oil exploration and agriculture. There have been no heavy and basic industries established to significantly advance local industrialization. Even the Iligan Integrated Steel Mill project of Macapagal has been sabotaged by Japanese foreign creditors, especially the steel interests, and by the present administration.

“Export-oriented industries” were projected in the late 1960s with the plan to put up the Bataan Export Processing Zone (BEPZ) and the Progressive Car Manufacturing Program (PCMP) or the car assembly program. The PCMP was the centerpiece of this supposed industrialization thrust.

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With the glaring failure of the car assembly program in the late 1970s, it became the turn of garment-and-electronic end-processing to be pushed into prominence.

Since the late 1960s, the so-called export-oriented manufacturing has been ballyhooed as the spearhead of industrialization. Export-oriented manufacturing is a tricky term. It suggests that the Philippines is manufacturing surpluses for export. And Marcos and his technocrats dare claim that manufactured exports are becoming the main export-earners. But, in fact, as earlier pointed out, these are reexports that actually yield no dollar earnings for the country if the high cost of imported raw materials and equipment, transfer pricing, profit remittances, tariff exemptions and the high cost of building the infrastructures for the export processing zones are taken into account.

The “car manufacturing” program is about the worst of “export-oriented manufacturing.” This has simply been a scheme to import knockdowns and completely built cars to circumvent the tariff walls, sell cars entirely to the country mainly to government offices and private firms to which foreign loans have flowed as well as to the military which has been getting the lion’s share of government appropriations and siphon off a large part of the foreign loans pumped into the country.

“Export-oriented industries” are extremely dependent on imported equipment, finished components, semimanufactures and raw materials and are merely a part of the perpetuated basic pattern of exchanging Philippine raw materials with foreign manufactures. A huge portion of the products of these pseudo-manufacturing enterprises are actually sold in the Philippine market far beyond limits set by official regulations.

The Philippines has been consistently dependent on raw-material exports whose prices have been increasingly depressed while the prices of imported manufactures have been soaring. It has gone into heavy borrowing (from \$2.0 billion in 1972 to \$25 billion in 1983) in order to be able to continue importing consumption goods and some supplies for light manufacturing; and to support a program of wanton public spending for nonindustrial purposes: roads, bridges, ports and dams, military build-up, nuclear, geothermal and hydroelectric plants; the cultural center complex, five-star hotels and other tourist facilities, etc.

It was the neo-Keynesian notion of the World Bank under McNamara that loans to the developing and underdeveloped countries like the Philippines would pump prime the recessive capitalist countries.

Indeed, these countries have been able to sell a lot of construction equipment and structural steel; energy plants; cars, ships and planes; computers and other office equipment; home appliances; farm equipment and chemicals; armaments; etc. And the multinational firms, the bureaucrat capitalists and the rest of the big compradors have made a killing. But the Philippines is reeling from inflation and the depression of its exports. It cannot pay its foreign debts except by incurring more debts.

What has happened to “export-oriented development”? The country has become ever more dependent on imported manufactures. The foreign trade deficits of the Philippines have kept on growing. The trade deficit for 1982 was \$2.8 billion, the balance of payment deficit, \$1.135 billion. The underdevelopment of the Philippine economy has only been aggravated. The trade deficit for 1983 is \$1.736 billion and the balance of payments is \$2.734 billion. From 1972 to 1983 the Philippines has accumulated \$16 billion total trade deficit.

In 1979, Marcos threatened to launch 11 major industrial projects and acknowledged the lack of industrialization under his rule. After four years, he has put up only one—the copper smelter—which is of limited capacity, overpriced through the usual corrupt mediation of bureaucrat capitalism and worst of all, controlled by Japanese interests that have their own copper smelters back home to protect. The copper smelter is a token industrial project that cannot change the character of the economy and will most likely suffer the same fate as that of Macapagal’s Iligan steel mill project in the 1960s.

At any rate, the IMF-World Bank combine has already told Marcos to stop talking about major industrial projects and to stick to “rural development” gimmick like the KKK. There have always been funds for capital intensive infrastructure and energy projects but no funds for industrial projects. Lack of capital is the argument against industrialization and at the same time for letting foreign investors into high and quick-profit areas of the economy.

The reactionaries do not carry out genuine land reform that could expand the domestic market but they use the limited domestic market as an argument against industrialization. They deliver speeches about the need for technology transfer but only to justify the foreign investors’

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privilege of owning enterprises in the country on the ground that they own the technology (including the most commonplace technology and even mere packaging of trademark).

There is also a lot of speechifying against protectionism in accordance with US textbooks. But the purpose is to make import liberalization acceptable even while Philippine exports are subjected to protectionist measures in the US and other capitalist countries. Marcos and the technocrats are capable of saying anything in forums or negotiations, short of asserting the economic sovereignty and determination of the Filipino people to achieve industrial development.

After so much talk about “universal banking” being geared to industrialization, it turns out that this is merely a device for crony corporations to further raid state and private banks and then for them to turn themselves in for receivership. Together with the Philippine National Bank and the Development Bank of the Philippines, the National Development Corporation which is supposed to be in charge of industrial projects is overloaded with many bankrupt crony corporations.

The Philippines can get more foreign loans only at more and more onerous terms and can only sink deeper into the debt trap. The basic ills of the economy are thereby becoming more and more exposed. The Philippines is obliged to exercise fiscal restraints, liberalize the importation of manufactures, devalue the peso, etc. The crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system has increasingly exposed the consistent US line of anti-industrialization for the Philippines.

4. What is the score on land reform? To what extent has it touched the land problem?

Ibon Facts and Figures (No. 75) states that only 1,684 tenants on 1,538 hectares of rice and corn lands have fully paid for their land and gained land titles under the Marcos “land reform” as of the end of 1980. The number of tenants becoming owner-cultivators is only 0.04% of the estimated total number of tenants of all crop lands and 0.05% of all tenants within the scope of the so-called Operation Land Transfer (OLT). This insignificant number of successful amortizing owners consist mainly of those who are not even full-time tenants or have sources of income other than their tenancy, such as foreign or urban employment of some members of the family.

The joke is that it will take two millennia for Marcos to emancipate all the intended OLT beneficiaries in rice and corn lands. And yet the

land problem in the rest of the country will have become bigger. Of course, the joke overlooks the fact that there is a growing revolutionary peasant movement all over the country.

As of 1980, there were 113,704 tenants on 184,189 hectares of rice and corn lands that were supposed to have become “amortizing owners”; i.e., they have started to pay for the land according to a 15-year installment plan. These tenants are a measly two percent of the tenants of all crop-land; and 28% of all tenants slated for conversion into “amortizing owners.” The land being amortized is 1.5% of all crop lands, 2.7% of all rice and corn lands, and 25% of all tenanted rice and corn lands slated for expropriation by the Land Bank.

As of 1980, also, more than 80% of “amortizing owners” defaulted on 80% of total payments due. Defaults are due to the high price of land (which is not any lesser than the going market price and often based on inflated production figures), past and current debts, various exactions such as those under the Samahang Nayon and Masagana 99, crop failures, the rising costs of production and subsistence; and the government policy of pressing down the price of farm products. Tenants, including “amortizing owners,” are now selling their tenancy rights because of indebtedness to usurers.

One way of weighing how colossal is the “achievement” of Marcos in land reform is to compare the 1,684 tenants of 1,538 hectares (0.9 hectares per tenant, a far cry from 3 hectares if irrigated and 5 hectares if unirrigated as promised by PD 27) to the 267 corporate farms of agroservice corporations which have acquired 86,017 hectares within the same period under General Order 47.

The number of hectares acquired by the successful “amortizing owners” is far smaller in comparison to the amount of land transferred to the fascists from landlords out of power, owner-cultivators, settlers and minorities. The “infrastructure” program, the threat of expropriation under the “land reform” program and control of the banks have enabled the fascists to amass land. The fascists buy land cheaply from landlords out of power and grab land from settlers and minorities on untitled lands.

The illusion of land reform is also conjured by the formal conversion of a few hundreds of thousands of rice and corn tenants into so-called leaseholders who remain tenants in areas where there is yet no armed peasant movement. These leaseholders are obliged to pay a fixed rent of 25% of the annual average crop of three “normal” (best) crop years

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prior to the leasehold agreement. The tenants are simply obliged to deliver the fixed rent, irrespective of actual crop. The system has been devised as a counterinsurgency measure. But this has been defeated in a number of ways by revolutionary peasants. In the old tenancy system, the commonplace 50-50 sharing was based on the actual crop certified to by overseers or by the resident landlord himself.

The landlords ensure the exaction of a higher rent from the tenant under the fixed rent system by dictating falsified high production figures as the basis for the leasehold agreement. They are driven to do so for fear that their land would come under expropriation and the annual average crop yield would be used as the basis of the land price.

The fixed rent system is so biased against the tenants that when crop failure occurs (which does occur at least once every three years) they ask the landlords to revert to the old sharecropping system. The fixed rent system has been devised as a countermeasure to the tenants' harvesting part of the crop without the knowledge of the landlord. The tenants are simply obliged to deliver the fixed rent.

All rice and corn peasants of poor and middle status are severely victimized by the policy of the fascist dictatorship to press down the prices of their products while the cost of production and subsistence are made to rise rapidly. There has been an increase in rice production but the income of the peasants has been cut down by the rising cost of imported inputs. Small and medium owner-cultivators have been forced deeper into indebtedness and bankruptcy. There are preyed on by the state no less and by the big compradors, the landlords, the rich peasants and merchant usurers. Some peasants seemed to have benefited from Masagana 99 in the 1970s only because they avoided paying back the loans. The loans were actually usurious; despite its supposed below-market rate of interest. Aside from interest and service charges there were also the large overprice of supplies, samahang nayon fees, grease money for follow-up expenses, etc. When these were withdrawn or when payments were demanded, the peasant borrowers who tried to pay their loans found themselves in financial trouble.

Under the shadow of the imperialist banks and multinational suppliers, the fascist compradors have been the biggest local predators. They have overpriced the construction of irrigation facilities and other infrastructure to enlarge their cut. And so, irrigation fees and taxes have risen fast. They have hooked the peasants to the miracle rice

varieties and imported chemicals, the local trading of which they monopolize. The prices of these inputs have been jacked up without letup. And yet buying price of rice and corn is pressed down by fascist decree.

Agricorporations have inveigled some rice and corn peasants to go into corporate farming with them. These peasants have been reduced to the status of farm workers and cheated in the accounting of income and expenses. Excessive charges are made for loans, management, machines, chemicals, irrigation, etc. The peasants find themselves falling more and more into debt and losing tenancy and ownership rights to the agricorporations.

The peasants and farm workers in export-oriented agriculture have suffered terribly from the depressed prices of their crops. The tenants here are outside the scope of the official pretense of land reform and are often prevented from planting rice or corn. The farm workers are the most victimized by conditions of unemployment and underemployment. Owner-cultivators go bankrupt. Even the landlords who are out of power and who have difficulties in getting crop loans or paying them back are compelled to sell their land to the landlords in power at various levels of the fascist hierarchy.

In frontier areas, old style and new style landlords (Filipino and foreign) are forcing settlers and national minorities to become either contract growers, tenants or farm workers or to simply leave their land at gunpoint. Pasture lease, "palayang bayan," corporate farming, compact farming, "agro-industrial development" and counterinsurgency campaigns are the pretexts and devices for landlord acquisition of tilled and untilled land in the frontier areas. Spontaneous resettlement and swidden agriculture are already being blocked by landlordism as major alternative means of livelihood for the landless tillers.

The land problem has become worse under the fascist dictatorship. From 1970 to 1980, agricultural land still expanded from 8.9 million to 12 million hectares. The 3.5% annual rate of agricultural land expansion outstrips the 2.6% population growth rate from 1975 to 1980. But the rate of land accumulation by the landlords continues to outpace the rate of agricultural land expansion.

It can be expected, however, that the regime will drastically reduce the tenancy rate on paper. If it could do so for the period 1960-1970, there is no reason why it will not do so again for the period 1970-1980, because its claims on the success of the entire "land reform" program

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have been far more preposterous. At any rate, the aggravation of the land problem has made the ground far more fertile for revolution in the countryside. Bogus land reform has only exacerbated rather than reduced the land problem.

5. Is “export-oriented manufacturing” industrializing the country and making it depart from the colonial exchange of raw materials and foreign manufactures? There are those who hold the notion that it has done so. How do the so-called export-oriented industries compare with the import-substitution industries of the 1950s?

If the country is to industrialize, it will have to establish heavy and basic industries. “Export-oriented manufacturing”—e.g. “car manufacturing,” garments and electronics—involves the slight and fringe processing or mere assembly of imported components.

You can call this pseudomanufacturing. The workers are limited to doing handicraft, not even manufacturing. Sewing and embroidery, screwing finished components together, making upholstery, shoemaking and the like are old handicraft skills in the country.

Only a few tens of thousands of workers are factory employed. More jobs are farmed out to and spread thinly among urban and rural poor women who work in their individual homes. The factory workers are paid extremely low wages. Those who work in their own villages are paid by the piece at an even lower rate. The peasant women use their spare time from farm work to do their “manufacturing.” They receive small amounts of cash and make no accounting of how much in rent, plant facilities, light insurance, interest, etc. they save the multinational firms and the big compradors from paying in addition to the expenditure of labor power that is too cheaply paid.

There is a misconception that the “export-oriented industries” are a medium of technology transfer and therefore promote industrialization. But, precisely, basic and core processes are kept away from the country. It is not “export-oriented industries” that prompt the World Bank to call such places as Taiwan, South Korea and Brazil “new industrializing countries” but it is some tokens of heavy and basic industries.

The US through the IMF-World Bank combine has repeatedly made it clear that the Philippines has to concentrate on “rural development” and not on “major industrial projects” even if these are mere tokens of industrialization and controlled by the multinationals as proposed by Marcos. The crisis of the world capitalist system is such that no

funds can be had for these. Why should the US and other major capitalist countries industrialize the Philippines while they all want to sell industrial products abroad, revive idle capacity and reemploy their unemployed?

Marcos will not go far beyond his Japanese-controlled copper smelter of limited capacity. Even the “export-oriented industries” are tightly squeezed by protectionist measures in capitalist countries. And the “import-substitution industries” are in even worse situation.

The “export-oriented industries” cannot industrialize the Philippines nor make it depart from the colonial exchange of domestic raw materials and foreign manufactures. These industries facilitate the entry of manufactures into the Philippines and help perpetuate the country’s overdependence on raw-material production-for-export. The “export-oriented industries” are a device not only for exploiting cheap Filipino labor in labor-intensive processes but also for circumventing tariff walls and penetrating the local market. A great portion of the “manufactures” is sold in the local market. The so-called car manufacturing program is simply an excuse for avoiding high tariff duties on cars by importing certain proportions of knockdowns and completely assembled cars. Assembly of knockdowns is passed off as manufacturing. All these cars are sold in the local market at higher prices than those abroad on the ground that local “manufacturing” is more costly.

Now let us compare the “import-substitution industries” to the “export-oriented industries.” Both are dependent on importation of equipment, manufactured components and raw materials, and cannot lead to industrialization. “Export-oriented industries” are far more import-dependent and therefore cannot possibly promote local industrialization. These also involve a smaller range of product lines whereas the “import-substitution industries” have involved a wider range of product lines and more processing, and could easily be integrated with heavy and basic industries were these to be established.

The “export-oriented industries” only appear to provide a lot of employment. Actually, they provide regular factory employment only to a few. In comparison, the “import-substitution industries,” which cover a wide span of light manufacturing for domestic market, have generated a lot of regular factory employment and have been responsible for the Philippines being rated as No. 1 in degrees of development in Southeast Asia in the 1950s and 1960s. With the official bias against light manufacturing for the domestic market taking its toll, the Philippines

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together with Indonesia is now at the bottom of the list of economic sluggards in Southeast Asia.

“Export-oriented industries” are a far bigger drain on foreign exchange. The import costs of equipment and raw materials range from 60 to 92% of the value of the garment and electronics for reexport. There is a lot of transfer-pricing aside from the open remittance of profits, capital repatriation, debt repayments, management fees, royalties, etc. The government has been obliged to give tariff exemption and has spent a great amount of borrowed funds to build the export processing zones.

The Philippines makes no foreign exchange earning but incurs huge losses on the reexport of garments and electronics, contrary to the claims of Marcos and his technocrats that these are major export earners. They are merely looking one-sidedly and uncritically at the income side of the foreign trade sheet with regard to these reexports. By far, the traditional raw materials exports are still the main export earners.

In 1981, electronic reexports was \$313 million but import cost of materials and accessories was \$287.7 million. Thus, only \$25 million was gained. The import cost was 92% of export value. This, however, is not yet the foreign exchange gained because out of this will have to be taken the profit to be remitted, interest for loans, capital to be repatriated, etc., by the foreign multinationals.

In 1982, the garments manufacturers are said to have exported \$450 million worth of garments but the import cost of raw materials alone that had been converted into garments is \$350 million. Hence, only \$100 million or 22% constitute the foreign exchange earnings, without yet discounting the depreciation cost of imported equipment, repatriated profit of foreign owners of garment factories, etc.

The “export-oriented industries” or reexport enterprises are now shrinking in the face of decreasing quotas and other protectionist measures imposed by the capitalist countries. They easily fold up without much loss. Their plants and equipment are flimsy and overvalued for purposes of transfer-pricing. The world over, they are notoriously known as “gypsy industries” because they can come and go easily without being held back by any real substantial capital investment.

However, light manufacturing industries for the domestic market are in even more serious trouble. These are being cut down by import liberalization, devaluation, outright deprivation of foreign loans, etc. Since 1979, the front for imperialist trade offensives has widened rapidly.

In the 1970s, many of the import-substitution industries managed to survive while a lot of foreign loans flowed in and the multinational corporations concentrated on selling construction equipment, structural steel, motor vehicles, energy plants, computers, appliances and the like. But in the 1980s, the economic and financial crisis of the world capitalist system is such that the foreign loan creditors and the multinational corporations have become even more intolerant of the so-called "import-substitution industries."

6. Is there any truth to the insistence of certain quarters that the US and the Marcos regime are seriously carrying out neocolonial industrialization and land reform in order to make the country a modern industrial neocolony and to dissipate social unrest? It is claimed that "export-oriented manufacturing" is turning the country into a manufacturing base of the US and other multinational firms. Some say that the Philippines is already a "newly industrializing country." Others say that it is already capitalist. What are the implications of such claims as far as the revolutionary movement is concerned?

The US and the Marcos regime are carrying out a policy of anti-industrialization as borne out by facts already cited. What has been going on is not neocolonial industrialization but neocolonial anti-industrialization.

One cannot ignore the main fact that the imperialist creditors (IMF, World Bank, Asian Development Bank and private banks) and the US and other multinational firms have been pushing the importation of manufactures into the country and making it more dependent on raw-material production for export. Thus, the Philippines finds itself extremely over-burdened with foreign loans wasted on consumption-oriented and nonindustrial projects.

The wastage of huge financial resources has drawn the country further away from establishing heavy and basic industries and aggravated its underdevelopment. The funds that have been poured into overpriced and substandard roads; bridges and ports; five-star-hotels, private palaces and offices and office buildings; fancy office equipment and fleets of vehicles for government offices; the enlargement of the parasitic central bureaucracy and the military; etc. could have profoundly and comprehensively industrialized the country. But instead, these are burdens on the back of the people within the framework of underdevelopment.

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The imperialist export of surplus capital (direct investments and loans) has revolved around the export of surplus manufactures of so many sorts, except the equipment that would enable us to produce our own industrial equipment (i.e., capital goods).

The so-called export-oriented manufacturing is nothing but sham manufacturing of limited scope and as already said cannot industrialize the country. Aside from taking advantage of cheap local labor to some limited extent for minor but labor-intensive processes, the purpose of the transnational corporations in establishing these types of enterprises is to go around tariff barriers and exploit the local market. The so-called export-oriented manufacturing has also been used for some time as propaganda device to create the illusion of industrialization. Until recent years, "export-oriented manufacturing" together with construction-related manufacturing (cement, metal fabrication, wood processing, etc.) used to bloat the figures for manufacturing in the GNP. With the tightening of foreign credit, the share of manufacturing and of industry as a whole has shrunk.

Under the regime, manufacturing and industry as a whole have actually shrunk in terms of real net output and employment.

As regards industrial projects which have been proposed by Marcos seriously or not since 1979 and by the ASEAN since 1975, the World Bank and the US and Japanese transnational corporations have consistently resisted them. Despite the come-on for foreign monopolies to invest in these projects and to control them, they have consistently insisted that the local market is too small and that they can more than adequately supply it from their existing plants elsewhere, mainly in their home countries.

Even if all the proposed 11 industrial projects had been put up, these would have been no more than mere tokens of industrialization to deviously qualify the Philippines as a "newly industrializing country." But the most forceful argument used against these now by the creditors and TNC's is that the Philippines cannot afford them and cannot get foreign investment and loans for them.

Regarding land reform, the US-Marcos regime itself admits that it has not solved the land problem although it boasts that it has accomplished more than any previous regime. It should be pointed out that this current regime has aggravated the land problem. Certainly, it has made bigger promises and claims and relatively bigger tokens of land reform than any previous regime. But all these are overshadowed by

the most unbridled and most massive transfer of land to a new set of landlords in power.

The nationwide expansion and intensification of people's war based mainly on the peasant masses is the clear-cut proof of the intolerable aggravation of the land problem. If genuine land reform has been undertaken by the regime, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army would not have found the ground so fertile for armed revolution.

There is no industrialization and land reform going on to dissipate social unrest as claimed by certain pseudorevolutionaries. There is in fact the intensification of fascist, foreign and feudal exploitation and oppression. The national democratic revolution of the broad masses of the people is moving forward.

It was in the late 1960s when Lavaite patriarchs actively espoused the line that US imperialism has been seriously taking steps to effect industrialization and land reform since the 1950s. They adopted this line to explain that "US-inspired economic reforms" rather than Lavaite misleadership had caused the defeat of the armed revolutionary movement in the 1950s; and to oppose the revolutionary line which was being drawn up in the late 1960s.

Subsequently, the patriarchs found a gullible mouthpiece that proceeded to publicize the line that armed struggle would be even more futile in the late 1960s and onwards because the US and the Marcos regime were supposedly even more determined to industrialize the Philippines and carry out land reform. Since then, this mouthpiece has never tired of harping on the line and muddleheadedly mixing pseudo-Marxist premises with the absurd claims of the World Bank, the TNC's and the technocrats about "economic restructuring" in the Philippines.

Since their open surrender to the US-Marcos regime in 1974, the Lavaites have become so immersed in their collaboration with the fascists that they have become even more blind to such obvious facts as the US-Marcos opposition to local industrialization and land reform and the nationwide cumulative growth of the revolutionary mass movement.

The Lavaites pretend that the Philippines is already industrializing and at the same time protest that the MNC's are the owners and controllers of the enterprises and employers of an increasing mass of Filipino workers. And then the Lavaites console each other that the growing proletariat would eventually fall on their lap and that they would some day put one over the US and Marcos by suddenly turning

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the proletariat against them in the fashion of an urban uprising as in the Russian revolution in 1917. They forget that in the experience of the Bolsheviks and the Russian people, the fighting proceeded to the countryside for an extended period.

The same Lavaite quarters overrate “export-oriented manufacturing” and the bogus land reform as having advanced and increased the magnitude of the modern industrial proletariat. Thus, even without the token heavy and basic industries as in Taiwan and South Korea, a Lavaite mouthpiece has gone on to claim even ahead of the World Bank that the Philippines is a “newly industrializing country.”

There are those who assert that the Philippines is already capitalist because the working class is supposed to be in the majority already. They lump together all those categorized as industrial, service and farm workers and obscure the important distinctions among them. They do not see that even the industrial workers in the Philippines are attached mainly to import-dependent light manufacturing, there being no heavy and basic industries.

The consistent line of the Lavaites is that a protracted people's war based mainly on the peasantry is out of the question. They thus pin their hopes on a working class that is supposed to be expanding fast in an imaginary process of industrialization. But unfortunately for them, the Lavaites are shunned by the masses of workers for collaborating with the regime.

All attempts of the Lavaites to justify their continuing failures and, worse, their collaboration with the fascist regime have proven to be utterly futile. Even the Soviet theorists have been uneasy and disturbed about the Lavaite's conceding that the US and the Marcos regime are carrying out industrialization in the country as this preempts a Soviet offer of “noncapitalist development” to the regime.

7. It is supposed that “neocolonial industrialization” is unstoppable and that it is supposed to have been determined by a “new international division of labor” (NIDL) and “internationalization of capital” under which the capitalist countries concentrates on capital-intensive high-technology industries and shift labor-intensive industries to developing countries such that these countries can become industrialized and depart from the colonial exchange of raw-material exports and manufactured imports. How does this relate to Lenin's theory of modern imperialism and the going facts in the world capitalist system now?

There is a limit to the transfer of labor-intensive processes to the developing countries. The capitalist countries do not on their own initiative transfer labor-intensive processes or industries to the developing countries to the point of industrializing these countries and depriving themselves of captive markets for their surplus manufactures as well as sources of cheap raw materials.

In the US and other capitalist countries, there is the objective process of rapid constant capital build-up. The labor-intensive processes are being automated. At the same time, it is the subjective wish of the political and economic leadership of the capitalist countries to cope with their unemployment. Thus the transfer of labor-intensive processes to developing or underdeveloped countries is extremely limited and cannot by any stretch of the imagination lead to the industrial development of these countries.

Were the capitalist countries to allow developing countries to industrialize, the capitalist crisis of overproduction would worsen at a far more accelerated pace. The usual practice of the monopoly capitalists in the face of losses or a rapidly decreasing rate of profit is to cut down production or discard their inferior plants in favor of more efficient ones rather than allow the underdeveloped or developing countries to acquire their own industrial capacity.

The foreign monopoly capitalists constantly fear and oppose any permanent reduction of their overseas market, especially because their high-technology industries employ a very limited number of people.

Let us take, as an example, the steel industry which is so important in the process of industrialization. The US would rather keep idle or melt down so many of its steel plants than have these transferred to developing or underdeveloped countries. These steel plants conceded to a few entities like Taiwan, South Korea and Brazil are mere tokens of limited capacity, and their economies are hogtied by the continuing need to be supplied with so many types of basic and special steel products from the capitalist countries in a wide range of construction projects.

A few token industrial projects have been conceded by the US and other capitalist countries to a very few developing countries only because of the strong demand of the latter and not because of voluntariness on the part of the former. As much as they can, the capitalist countries maneuver to limit the industrial projects and tie them down for the purpose of extracting more advantages for their home industries.

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The Philippines is a good example of an underdeveloped country that is held down to having no more than import-dependent light manufacturing. And it has even been obliged to retreat from a wide range of light manufacturing that serves local needs and to opt for the flimsier processing of a few items for reexport, the dominant TNC's want to supply entirely finished products to the Philippine market. This point seems not to be grasped by those who claim neocolonial industrialization for the country.

Modern imperialism would cease to be what it is if it were bent on industrializing the developing countries. The main and essential scheme of the imperialists is still to supply the underdeveloped and developing countries with manufactured products in exchange for cheap raw materials. The export of surplus capital in the form of direct and indirect investments serve the unequal exchange of manufactured surpluses of the capitalist countries and raw materials of the developing countries.

The imperialists draw their superprofits from unequal trade and from the investments and loans attendant to this trade. If this trade is called colonial, it is because it originates from colonial times; it does not mean that its importance is dissolved under modern imperialism. One who uses the term neocolonialism as a synonym for imperialism should not be misled into thinking that the colonial pattern of trade has been replaced by something like "neocolonial industrialization."

The facts in their entirety and decisive detail do not show that the capitalist countries have taken the initiative to form a "new international division of labor" and allowed the developing countries to industrialize and depart from their dependence on raw material production for export and importation of finished products. One simply has to look into the facts behind the struggle of the third world for a new international economic order. North-South dialogues and confrontation are becoming more and more bitter.

And here comes the Lavaites claiming that everything has been settled on the initiative of the imperialists who through the TNC's have supposedly decided to industrialize developing countries with a small number of runaway shops from the capitalist countries. The book *Development Debacle* by Walden Bello, et al., exposes completely the falsity and failure of the promised industrialization of the Philippines through "export-oriented manufacturing."

As the capitalist crisis of overproduction worsens, the capitalist countries and their TNC's directly and through their banks, dictate

on developing countries to desist from proposing industrial projects, bring down tariff barriers, borrow at more onerous terms, devalue their currencies, etc. The capitalist countries push their respective trade offensives at the expense chiefly of the underdeveloped or developing countries. At the same time, the former impose quotas and other protectionist measures against exports and reexports of underdeveloped or developing countries.

The Lavaites eclectically pick up all sorts of false ideas and give credence even to false claims of the World Bank and the TNCs to support their line that the US imperialists and the Marcos regime are industrializing the country. In the process, they unwittingly cast away the Soviet theory of "noncapitalist development" in favor of a theory of industrialization by the TNCs. In this regard, the only thing that the Soviet Union can be happy about the Lavaites is their trying to obscure the third world demand for a new international economic order.

The Lavaites are so opposed to the national democratic revolution and so attached to the regime that they have degenerated to the point of crediting US imperialism with an imagined industrialization of the country. Industrialization will take place when the country and the people are freed from foreign and feudal domination.

The notion that the developing countries can be industrialized by the transfer of labor-intensive industries from the capitalist countries is supposed to have originated from the work entitled *The New International Division of Labor* by West German scholars Volker Froebel, Jurgen Heinrich and Otto Kreye, of the Max Planck Institute. Since then, some apologists for the TNCs have used this notion to overrate TNC role in the so-called industrialization of the developing countries. Then, the Lavaites adopted the notion, called it neocolonial industrialization and flaunted it as if it were an improvement on Lenin's theory on modern imperialism.

The notion is not really new. Kautsky and his disciples in the Second International hailed the domination of the imperialists over the colonies and semicolonies on the ground that this would achieve a civilizing mission and the peaceful development of the dominated countries into capitalism. In exchange for their raw materials, they were supposed to acquire industrial productive capacity and become capitalist. But, then as now, the imperialists with the collaboration of the local reactionaries have persistently tried with all their might to keep the dominated

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countries as a cheap source of raw materials and a lucrative market for their manufactures.

We are still in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. The essentials of Lenin's theory on modern imperialism are still valid today. The basic conditions from which he drew basic principles have continued. He has correctly presented imperialism as the highest and final stage of capitalism. It is moribund capitalism, the eve of social revolution in both capitalist and underdeveloped and developing countries. The term neocolonialism is a mere variant of the term imperialism and does not mean industrialization of underdeveloped countries by foreign monopolies on TNCs because in fact no such industrialization is taking place.

8. What can one say about the notion that together with the "land reform" program of the US-Marcos regime such measures of rural development as the miracle rice program, increased use of imported farm inputs, the fixed rent systems, the rapid increase of farm workers, corporate farming and compact farming, crop diversification, animal breeding programs, putting-out jobs to villagers and the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran (KKK) have resulted in a significant advance from feudalism towards capitalism?

In the absence of genuine land reform which breaks up feudal and semifeudal social relations, these measures of "rural development" can only benefit the big compradors and big landlords at the expense of the peasants and farm workers. Some crumbs fall to the rich peasants and merchant usurers. These measures cannot by themselves effect any significant advance from feudalism and semifeudalism or from the overall semifeudal character of the economy.

The miracle rice program has increased the productivity of peasants over a few hundreds of thousands of hectares of land and expanded the market for US agricultural chemicals. But the peasants have had to suffer the higher cost of production, especially the imported inputs (fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation facilities, etc.). These have cut down their share of the crop and forced them into debt and further penury. The semifeudal big compradors headed by the fascist ruling clique have collected the biggest commercial profits on importation of the inputs. The peasants have been further squeezed by the fixed rent arrangement and by the price control on their products.

The peasants in Central Luzon and elsewhere who did not pay or made only token payments for the Masagana 99 loans, which were in fact extremely usurious, appeared to have gained much from the miracle rice program. But when Masagana 99 was terminated, they found themselves in deep trouble. Since then owner-cultivators have been selling away their lands; and tenants, their tenancy rights because of increasing debts they cannot pay. Both poor peasants and farm workers have been bogged down more deeply in the mire of feudalism and semifeudalism.

The fixed rent arrangement between the landlord and the so-called leaseholder is still very much within the embrace of feudalism. Generally, the fixed rent is paid in grain because the landlords want to take advantage of the higher prices during the lean months, thus, there is the *quedan* system. At any rate, land rent paid in the form of labor, crop share or cash (in this historical sequence) by tenants is feudal.

The rapid increase of farm workers is a semifeudal phenomenon rather than full capitalist phenomenon; precisely because there is no industrial capitalist development to absorb dispossessed peasants even as the rate of land accumulation by the landlords is running faster than the expansion of tillable land. The increase of farm workers in Central Luzon and other old settlements is dramatic because the frontier area for resettlement all over the country has closed.

It is said that farm workers are now 55% of the farm population and are bigger in number than the peasants with definite plots to till. We are not sure of the accuracy of this figure. It is difficult to make a national survey distinguishing the farm workers who depend mainly or wholly on their wages and the poor and middle peasants who augment their income as farm workers. But assuming that the figure is correct, it does not mean any significant advance into capitalism away from semifeudalism. On the other hand, it means that the semifeudal economy is bursting at the seams with surplus labor that it cannot employ. The direction is more towards a new type of democratic revolution than towards capitalism.

Land concentration mainly by landlords and semifeudal rich peasants continues. Foreign and local farm capitalists still have to deal with local owners of land. However, the new-type landlords take the initiative of employing capitalist processes such as getting crop loans, using imported agricultural inputs, hiring farm workers, etc.

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On its own track, modern corporate farming is expanding rapidly and has had a violent impact on the poor peasants, settlers and national minorities, who continue to be displaced, especially in Mindanao. But it still covers only an insignificant part of the total agricultural land. It is far more productive and profitable though than farming that uses only the cheap labor of farm workers and does not use modern machinery and equipment. Compact farming so-called is still negligible: it covers only a few showpiece areas of the Ministry of Agrarian Reform.

The foreign agricorporations are expanding the land they control by going into "growers' agreements" with the National Development Corporation, landlords and owner-cultivators. These corporations take the initiative of promoting new crops for export, like banana, pineapple, rubber, palm oil, soybeans in Mindanao. The cultivation of more types of crops for the benefit of foreign agricorporations and local landlords reinforces feudalism and semifeudalism. Legions of owner-cultivators for example, have been dispossessed of their land and turned into tenants and farm workers as a result of rapid land accumulation by the fascists, landlords and the foreign agricorporations.

The sale of imported agricultural inputs by big compradors to small merchants is a semifeudal rather than a capitalist phenomenon. It is mercantile rather than an industrial phenomenon because the inputs come from outside the economy and are not produced by local industries.

The animal breeding programs of the reactionary government are also big comprador operations. Foreign breeds are imported at a great overprice and at public expense. These are farmed out mainly to the landlords. However, these are still a mere drop in the sea of backyard animal breeding. But even if big animal farms do arise, the big comprador and landlords will still own them.

Incidentally, there is now a back-to-the-carabao campaign together with the back-to-organic-fertilizers (especially composting and azolla) campaign as a result of dwindling foreign exchange for importing farm equipment and chemicals.

Farm-out jobs in the garments and electronics enterprises are decreasing. Contrary to the claims of the Lavaites, these have not caused a bit of industrialization in the barrios. In general, these have been sidelines of peasant women during their slack periods, the compensation per piece being small. It is not true that entire farming villages have given up farming in order to rely entirely or mainly on these farm-out

jobs. It is also an exaggeration to say that the garments enterprises at their peak in the 1970s created 500,000 jobs in the barrios compared to only 15,000 in factories.

Like the assembly of cars, trucks and motorcycles and the garments and electronics enterprises, the KKK has also been overrated by the Lavaites as a major component of what they call neocolonial industrialization, especially because there is so much Marcos propaganda about tie-ups with the US chain department stores. Some KKK products (especially handicrafts) may indeed be exported. But these do not mean any degree of industrialization.

The KKK is essentially a propaganda gimmick in the face of the worsening economic crisis. It has been used to deflect attention from the rapacity of the fascist dictator and his cronies; and the bankruptcy of the regime, all of which are being mercilessly exposed by soaring inflation and massive unemployment.

The KKK was cooked up when the crony corporations were making a raid on so-called rehabilitation funds. An extremely high proportion of KKK funds is spent on propaganda and superfluous administrative personnel and consultants superimposed on preestablished projects of "rural development" under ministries and other offices other than the Ministry of Human Settlements.

The project headings of the KKK are: agro-forestry, marine culture, waste utilization, cottage and "light industries" (quotes are ours); shelter and shelter components, and services. Old projects are simply being given the KKK signboard. Worse, the bureaucrats and the military are cutting more and more into KKK funds for themselves. But they get only chicken shit in comparison to what the fascist dictator gets.

9. What are your views of the following notions: a) that Spanish colonialism being mercantile capitalist and applying bourgeois jurisprudence converted Philippine agriculture into capitalist property by overruling clan communalism as early as the 16th century; b) that capitalist countries in trading heavily with the Philippine colony developed capitalist agriculture and turned the entire colony capitalist as early as the 19th century; and c) that the Philippine is capitalist because the surplus products go through the market but is a dependent one because the surplus products end up with the imperialists? Each of these notions comes from different quarters.

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There is some logic in putting all three notions together in one question. They have one thing in common. They fly away from a primary consideration of the forces and relations of production in the Philippines. The fundamental difference between Marxist and bourgeois economics is that the former is not carried away by appearances of the market but starts with and focuses on the productive system.

Let us take up the first notion and review both European and Philippine economic history as well as the interaction of Europe and the Philippine colony as well as the result of such interaction.

Indeed, manufacturing and mercantile capitalism were the driving forces behind Spanish colonialism. But this colonialism did not have to apply any bourgeois jurisprudence to put Philippine agriculture under its control. The Philippines was taken by force and conquest; the conquerors subsequently imposed the *encomienda* system for administrative and tribute collecting purposes. This system is a military-feudal device with historical roots reaching down to the time of slavery. This talk on bourgeois jurisprudence being applied on Philippine agriculture in the 16th century to make it capitalist property is utter nonsense.

It should be pointed out that to this day, bourgeois jurisprudence in the Philippines affirms and protects feudal rights, especially in land. The ownership of land by landlords is a base that continues in the Philippine economy. But the feudal property rights of landlords are upheld by the bourgeoisie for fear that an attack on it might impugn the entire concept of private property.

In the 16th century, clan communalism was not pervasive in the Philippines. The overwhelming majority of the natives had already developed a certain degree of civilization far beyond the savage condition of clan communalism and basically advanced from the barbaric condition of tribalism. Tribal features were merely vestigial. Among the elements of civilization were literacy, use of metals and the existence of classes.

To the extent of at least 80%, the natives lived in local communities with populations ranging from 300 to 20,000 along the seacoasts, big rivers and lakes. They had wet rice agriculture and dry rice agriculture. They had well-developed handicrafts that included metal craft, cotton and hemp weaving and the making of large boats capable of carrying fifty (*caracoa*) to 300 persons (*joanga*). The *caracoa* was a commonplace craft for trade and war.

The ruling families and sections of the freemen privately owned most of the metal tools, wet rice lands and slaves; appropriated the entire product of the slaves; received rent from serfs or partial slaves; and controlled the use of communal lands. The surplus products of society was large enough to stimulate intercommunity and interisland trade as well as trade with neighboring lands, China and those of Southeast Asia.

Trade with China is the most revealing. The natives traded rice, cotton, beeswax, hardwood, tortoise shells, pearl and gold in exchange for iron, lead, bronze, fishing nets, silk and porcelain.

The self-contained barangay paradigm of previous historians is extremely misleading. We have been disabused of this by a careful reading of the Spanish chronicles and evaluation of archaeological, anthropological and prehistoric evidences. We should not confuse the civilized natives with those who had not gone beyond clan communalism (Aetas) and tribal communalism (most upland communities). These were in the minority even in the 16th century.

In the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, military-feudal methods of exploitation, like tribute collection, requisition, labor and military conscription were applied in the main to extract surplus product for the colonizers. It was sheer plunder.

Even as the friars, some lay conquistadores and the native chieftains altogether steadily developed such feudal practices as private land accumulation, collection of rent, trade monopolies, levies on merchants, religious fees, etc., slavery also persisted and grew until it really went down. It must be stated though that slavery never reached the proportions that it did in the Americas. There, Africans were traded to be turned into slaves for the plantations.

Slaves in the Philippines during the first two centuries of Spanish colonial rule included those who had slave status in precolonial times, those who were taken captive in military expeditions against the Moros and upland tribes, and those imprisoned for running away from labor and military conscription. The slaves were used as rowers of galleons and military boats or even as permanent workers in public works, as well as house and field servants.

In the entirety of Spanish colonial rule, feudalism provided the great bulk of the surplus product that went to the colonizers and their native taskmasters. In the 19th century, feudalism became fully developed and matured under the stimulus of foreign trade with the capitalist

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countries that needed an increasing amount of commercial-industrial crops.

We can proceed to the second notion. It is wrong to say that Philippine agriculture became capitalist and that the whole Philippine economy likewise became capitalist in the 19th century simply because of the external stimulus provided by commerce with capitalist countries. Feudalism, on the contrary, flourished as never before in the whole country.

The increasing sale of agricultural crops to the capitalist countries pushed the local production of these crops as well as crop specialization and domestic trade. The general effect was to drive the friar landlords and the widespread native and mestizo landlords to accumulate land and collect higher rent from the tenants. In the whole country, the maturing feudal relations were still dominant over such semifeudal elements as the commodity system and the big compradors.

Whether they leased land to native sublandlords or hired foreign managers as they later did, the friars went on a rampage of arbitrarily grabbing land and increasing land rent. The encouragement given by foreign trade to feudal exploitation pushed the people to revolution. It is obvious why the revolution burst out most fiercely in the areas where the friar estates existed.

Let us turn to the third notion. In presenting the mode of production, one does not start with the market. Otherwise, one is liable to get misled and insist that there never has been any mode of production other than capitalism.

For instance, even in a slave mode of production the product of slaves as well as the slaves themselves are traded, i.e., go through the market. In a feudal society, the landlords also deal with the merchants. The key question is not how the surplus product is distributed but how it is produced and exacted from the real producers. The mode of production called slavery is so called because the main portion of the surplus product is produced by slaves rather than by serfs or other classes in society.

Not all surplus product of the present semifeudal economy goes to the imperialists. The landlords, big compradors and the imperialists get their respective shares. The imperialists derive their superprofits through unequal trade, direct investment and loans; and hold the levers to suit the pattern of production and trade to their advantage.

The Philippine mode of production is in the orbit of world capitalism and is dependent on it. But in its distinct or particular mode of existence, it is semifeudal and not capitalist. The term dependent capitalism can lead to more confusion than clarity.

10. In what sense is feudalism the social base of imperialism? There are those who insist that feudalism is not and has never been the social base of imperialism in the country. They say that imperialism is so strong that it does not need feudalism. They confuse the destruction of feudalism by capitalism in the development of the capitalist countries and the use of feudalism by modern imperialism to the latter's advantage in the colonies and semicolonies.

In the Philippines, US imperialism has relied on feudalism historically and currently in various social spheres: economic, political and cultural. It is not out of weakness that US imperialism uses feudalism but out of cleverness and strength. The main interest of US imperialism is not to develop and industrialize the Philippines and turn it into one more capitalist competitor but to retain it as a supplier of raw materials and as a market for US manufactures through the instrumentality of the landlords and the big compradors who in the main are also big landlords.

In the economy, the landlords are in charge of the production of crops needed by the imperialists and which form the bulk of exports. All landlords in the production of staples and export crops grab the biggest amount of surplus value and use this to get the US manufactured goods for consumption. They waste what would have been investible resources and prevent Philippine industrialization. They hog the land and assure Philippine backwardness and vulnerability to imperialist domination.

In politics, the reactionary political leaders, from the level of municipal mayors to that of the president, are in general landlords. It would certainly be foolish for American politicians to come and take over the function of their local taskmasters. There certainly is no danger of that happening in the Philippines.

This is also true in the economy. It would be foolish for Americans to supplant the landlords from well established feudal and semifeudal areas. US agricorporations have always preferred moving into frontier areas at the expense of settlers and national minorities. Now, they also prefer to go into "growers' agreements" with the state, the landlords

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and owner-cultivators. So far, the landlord class in the Philippines has held its ground all over the country, and has certainly not given way to local capitalists.

In culture, US bourgeois and imperialist culture is an overlay on the feudal culture spawned by Spanish colonialism and the Catholic Church. US imperialism does not dare eradicate and replace the feudal culture that still persists in a big way. It would rather ride on it and use it just as it does with the landlord economy.

It was Lenin who pointed out that modern imperialism allies itself with feudalism in the colonies and semicolonies. The modern industrial bourgeoisie which destroyed the feudal economy in capitalist countries is not to be confused with foreign monopoly capitalism impinging on the backward economies of the colonies and semicolonies. US imperialism has pushed the growth of semifeudalism and the comprador big bourgeoisie but not to the point of making the Philippines a modern industrialized neocolony or an industrial capitalist country.

It is also inappropriate to quote Marx and Lenin regarding the modern industrial bourgeoisie in 19th century England and early 20th century Russia and suggest that such a bourgeoisie is already directly in command of the Philippine economy. The ruling bourgeoisie is the comprador big bourgeoisie. And the element of the modern industrial bourgeoisie in the Philippines is still subordinate to the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class; and does not yet have a local base in heavy and basic industries for the light manufacturing it is engaged in.

The Lavaites are a source of confusion. Sometimes they admit the obvious imperialist domination in the country. At other times, they assert that a modern industrial bourgeoisie is already ruling the country when they wish to call the country capitalist.

The first to publicly attack the formulation, "feudalism is the social base of imperialism in the Philippines" was Dr. Jesus Lava, Sr. in 1970. He enumerated a series of US-directed and US-financed activities and called these the social base of US imperialism in the Philippines.

Even enlightened neoclassical economists understand that foreign monopoly and the feudal bottleneck in the economy are obstacles to the growth of capitalism in the country. Proletarian revolutionaries know that if they defeat the landlord class in the countryside, imperialism and the big compradors would have nothing to stand on in the

country except a few city enclaves where they would not be able to stand for long.

There are those who join the Lavaites in saying the formulation "feudalism is the social base of imperialism" is inapplicable to the Philippines simply because it is drawn (or "derived," a pejorative term to original geniuses) from Mao. They do not know even Mao cannot claim originality for the basic principle involved.

Modern imperialism has been experienced and observed in common by so many people in colonies and semicolonies. Why should not entire peoples or their thinkers and leaders arrive at certain common formulations? What would be sad is if these formulations are not supported by facts and analysis.

Will Marxists now stop being Marxists because they draw basic guiding principles from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Ho? No theoretical advance can be made without the illumination and further testing of priorly given ideas as one engages in the concrete analysis of concrete conditions. The formulation in question affirms a general similarity of semicolonial and semifeudal conditions between pre-socialist China and the Philippines today. The Philippines, of course, has many particularities different from those of old China.

11. Will you discuss further the class character of the Marcos ruling clique? Some Lavaites claim it represents "the ascendancy of the reformist national bourgeoisie over the feudal lords and the compradors." Some other people say that this clique has pushed capitalism and industrial development by using the state to pool unprecedentedly large financial resources to reinvest. Are these claims true? What more can we expect from this clique? Is there any chance that it would take the nationalist bourgeois alternative?

The claim that the Marcos ruling clique is representative of a national bourgeoisie ascendant over the big compradors and big landlords does not accord with the facts. The Marcos ruling clique is the extreme section of the big compradors and big landlords and grabs the lion's share of the wealth of these classes by virtue of its autocratic power.

Marcos conspired with US imperialism to set up the fascist dictatorship in 1972 precisely to attack with unbridled force the rising anti-imperialist movement of the people and to reverse the patriotic decisions of the Supreme Court then on the Quasha and Luzteveco cases. Even before the declaration of Martial Law in 1972, the Marcos

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ruling clique had pushed investment laws to enable the US to head off the termination of the Parity Agreement and the Laurel-Langley Agreement so as to perpetuate “parity rights” through “national treatment” of foreign investments.

Marcos has led his clique in utilizing his autocratic powers to take over entire lines of big comprador businesses and major enterprises. He and his clique have become the ascendant section of the comprador big bourgeoisie. Within the framework of subservience to US imperialism, this ruling section has become the wealthiest and most reactionary section of the comprador big bourgeoisie.

By engaging in heavy foreign borrowing for nonproductive and non-industrial purposes and thus having large amounts of funds to manipulate, this fascist elite has rapidly become the Number One financial and trading agent of the US and other transnational corporations. Among the big compradors, the crony corporations have benefited the most from state loans and loan guarantees for the importation of goods for immediate consumption and consumption-oriented infrastructure, energy, tourism and similar programs.

The crony corporations or groups of companies headed by the Benedictos, Disinis, Silverios, Cuencas, Cojuangcos, Romualdezes, Tans, Dees and other Filipino and Kuomintang dummies are essentially big comprador entities acting as agents of the US and other multinational firms. They engage in a dizzying variety of businesses, but none of these are in heavy and basic industries.

Their businesses include banks, investment houses, insurance, trading, agricultural mills, construction, real estate, hotels, mining, logging, plantations, import-dependent light manufacturing, garments, electronics, car assembly, fertilizers, shipping, electricity, telephone, mass media, gambling joints (jai-alai and casinos) and so on. The edge of the cronies over their big comprador competitors is provided by the power of the autocratic overlord.

All kinds of tricks of bureaucrat capitalism at its worst have been used in favor of the new oligarchy. Loans and loan guarantees have been made with little or no loan collateral. Secret decrees and informal orders have been made to grant special privileges. Special levies are imposed on the people only to be treated as private funds. Customers of utility firms are required to buy shares and pay ever-increasing special charges. Permanent private toll gates are allowed. Goods are

monopolized and overpriced and then the people are told that they enjoy “subsidized” or “socialized” prices.

Such belated token industrial projects as the copper smelter and the coco-chemical plant (after 17 years of Marcos rule) do not change the anti-industrial character of the fascist big compradors. These projects are mere tokens and have been undermined from the beginning by bureaucratic corruption and by the control exercised by foreign lenders and investors. The tokenism involved in these projects is no different from that in the bogus land reform.

Economic and financial policies and activities in the country are more than ever dictated by imperialist banks and the US multinational corporations. Marcos is now prohibited from even pretending to be for industrialization. He is told to concentrate on “rural development” and to further press down the national bourgeoisie and the entire people through increased taxation, devaluation, import liberalization, inflation and so on.

Aside from having become the biggest compradors in the country, the fascists have become the biggest landlords. They have accumulated huge estates and mills for sugarcane, coconut, bananas, rice, corn and other major agricultural products for export. They have used the banks to take over the land of landlords out of power and even that of owner-cultivators. They have used various pretexts—agro-industrial estates, export processing zones, tree farming, counterinsurgency, pasture leases—to grab lands from poor settlers and minority communities.

As the economic crisis is worsening at home and abroad and getting foreign loans is becoming more difficult and onerous, many of the crony corporations have collapsed and state and financial institutions are made to answer for the huge unpaid loans of these bankrupt firms. Have the fascists incurred private losses in the process? No! To make their pyramids of bubbles, they have gotten loans with little or no collateral, have overpriced the goods and services paid for by the firms and have engaged in sheer “creative accounting.”

The fascists have contributed nothing to Philippine industrialization. Instead, they have aggravated the underdevelopment of the economy. They have mortgaged the country away and auctioned it off. Together with the imperialists, they have plundered it and brought out tremendous amounts of social wealth. The top fascists stash their

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loot abroad in the form of secret bank accounts, choice real estate, blue-chip stocks, trust funds, gold bullions, jewelry and art collections.

Is there any chance that the fascist gang of big comprador-landlords would take the bourgeois nationalist alternative? There is no indication that they will change their character. Sometimes Marcos pretends to complain of “politically unpalatable” economic dictates from his imperialist master. But he does so only to raise his standing as a puppet. He has been consistent in assuring US imperialism that he will go on serving US interests and repressing the people.

There have been instances in semifeudal countries when some bureaucrat capitalists swung from a big comprador to a bourgeois nationalist posture. But so far, Marcos has not shown any desire or ability to do so. Time is running fast against him. The political and economic crisis is worsening so fast that he will soon be consigned to the place where he is awaited by Chiang Kaishek, Ngo Dinh Diem, Lon Nol, the Shah of Iran and Somoza.

The Lavaites have become so degenerate in their collaboration with the fascists that they arbitrarily separate Marcos from US imperialism and misrepresent him as national bourgeois. They therefore get entangled in the most confused and self-contradictory statements and claims.

In a vain attempt to further confuse the people, the Lavaites claim that the revolutionaries are attacking Marcos exclusively. They have been saying this since the late 1960s. They must be literally deaf and blind; or they must be so self-deluded that they can ignore the identification of the US-Marcos combine as the enemy as well as the promotion of the national democratic line against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

12. Will you discuss the economic crisis in the Philippines? Are the forces of production outgrowing the semifeudal relations? How is the class struggle developing in the mode of production as well as in the superstructure? Bring the discussion to the prospects of revolutionary change?

The semifeudal mode of production in the Philippines is in constant or chronic crisis. It carries over from the 19th century the crisis of an overripe feudalism, which was not solved by the old democratic revolution because of US imperialist intervention and conquest.

US imperialism seemed to be breaking feudalism up during the first decade of the century as the friar estates were purchased, public lands were opened for settlement and the 1903 census showed that the tenancy rate plummeted from its 19th century peak to only 18%. But the friar estates eventually came under the ownership of landlords and not of peasants. Also, the settlers were always overtaken by the landlords. From decade to decade, the tenancy rate rose.

US monopoly capitalism has retained and superimposed itself on feudalism, smashing local handicrafts and hindering the development of comprehensive local manufacturing. It has subordinated feudalism to the unequal exchange of manufacture imports and raw-material exports which have made the comprador big bourgeoisie more dominant than the landlord class in the resultant semifeudal economy.

This mode of production is afflicted not only with the old unresolved crisis of feudalism but also with that of the world capitalist system, particularly imperialism which is moribund capitalism and which is ever in crisis. The Filipino people, especially the workers and the peasants, constantly strain under the yoke of foreign and feudal exploitations.

The chronic economic crisis has been plunging from one level to another due to internal and external factors. The forces of production have been growing in a lopsided manner. And the foreign monopoly firms together with the local exploiting classes have been robbing the toiling masses of the surplus products and keeping them at worsening levels of subsistence and impoverishment.

The rate of agricultural land expansion has exceeded the rate of population growth from decade to decade, mainly because of spontaneous peasant resettlement and opening of new land. But the rate of land accumulation by landlords has run faster. Now, the frontier areas have practically become closed to further resettlement. Peasant settlers and even minority nationalities are being deprived of their homesteads and ancestral lands.

In old and new settlements, the peasants are being proletarianized (dispossessed of land and tools) and yet there is no industrialization to absorb this growing surplus labor. Too many people are competing for seasonal farm work and they are spilling over into the cities to compete for odd jobs. Unemployment is rampant.

The land problem has become more acute than ever before. Thus, the agrarian revolution of the peasants and farm workers against the landlord class is breaking out on a national scale. Going along in the

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strength of the armed peasant army and other people's organizations, the current general campaign for rent reduction and elimination of usury is bound to rise to the level of land confiscation from the landlords and free distribution of land to the tillers.

Feudalism is still the main socioeconomic problem. It involves the vast peasant majority of the people. The largest amount of surplus product is drawn from this class and is divided among the exploiters. Together with foreign monopoly capitalists, feudalism must be done away with in order to liberate the forces of production in the country.

By way of "industrial development," US imperialism has promoted agricultural milling, extractive enterprises, slight processing of local raw-materials, the import-dependent "import substitution" manufacturing for domestic consumption of the 1950s and more recently the far more import-dependent "export-oriented manufacturing" for reexport and domestic market penetration.

Actually, financial resources have flowed mostly and in a rapid manner into construction, utilities, transport and communications, tourist facilities, the military, the least useful parts of the bureaucracy and so on. All these have high import requirements and have drawn away resources from the genuine development of the country's productive capacity.

As the US imperialist and the regime prate about "export-oriented development," the Philippine economy has moved further away from industrialization and has become more dependent on the unequal exchange of raw-material exports and manufactured imports. The proportion of industrial employment, especially manufacturing, to total employment has gone down.

The problem of unemployment and underemployment has become very severe in both rural and urban areas. Unemployment has kept on rising above the chronic rate of 25%. The export of cheap skilled and unskilled labor and the emigration of professionals and highly trained technicians are a manifestation of the inability of the economy to absorb the growing manpower.

The foreign debt has increased by leaps and bounds to support nonproductive projects and activities, to cover the rapidly widening trade deficits and the servicing of accumulated foreign debts. This debt is being used to tighten the stranglehold of imperialist banks and firms on the Philippine economy.

The Philippines is now being required to extend more privileges to foreign investors against longstanding nationality requirements, further liberalize imports, make drastic devaluation of the peso, increase the tax burden of the people, etc.

For the multinational firms to expand their ownership of enterprises, they do not have to make new investments. They can choose to simply convert the foreign loans and supplies that cannot be paid by local businessmen into takeover equity.

The imperialist scheme of things is however, self-contradictory and self-defeating. The US and other transnational corporations want to perpetuate the Philippines as a source of cheap raw materials, a market for their manufactures and a field of direct and indirect investments for nonindustrial purposes. They keep on extracting superprofits. Their plunder goads the people to rebel.

The worsening of foreign and feudal exploitation is such that it now tightly squeezes not only the toiling masses and peasants but also, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie and goads them all to rise up. Even among the big compradors and landlords, there is a sharpening conflict as the clique in power seeks to grab all economic and financial advantages.

The struggle between the exploiting and exploited classes within the mode of production is reflected and concentrated in the superstructure. The state is used by the ruling class, or specifically the ruling clique, to oppress the people and enforce the continuance of their economic exploitation. In turn, the people have stood up to fight for their rights and interests.

As the most progressive force, the working class builds its revolutionary party, a people's army based among the peasants and a united front that embraces all patriotic and progressive classes, including the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

The revolutionary party of the proletariat applies the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism on concrete Philippine conditions and seeks to lead and unite with the entire people. The program of national democratic revolution is laid down and carried out to rid the country of foreign and feudal domination.

The class struggle is undertaken not only in the economic sphere at the base of the Philippine semifeudal society but also in the political and cultural spheres of the superstructure. It is in the political sphere that the most decisive battles are fought. As the ruling class employs

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armed counterrevolution to preserve the relations of production, the working class, the peasants and the rest of the people wage armed revolution to destroy the existing relations of production and liberate the forces of production.

It is when US imperialism escalates intervention and launches aggression that the national character of the struggle appears to submerge the class character of the struggle. But the two are inseparable. Even when the national struggle is more prominent, the class struggle underlies it.

In the national democratic revolution, the aspect of national liberation is waged against US imperialism; and the aspect of democracy is waged against the fascist dictatorship and feudalism. Agrarian revolution is the most effective means of achieving democracy and mobilizing the strongest popular force to defeat US imperialism and fascist dictatorship.

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

Circa 4th quarter of 1984

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Since 1969, in the Philippine armed revolution, lawyers have been consulted in the formulation of laws and rules in procedure governing

the arbitration of contradictions among the people as well as the people's courts trying major cases, anti-social crimes and contradictions between the people and the enemy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Message to the Nationalist Alliance in Mindanao Convention

October 20, 1984

I wish to express my warmest greetings to and firmest solidarity with all the delegates of the Nationalist Alliance Mindanao Convention. I stand with you in your determination to carry forward the struggle for national democracy.

I extend to you my best wishes for the success of your convention. I am confident that this convention can consolidate your militant ranks, clarify your fighting tasks and open the way to the rapid organizational growth and further political achievements of the Nationalist Alliance in Mindanao.

It is correct and urgently necessary for the Nationalist Alliance in Mindanao to unite all patriotic and progressive classes, sectors, parties, organizations and individuals against the scourge that is the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and the longstanding evils of foreign and feudal domination.

To help build a powerful national united front, you must rely mainly on the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, win over such middle forces as the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie and take advantage of the contradictions among the big compradors and big landlords in order to isolate and defeat the US-Marcos clique.

In the countryside, you must rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants and neutralize the rich peasants in order to isolate and defeat the foreign agrcorporations and the big landlords, especially the fascist big comprador-landlords who grab the lands of the people.

The peasant struggle for land is becoming fiercer and fiercer. The foreign agrcorporations, the fascist landgrabbers and the big comprador-landlords in general are on a rampage of dispossessing the people of their land under various pretexts and with the brazen use of armed force.

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A certain amount of semifeudal capitalist agriculture, dependent on imported inputs and exportation of products, has been growing but at the same time old-type feudalism has held its ground and expanded on a wider scale, overtaking the remotest homesteaders and depriving the ethnic minorities of land.

The concurrent depression of export-crop agriculture, logging and mining; the exacerbation of feudal and semifeudal relations of exploitation; the rapid land dispossession of the peasants by brute force; and the barbaric attacks against the Filipino and Moro peoples, for so long under the fascist puppet regime have generated the armed resistance of the people on a wide scale. Thus, Mindanao has become the largest graveyard of the fascists in the country.

It is my observation that in waging armed and legal struggles the people of Mindanao are building their political power and are playing a decisive role in weakening and destroying the power of the fascist puppet dictatorship.

Mindanao is far away from the seat of reactionary power in Manila. But at the rate that they are drawing reactionary troops and drowning them in a sea of people's war, the revolutionary forces in Mindanao are sapping the strength of the US-Marcos regime and causing its downfall in a few years' time.

The conditions for the growth and advance of the Nationalist Alliance in Mindanao are excellent. The grave political and economic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system is fostering both the armed revolution and the legal democratic movement. In view of the development of revolutionary forces beforehand, the Nationalist Alliance cannot but find abundant support from the people in the effort to raise the national democratic movement to a new and higher level.

I wish the Nationalist Alliance great victories in Mindanao towards the dismantling of the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique and the establishment of a democratic coalition government; genuine land reform and national industrialization; a national, scientific and mass culture; and an independent foreign policy.

The people of Mindanao are bound to make ever greater contributions to the entire Filipino people's revolutionary effort to complete the struggle for national liberation and democracy. The victories of the people of Mindanao are victories of the people of the entire country.

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Long live the Nationalist Alliance in Mindanao!
Onward with the struggle for national democracy!
Dismantle the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique!
Long live the poeple of Mindanao!
Long live the Filipino people.

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The Aquino Assassination: A Marcos-Military Conspiracy²⁴

Circa October 1984

It is obvious that the fascist dictator is the mastermind of the Aquino assassination. He was the Number One assassin. The conspiracy that killed Aquino was not simply a military one. It is a Marcos-military conspiracy.

Marcos had the strongest motive in having Aquino murdered by his military minions. The facts are well known to the people.

Marcos hated Aquino, his arch political rival, the most immediate and the most serious threat to his rule. After the bombing of Plaza Miranda which almost decapitated the Liberal Party in 1971, Marcos maliciously tried to pin the crime on Aquino (a Liberal Party leader himself) and then according to his own game plan, suspended the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus—a trial run of the 1972 declaration of martial law.

Aquino was among the very first to be arrested upon the declaration of martial law in 1972. Trumped-up charges of subversion, rebellion and illegal possession of firearms were prepared against him. Every detail of his cruel incarceration was known to Marcos and directed by him, as has been revealed by his widow.

Contrary to the claims of Atty. Juan T. David that Marcos saved Aquino's life three times, the facts are:

1. Aquino's solitary confinement and other conditions of detention had been so cruel that he had to undertake a hunger strike to call public attention to his plight in 1976. How can it be said that Marcos saved Aquino's life when in fact it was Marcos who subjected him to such excruciating psychological torture as to drive him into undertaking a hunger strike?

Close Aquino relatives and friends themselves advised him to end the hunger strike because they were sure that if Marcos were left to his own devices, he would order an intravenous feeding only after Aquino would have been reduced to a vegetable.

²⁴ Statement issued on the occasion of the release of the Agrava Board majority and minority reports on October 23, 1984.-Editor

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2. Marcos had complete control of the military commission trying Aquino. It was Marcos in the first place who ordered this military commission in 1977 to rush a death sentence on Aquino and his other co-accused, Buscayno and Corpus, despite the protests of their lawyers. How can it be said that Marcos saved Aquino's life, this time from the military commission when it was Marcos who had the death sentence imposed?

The death sentence, however, was reduced to absurdity when Marcos asked Aquino to dignify the 1978 sham elections for the Interim Batasang Pambansa by participating in it.

3. Due to pressures from the US Carter administration, and Aquino's own participation in the 1978 sham elections, Marcos promised to amnesty Aquino and allow him to go on voluntary exile within the year. Marcos reneged on his promise. He decided to allow Aquino to go to the United States in May 1980 only after the latter had suffered a heart attack the month before and was in danger of dying. For a whole month, Aquino was deprived of proper medical attention.

Marcos allowed Aquino to leave for the United States for medical treatment only because Aquino's death in prison would have become a national as well as an international scandal. Marcos also calculated wrongly that even if Aquino survived a heart operation, he would become inutile. How can it be said that Marcos saved Aquino's life this third time when in fact it was Marcos who had subjected Aquino to so much stress as to trigger his heart attack?

When Aquino announced that he wanted to return home from the United States, Marcos was in mortal fear that Aquino would be able to galvanize the opposition and take advantage of the public clamor for change due to the worsening political and economic crisis. Marcos and his wife Imelda resorted to every maneuver to stop Aquino from coming home.

In concert, Marcos, Imelda and Defense Minister Enrile vainly tried to frighten Aquino into giving up his plans to return home by warning him of "confirmed" intelligence reports of communist threats to his life.

It is a matter of public record in the Philippine Senate and in the newspapers in 1971 and 1972 that Marcos was the very originator of the accusation that Aquino was a communist or procommunist only to say later that communists were out to kill him for one reason or another!

This canard would be replayed in the conspiracy to assassinate Aquino, including the post-assassination cover-up. In the post

assassination cover-up, Marcos was the loudest in trying to present the assassination as a “communist rubout.” He attacked Aquino as a pro-communist, yet blamed him for the killing of the so-called communist witnesses against him in order to peddle the lie that Galman was his communist assassin.

Let us now line up the facts to prove that Marcos was involved in the whole conspiracy to assassinate Aquino and cover up the assassination; from the planning and preparation, to the execution and then the cover-up. These facts are supported by evidence presented to the Agrava Board. But the Board did not dare trace criminal responsibility up to Marcos.

1. Marcos directly and through his wife Imelda, Defense Minister Enrile and AFP Chief of Staff General Fabian Ver harped publicly on the baseless and patently fabricated intelligence reports of the same General Ver and the military that the communists were after Aquino. Aquino himself, the local and foreign press as well as other entities were told of this supposedly confirmed reports.

2. In July 1983, there were leaks to the local and foreign press that Defense Minister Enrile and AFP Chief of Staff General Ver were at odds concerning promotions in the AFP and the military chain of command. Towards the end of July, Marcos confirmed publicly that the line of command ran directly from him to the AFP Chief of Staff, bypassing the Defense Minister.

3. On August 20, 1983, the local press printed General Ver’s press release that the death sentence on Aquino had been confirmed by Marcos.

4. As commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, Marcos definitely allowed General Ver and his military underlings to plan and carry out the operation to assassinate Aquino. There is no interservice military operation that is not referred to Marcos by Ver. And every significant or interesting development regarding Aquino is referred to Marcos. The Presidential Security Command which is directly under Marcos played the key role in the assassination. It was the binder of the entire crime. Marcos made available to Ver and his military underlings civilian agencies and officers beyond the jurisdiction of the military for the purpose of monitoring the movements of Aquino, carrying out the assassination and covering it up. No military officer lower than Ver could get presidential authority for using such civilian agencies and offices.

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- a. To monitor Aquino's movements abroad, Marcos allowed his military co-conspirators to make use of reports, personnel and facilities of the Philippine embassies in the United States, Singapore, the consulate general in Hong Kong, the ASECTAL facility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Taiwan and PAL offices.
- b. To have the assassination carried out, Marcos authorized his military co-conspirators to take complete control of the Manila International Airport (including the administration), the CAA air control tower which received the final tip off from the Taiwan air control regarding Aquino's exact flight, the TV monitoring system of the Bureau of Air Transport and the MBS Channel 4 crew of the Office of Media Affairs.
- c. To cover up the crime, Col. Tigas of the Presidential Security Command was empowered to order OMA employees and MBS official Jolly Riofrit to collect the films of civilian press photographers.

5. On the basis of the above established facts, Marcos is culpable for the Aquino assassination not only because of command responsibility as commander-in-chief of the AFP but also because of his comprehensive responsibility as president. To repeat, facts have established that Marcos made available to his military co-conspirators certain civilian agencies and offices.

6. On the evening of August 22, 1983, Marcos himself came out on a radio-television hook up with a patent lie—the cover up story—that Aquino was killed in a communist rubout by a communist or a hired assassin. Marcos would subsequently repeat this lie in so many public statements. A number of times he admitted that if the conspiracy involved the military, he would have known about it ahead of the assassination.

7. Even after the two reports of the Agrava Board, Marcos has not taken any step to hold General Ver et al. administratively responsible (an administrative case is distinct from a criminal case). Despite the gravity of the criminal charge of double murder against them, Generals Ver and Olivas have been simply allowed to take a leave of absence and General Custodio and the rest of the co-conspirators are practically enjoying complete liberty. There has been no known arrest order for the civilian Gosuico implicated in the report of the Board.

Worst of all, Marcos and the Tanodbayan are now engaged in an orchestrated propaganda campaign for the purpose of discrediting the

majority or collective report of the Agrava Board and preparing the ground for dropping the charges against General Ver and undermining the case of double murder.

As demonstrated by the foregoing facts, it is not true that there is no evidence against Marcos. The known facts and evidence are enough to hold Marcos accountable for the Aquino assassination.

But what can the people do against the fascist dictator? The people can intensify their revolutionary resolve and efforts to dismantle his fascist dictatorship and establish a democratic coalition government. Only under a new democratic government can justice be rendered to Aquino and all other victims of fascist tyranny, including all of us—the living victims.

The US and the Marcos gang are in cahoots in a psywar scheme to defuse the people's outrage over the Aquino assassination and to get Marcos and Ver off the hook.

First, even the relatively better majority report of the Agrava Board fails to tag Marcos as the mastermind and mainly holds Ver responsible only for lying before the Board. Ver is not essentially held responsible for approving Oplan Balikbayan, the operational plan for the Aquino assassination, including its cover-up. The exclusion of such an elementary requirement as photographic coverage of Aquino's arrival was an essential requirement for the cover-up.

Second, the so-called majority report of the Agrava Board is now in the process of being discredited by both Marcos and the Tanodbayan. There is a concerted effort to prepare the ground for clearing Ver and Olivas, with Mrs. Agrava and her nephew Col. Villa lending a hand.

Third, the much-weakened case against the remaining accused will either drag on or be terminated sooner than expected due to recanting testimonies or disappearance of vital witnesses and the loss or destruction of hard evidence.

The US-Marcos regime is intent on defusing the people's outrage over the Aquino assassination and "stabilizing" the situation for tyranny to go on unchallenged. This is a pipedream. The Aquino assassination will remain a high priority issue as the fascist dictatorship escalates its bloody campaigns of terror against the people and as the political and economic crisis continues to worsen.

The legal democratic mass movement and the armed revolution are developing fast. The people's struggle for national liberation and democracy is advancing and winning greater victories against fascist,

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foreign and feudal domination. The day of judgment for the US-Marcos clique is fast approaching.

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Message to the National Convention of the Muslim-Christian Alliance Nationwide

November 1984

I am exceedingly happy that through this convention, the people belonging to the two major religious faiths, Islam and Christian, are manifesting and heightening their unity for the struggle to achieve national liberation and democracy against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

I extend my wholehearted support to the alliance and all delegates to this convention in their endeavor to clarify the Philippine and Mindanao situation; and develop Muslim-Christian unity, cooperation and coordination in all fields—political, economic, social, cultural and external relations.

I am confident that my Muslim and Christian brothers and sisters will be successful in raising their common understanding and the level of their militance in the national democratic struggle against the evils of US imperialism and feudal domination which have brought about the fascist tyranny.

It is my firm belief that in an alliance between Muslims and Christians, there must be respect for integrity, equality, initiative and independence of each side as every effort is exerted to attain unity of purpose, consciousness and action for mutual benefit in accordance with the national democratic program.

It is my understanding that your alliance is for promoting mutual support and is setting forth tasks that Muslims and Christians can jointly and separately carry out. I hope that you can build a strong machinery for common effort and consultations at various levels and in various sectors.

The fascist dictatorship, by unleashing the worst forms of oppression and exploitation against the entire people has dug its own grave. This tyranny has driven both the Muslims and the Christians to seek and develop unity against a common enemy and overcome deepseated prejudices wrought by colonial domination and religious differences.

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The fascist regime has sought to use anti-Muslim prejudice in its campaigns of massacre and other atrocities against the Moro people. But the Christians, including Church leaders, have refused to be taken in and have instead exposed and opposed the brutal acts of the regime against the Moro people and the Muslims.

The Christians themselves, both clergy and laity, have been increasingly subjected to the most vicious acts of persecution by the fascist regime. Like the Muslims, they have suffered massacres, murders, torture, rape, arbitrary arrest, illegal detention, arson, bombardment, forced displacement and so many other barbarities.

Muslims and Christians pursue a common revolutionary struggle and support each other. They must arrive at a common agreement of unity, cooperation and coordination in the struggle for national freedom and democracy against fascist, foreign and feudal domination.

The Filipino people cannot be free if both the Muslims and the Christians are not free. A blow for freedom by one is a blow for freedom for the other as well as for the entire Filipino people. The victories of one in the revolutionary struggle are the victories of the other as well as of the entire people.

I wish you all the success in this convention and in all your forthcoming work. May the Muslims and Christians together help build one modern nation-state where freedom, democracy, equality, justice and peace shall prevail.

Long live the Muslim-Christian Alliance Nationwide!

Carry forward the struggle for national liberation and democracy!

Down with the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Long live the Muslims and the Christians!

Long live the Filipino people!

★ ★ ★

On the Communist Party and Armed Revolution in the Philippines²⁵

November 28, 1984

1. On the Communist Party and its gains up to 1984

The Communist Party of the Philippines has made great advances ideologically, politically and organizationally. It has correctly and successfully applied the theory of Marxism-Leninism on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution; it has become deeply rooted among the Filipino people, especially the workers and the peasants; and it has become a nationwide organization of several tens of thousands of cadres and members covering all the provinces.

Through the national united front, the people in their tens of millions are being aroused, organized and mobilized. The National Democratic Front is the most consolidated and broadest united front organization in the underground. Local organs of democratic power have been created under the united front policy and are effectively governing millions of people. The proletariat and its party, the Communist Party of the Philippines, rely mainly on the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, win over the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie and take advantage of the splits among the big compradors and landlords to isolate and destroy the enemy—the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

The stage of the strategic defensive is now in its advanced phase and will soon pass into the stage of strategic stalemate. Platoon-size offensive operations are commonplace in the forty guerrilla fronts, covering some 500 municipalities. In certain areas, company-size or even larger offensive operations are becoming more frequent. The New People's Army is reported to have some 10,000 automatic rifles and is growing at an accelerated rate in close to seventy provinces.

²⁵ Interview with Japanese journalists and also published in *Philippine News and Features*, Vol. 1, No. 14, December 28, 1984.-Editor

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2. On the requisites for total victory

There certainly are so many more things to be done in order to advance and win total victory in the national democratic revolution.

The CPP must train and develop through struggle at least 200,000 cadres and members in order to lead the people in all the 1,500 municipalities and cities.

The NPA must strive to reach the stage of strategic stalemate in a few years' time. It is not difficult to rise from the level of 10,000 rifles to 25,000 rifles before 1987 through intensified armed struggle.

Genuine land reform must be carried out. The mass base must be expanded and consolidated through the local organs of democratic power and the mass organizations for workers, peasants, youth, women and others.

There must be preparedness and vigilance against escalating US support and intervention in favor of the Marcos fascist gang or any ultrareactionary ruling clique succeeding it.

So far, there have been no big errors or failures of such proportion as to cause serious damage to the entire revolutionary movement.

3. On the present alignment of political forces

The Filipino people are in contradiction with the Marcos fascist dictatorship, US imperialism and feudalism. The working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie are in constant conflict with US imperialism and the local reactionary classes of big compradors and landlord.

The present alignment of economic and political forces is best expressed by the united front line: rely mainly on the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, win over such middle forces as the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie and take advantage of the splits within such reactionary classes as the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class in order to isolate the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

4. On the old communist party (Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas)

The Lavaite group which calls itself Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas is of no consequence in Philippine affairs.

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This group is a small sect perpetuating the grave anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist errors of the Lava dynasty. It committed political suicide in 1974 when it surrendered to the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique and began to hail Marcos wrongly as the representative of the national bourgeoisie, instead of the big compradors and big landlords.

This group murdered a number of its young intellectual members in 1973 and 1974 in order to effect and enforce its capitulation to the US-Marcos clique. By thus destroying its youth organization, the Malayang Pagkakaisa ng Kabataang Pilipino, this group further lost its chance to expand nationwide.

In the handful of barrios in Central Luzon that used to be influenced by the Lavaite group before 1974, the people now follow the leadership of the CPP.

5. On why the Party was reestablished

Throughout the 1960s, the Lavas wanted to retain its dynastic control over the Communist Party; refused the rectification of historical and current errors; and opposed the revitalization of the Communist Party, the people's army and the united front. Thus, the Communist Party of the Philippines had to be reestablished on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism, conduct rectification and adopt all measures to rebuild the Party, the people's army and the united front.

It was simply absurd that the leadership of the party should be passed on from one Lava brother to another (Vicente, Jose and Jesus) and then for the fourth time would be passed on to a nephew who was notoriously unqualified. Up to now, the general secretary of the Lavaite group is a mere deputy of Jose and Jesus Lava.

The possibility of a CPP coalition or reunion with the Lavaite pseudocommunist group is practically zero. The latter is a self-destructive and moribund group. It is a special anticommunist adjunct of the US-Marcos clique and is thoroughly infiltrated and controlled by US and Marcos agents.

6. On China's foreign policy

China is carrying out an independent foreign policy. It is in alliance with neither the US nor the Soviet Union. So, it is not correct to say that China has degenerated into a junior partner of the US, like Japan.

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7. On the CPP's Foreign Policy

The CPP has always been an independent party. It carries out the Philippine revolution according to the best interests of the Filipino people. It maintains relations with parties abroad that are supportive of the self-reliant revolutionary efforts of the Filipino people. By waging the national democratic revolution, the Filipino people support the revolutionary efforts of other peoples of the world and contribute their share in the liberation of all peoples from the scourge of imperialism and all reactionary forces.

The CPP should further develop relations with all other communist and workers' parties it has relations with, including the Chinese Communist Party. It should also develop relations with more revolutionary parties and movements that respect its integrity and independence, treat it as an equal, and extend moral and material support in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism. No communist party can claim itself to be the center of the international communist movement. The CPP maintains its integrity and takes its patriotic responsibilities seriously. It develops relations with other parties on the basis of independence, equality, mutual respect and mutual support.

8. On the Aquino assassination

The people's outrage over the Aquino assassination has fuelled both the legal democratic mass movement and the revolutionary armed struggle. The CPP has played a major role in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people to condemn the assassination and to carry forward the national democratic revolution more resolutely and militantly.

9. On the effects of martial law

When the US-Marcos clique made the coup and began the full-scale fascist counterrevolution in 1972, the CPP had only 2,000 members, the NPA only 350 automatic rifles. The revolutionary mass base covered only a few hundreds of thousands of people.

Compare these figures with the latest estimates released by the US-Marcos regime or those released by the CPP. And you can see that the fascist counterrevolution has only served to aggravate the crisis of the ruling system and stimulate the growth of the revolutionary forces.

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We do not speak of a martial law period and a post-martial period. It is misleading. Despite the formal lifting of martial law in 1981, the fascist counterrevolution has become even more brutal. The puppet autocracy has remained; its repressiveness has remained. The struggle between the forces of the national democratic revolution and those of the fascist puppet counterrevolution has grown fiercer.

10. On the growth of the armed revolution

The people's war is developing very well. As earlier pointed out, the stage of strategic defensive is already maturing and about to pass on to the stage of strategic stalemate. Elements of the strategic stalemate have already appeared in several areas, especially in Mindanao.

There is no timetable as to when the strategic stalemate will begin and will be over; and as to when the strategic offensive will be launched to wipe out the enemy in its final holdouts.

The strategic stalemate will be reached when temporary seizures of towns and provincial capitals as well as the annihilation of enemy companies or even battalions have become commonplace in all the regions outside of Metro Manila.

11. On foreign views of the CPP

The US government has started to express its apprehensions over the CPP and the NPA. It has nothing to worry about the Lavaite group because this group is collaborating with the Marcos fascist gang even as it claims to have Soviet support.

The US, the Soviet Union, China, Japan and other countries perceive that the armed revolutionary movement led by the CPP is a growing serious challenge to the fascist dictatorship.

12. On the Soviet Union

I am not aware that the CPP has ever approached the Soviet Union or the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union). And I do not know what is the current attitude of the CPSU towards the CPP.

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13. On the view that people's war is "irrelevant" in the Philippines

How can the concept of people's war become irrelevant in the Philippines when in fact it is reaping victories here? All the nuclear and high-technology weapons of the US are impotent and cannot be used to rescue its fascist puppets being ambushed, raided and arrested by a people's army fighting on the ground.

The weapons delivered by the US to its puppets are being captured by the people in their effort to arm themselves. In a way, the US Pentagon has become the arsenal of Filipino revolutionaries. And Marcos is also their chief transportation and supply officer.

If the US has not learned its lessons well from the Vietnam war, the Filipino people are preparing to give it another lesson.

14. On the country's future foreign policy

When total victory of the national democratic revolution is won, the Filipino people will continue to uphold their national sovereignty and take command of their own development. Just as they shall have succeeded in ending US imperialist domination, they shall use their proven strength in preventing the domination of the Philippines by any other foreign power.

The Philippines will pursue an independent and nonaligned foreign policy. It shall have normal trade and diplomatic relations with all countries of East Asia and the rest of the world. It will actively oppose the hegemonism of any superpower using a supposed threat from another superpower as the excuse to trample on national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Filipino people will be the masters of their own destiny; and the Philippines will be a self-respecting and active member of the international community.

15. On the relation of the Left to the "Middle Forces"

The forces of the Left are essentially representative of the class interests of the working class and peasantry; just as the forces of the Middle are essentially representative of the interests of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. Both Left and Middle

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forces have a common interest in the program of struggling for national liberation and democracy.

They are driven to unite by the need to dismantle the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and establish a democratic coalition government; carry out national industrialization and land reform; promote a national, scientific and mass culture; and pursue an independent foreign policy.

The united front and cooperation of the Left and Middle forces are being realized in all major fields of social endeavor—political, economic, cultural, etc.

16. On the AFP

The Armed Forces of the Philippines is the main component of reactionary state power in the Philippines. It is both the creature of US imperialism and the instrument of coercion in the hands of the big compradors and landlords whose current chief representative is the fascist dictator.

The AFP looks like it is the private army of the autocrat who has put its favorite in command. But it is dependent on the US for indoctrination, strategic planning, officer training and military supplies.

It is a puppet, antidemocratic, parasitic, brutal and corrupt force. It is even escalating the violations of human rights. It is a major cause of inflation; and in turn inflation is hitting it hard. It is weighed down by its own corruption and its essentially antipeople character.

It cannot succeed in its so-called counterinsurgency efforts because the people have a just cause and are waging all forms of revolutionary struggle against it. It is politically isolated and the ever growing armed struggle is inflicting more and more casualties on it.

17. On General Ramos and General Ver

General Ramos is a counterrevolutionary agent of the US-Marcos clique although he has finesse, unlike General Ver. People should not forget that General Ramos was among the 12 men who conspired with Marcos declare martial law; and he continues to carry out the fascist counterrevolution.

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Whether in an acting or permanent capacity, he will follow the orders of Marcos. General Ver will still be around as NISA chief to advise Marcos on what orders to give to Ramos.

18. On the effect of the Aquino assassination on the AFP

Immediately after the Aquino assassination, Marcos loyalist officers were gloating over what they considered was an operational success. Then they fell quiet about their success and started insisting to the officers and men a few hours before the radio-TV speech of Marcos on the evening of August 22, 1983 that the Aquino assassination had been the work of communists.

The sustained outrage of the people, the gigantic mass actions and the findings of the Agrava Board have had the effect of diminishing awe of rabid Marcos loyalists among the officers and men. When sure that there are no counter-intelligence agents around, some AFP officers and men curse Marcos and Ver for destroying the reputation of the AFP.

More and more AFP personnel are beginning to express their wish for the restoration of the merit system, discipline, better pay and so on. They are against the system of overstaying generals, nepotism, favoritism, regionalism, corruption in the purchase of supplies, bullying of subordinates and so on.

The disaffection and sinking morale of AFP men are due not only to the Aquino assassination but to so many factors, including inflation and increasing casualties. The officers and men are bothered by the fact that their families are suffering like the rest of the people and that they have to fight for a regime thoroughly detested by the people.

19. On Mr. Marcos and his rule

There is no ruling coalition but the monopoly of political power by an autocrat who lords over his servants—military men, technocrats, business cronies, politicians, fake peasants and yellow labor leaders and so on.

In turn, the fascist autocrat is subservient to the US government and the transnational corporations. It is more appropriate to speak of a narrow US-Marcos combine against the Filipino people. Let us not misrepresent Mr. Marcos' underlings as his allies. In any coalition,

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allies maintain their independence and initiative. These certainly are lacking among Mr. Marcos' underlings.

20. On my personal situation

My indefinite incarceration strengthens and sharpens my determination to fight US imperialism and its fascist puppets. I will either be murdered by the fascists or be set free by the people. I have undergone so many kinds of torture among which are: punching, deprivation of food, water and light, water cure, being shackled and manacled to a cot for eighteen months, solitary confinement for so many years in a small windowless cell. I think that my imprisonment is an example of the terrorism of the US and its fascist puppets.

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Onward with the Struggle for National Democracy: Unite to Dismantle the US-Marcos Dictatorship and Establish the Democratic Coalition Government²⁶

November 1984

In only one year of existence, the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy has won significant victories in striving to unite the broad masses of the people to uphold, defend and advance their own national sovereignty and all democratic rights against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and the longstanding evils of US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

These victories in political education, organizational work and mass mobilization have been due to the adoption and militant implementation of the general line of the national democratic revolution under the favorable objective conditions of the rapidly worsening political and economic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system as well as the general decline of the US and the world capitalist system.

The officers and members of the Nationalist Alliance deserve the warmest congratulations for their victories. They have won these victories through hard work, militant struggle and selfless sacrifices. The enemy's vicious attacks on the Nationalist Alliance are a futile reaction to its growing success.

In its one year of existence, the Nationalist Alliance has endured the murder of some of its leaders and members in the provinces, the illegal arrest and detention of its deputy general secretary and members of his staff, the physical assaults on the persons of its national chairman and other stalwarts during mass actions, a raid on its national headquarters and the illegal seizure of its papers and other effects. These are part of the price we have to pay for freedom, and can only signify the desperation of the fascist regime.

²⁶ Published by the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy, Secretariat as *Monograph*, Vol. 1, No. 3.-Editor

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The struggle for national democracy—the mission that the Nationalist Alliance has imposed upon itself—is an extremely serious one. The Nationalist Alliance is determined to dismantle the US-Marcos dictatorship and establish a democratic coalition government. To accomplish this task, it has to keep on raising the level of its national-democratic consciousness and militancy in the face of escalating terror perpetrated by a treasonous, bloodthirsty, corrupt and bankrupt regime.

I. The Struggle for National Democracy

In the struggle for national democracy, the aspect of national liberation means the people's assertion of their national sovereignty and independence against US imperialism which dominates the country politically, economically, militarily, culturally and diplomatically through the Marcos puppet regime.

The aspect of democracy means mainly the solution of the problem of feudalism and the emancipation of the peasant majority of the people. It also means the assertion by the entire people of their civil and political rights against fascism, which is the open rule of terror by a big bureaucrat-comprador-landlord clique and is the outgrowth of foreign and feudal domination.

The struggle for national liberation and the struggle for democracy are therefore inextricably bound together. The antinational and anti-democratic forces of US imperialism, fascism and feudalism combine and assist each other in oppressing and exploiting the people. It is only when the people have achieved national sovereignty and independence that they can amply and fruitfully enjoy their civil liberties and political rights.

The struggle for national democracy is a continuation of the struggle of our revolutionary forefathers for national liberation and democracy, which US imperialism and its local reactionary lackeys have opposed and frustrated time and again since 1898.

The old type of national democratic revolution, initiated by the Katipunan in 1896, was led by a nascent native bourgeoisie in the context of the world bourgeois liberal revolution. It was victorious against an old-type colonialism—Spanish colonialism—but was defeated by US imperialism which proceeded to retain feudalism and further promoted comprador or mercantile capitalism dependent on the exchange of

foreign (mainly US) manufactures and local raw materials, the products of an agrarian economy.

Today's revolutionaries are now carrying out a new type of national democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat in the context of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. These revolutionaries in our country are striving to compete the struggle for national freedom and democracy in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. Upon the completion of the national democratic revolution, it is possible to start the socialist revolution.

The backward pro-industrial and semifeudal society that has been maintained under direct and indirect US colonial rule is a society in constant crisis, afflicted by the persistent problem of domestic feudalism and the deleterious impact of foreign monopoly capitalism. These two moribund forces—domestic feudalism and foreign monopoly capitalism or imperialism—are extremely counterrevolutionary. The severe processes of feudal and imperialist exploitation and oppression hinder the social, economic, political and cultural progress of the entire nation and people.

Since the beginning of US domination not a single decade has been unmarked by grave social unrest and outright repression of the people. The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system, however, was destined to reach its final stage. Thus, in 1972, a fascist dictatorship arose and wiped out every semblance of bourgeois-liberal democracy. The final stage of the crisis of the ruling system began in 1972 with the imposition of the fascist dictatorship.

A ruthless puppet autocracy has replaced the 1946 puppet republic and has aggravated and deepened the chronic crisis of the system. This open rule of terror signifies the inability of the ruling system and the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords to rule in the old way. The people desire revolutionary change, and an armed revolution is in fact growing in strength, led by a revolutionary party.

In the 1970s, the US-Marcos dictatorship seemed in full control of the Philippine situation as the imperialist banks poured into the economy enormous amounts of loan capital for pseudodevelopment and anti-industrial purposes and the revolutionary armed struggle was still in its early phase of strategic defensive.

In the 1980s it is clear that the US-Marcos dictatorship has merely served to bring the ruling system to its final crisis. The imperialists, fascists and other reactionaries can offer no solution to their own

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problems other than more of the very same things which in the first place caused their problems. Thus, to solve the debt crisis, they must sink the Philippines deeper into the debt trap; to solve the land problem, they must exacerbate it through “agribusiness.”

The broad masses of the people are undergoing intolerable political repression and economic suffering. The basic masses of workers and peasants are being sunk to the level of starvation. Even the majority of the middle strata of society are being relegated to a life of want and misery. Under these circumstances, the stage of strategic defensive in the people’s war is rapidly maturing and can enter the stage of strategic stalemate.

The Nationalist Alliance is correct in comprehensively taking the anti-imperialist, antifascist and antifeudal line. Its national democratic program systematically covers immediate and longterm tasks in the fields of politics, economy, culture and external relations.

All progressive and anti-imperialist forces must unite the entire people towards dismantling the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique, do away with its imperialist and feudal underpinnings and establish a democratic coalition government. This is our fundamental political task. US imperialism and its fascist stooges must be held responsible for all their crimes against the people.

The fundamental task in the economic field is to carry out national industrialization and genuine land reform. National industrialization will end our bondage to the imperialist banks and multinational firms, generate employment and higher incomes and give full play to Filipino entrepreneurship. Genuine land reform will break up feudalism once and for all and liberate the peasant majority of our people in an all-round way.

The fundamental task in the field of culture is to promote a national, scientific and mass-oriented system of culture and education. Institutions and means of information and education must favor progressive trends. The ethnic minorities must be able to make all-round progress on the basis of self-determination or autonomy, with full respect accorded to their cultural identity.

The fundamental task in external relations is for the Philippines to play an active independent role so as to enhance its own sovereignty and that of other countries; work for a new international economic order; oppose foreign domination, interference, intervention and aggression; and help create a world of justice, freedom, peace and progress.

In seeking to unite the people for the national democratic struggle, it is correct for the Nationalist Alliance to help build a united front of all patriotic and progressive classes, sectors, parties, organizations circles and individuals. We must specially concentrate on class because no group or individual can escape this.

To become a strong democratic force, the Nationalist Alliance must put emphasis on organizing or helping organize the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry. These two classes constitute the overwhelming majority of the people (at least 90 percent) and have the most acute interest in the national democratic struggle.

The Nationalist Alliance must also help win over such social strata as the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie to the side of the basic alliance. These strata continue to carry the progressive impulse of the old national democratic revolution; their current interests are in harmony with those of the toiling masses.

In times of severe social crisis, the urban petty bourgeoisie is conspicuously one of the basic democratic forces together with the toiling masses. The middle bourgeoisie has both progressive and reactionary tendencies but the progressive tendency can rise and become dominant, since national entrepreneurs, increasingly exploited and repelled by the policies of the imperialists and fascists, are attracted by the growing strength of the national democratic movement.

Other social strata that can be won over are the rich peasants and enlightened gentry. They are attracted to the anti-imperialist and antifascist content of the national democratic struggle. The enlightened gentry are amenable to the rent reduction and anti-usury campaign; and the rich peasants, to fair wages for farm workers.

The crisis of the ruling system in its final stage has become so virulent that there are serious splits among the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords. The fascist clique of big compradors and landlords headed by Marcos are so rapacious that it continues to grab businesses, land and privileges from the rest of the reactionary classes. Thus, the latter are desirous of undercutting the ruling clique. In certain ways, the national democratic movement can take advantage of the splits and utilize these in its favor.

On a national scale, the Nationalist Alliance must rely mainly on the workers and peasants, win over the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, take advantage of the splits among the big

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compradors and landlords in power in order to isolate and destroy the enemy—the US-Marcos clique.

In the countryside, the Nationalist Alliance must rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants, further win over the rich peasants and enlightened gentry, and take advantage of splits among the landlords in general in order to isolate and destroy the enemy—the despotic landlords who are attached to the US-Marcos clique.

All forces that can be united must be united. The Nationalist Alliance can help coordinate the broadest possible range of forces against the narrowest target and make short shrift of the US-Marcos dictatorship.

II. Dismantling the US-Marcos Dictatorship

It is the sovereign right of the Filipino people to wage armed struggle and all other forms of struggle against tyranny. This is a fundamental principle upheld in the advance of modern democracy. This is affirmed in common by liberal-democrats and by Marxist-Leninists. Even in religious lore, whether Christian or Islamic, tyranny is a transgression of divine authority. Thus, tyrannicide is justified. A war waged against oppression is a just war.

A regime that uses its monopoly of the instruments of violence to trample upon the people's sovereignty and all democratic rights compels the people to wage armed struggle in order to defend and liberate themselves. The daily violence built into the system of exploitation, a violence that continues to intensify combined with direct dramatic acts of terror systematically carried out by the state as it intensifies oppression has become intolerable and has driven the people to resistance.

At any rate, it is up to the people to decide what forms of struggle to wage against the US-Marcos dictatorship as well as which form is the principal and which is the secondary. All these forms of struggle can only be successful as they are willed and carried out by the people under correct and courageous leadership.

It is a matter of public knowledge that the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front have been waging a protracted people's war against the US-Marcos dictatorship. Although the armed struggle is their principal form of struggle, they do not dispense with the nonarmed forms of struggle.

They fight wielding and coordinating both armed and nonarmed forms of struggle to dismantle the dictatorship.

The armed national democratic revolution is the correct response to the armed fascist puppet counterrevolution. The prior advantage of the US-Marcos dictatorship in its monopoly of the instruments of violence can be overcome by the justness of the revolutionary cause as the basis for the application of the strategy of people's war, the agrarian revolution and the building of the mass base.

The Marcos fascist autocracy is ground enough for the people to decide on armed struggle as the most effective form of democratic struggle. This despotism established itself by an armed coup against the established system of government in 1972. Since then, it has continuously waged a fascist counterrevolution.

Ruthlessly using the reactionary armed forces, it has perpetrated the most dastardly crimes against the people—massacre, assassination, torture, arbitrary arrest and detention, illegal seizure of property, forced eviction and mass evacuation, bombardment and so on—to keep itself in power.

Subject only to the dictates of his US imperialist master and in complete contempt of the people's sovereignty, the autocrat Marcos has usurped supreme executive, legislative and judicial authority. Fascist laws and acts of terrorism have victimized the workers, peasants, fishermen, ethnic minorities, students and youth, teachers and other professionals, businessmen, religious and the rest of the people.

Sham plebiscites, referenda and elections have been held only with the single objective of legitimizing and further entrenching the puppet autocracy. The rules and the results of these exercises are always rigged.

The monopoly of power has also meant the unbridled looting of the social wealth of the nation by the US-Marcos clique. The crony corporations have been the principal local assistants of the US and other transnational firms in exploiting the people and plundering the resources of the country.

Mortally afraid of being made to account for its grave crimes, the Marcos fascist gang is determined to escalate violence against the people in order to remain in power. As dramatically evidenced by the Aquino assassination, this gang cannot tolerate any serious political challenge even within the system. It cynically describes as maximum tolerance the brutal dispersal of city demonstrators and the far more

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brutal and barbaric torture and summary executions of peasants and other democratic activists in the countryside and now increasingly even in urban centers.

Marcos has declared time and again that he shall wipe out all opponents before he can be overthrown. He has arrogantly rejected every plea that he reconcile himself with the people whose rights he has so grievously violated.

Even some US officials who are inclined to reduce his powers and improve the facade of the US-Marcos dictatorship publicly say that the tyrant will not relinquish power except when he is already in a coffin. But the US continues to prop up the fascist dictatorship in the name of anticommunism and is peddling the bizarre notion that the puppet autocrat himself is now "revitalizing democratic institutions and processes."

The fascists are still flaunting their license to kill and gloating over their bloody crimes. In a psywar scheme plotted by his US imperialist master, Marcos has absolved himself from the Aquino assassination through the Agrava Board and has consigned the two reports of the board to a notorious clutch of placemen close to himself.

In the face of fascist tyranny, the broad masses of the people are joining and supporting the armed revolution. A fact now perceived by everyone is that the people's war being waged by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front has been the most effective form of struggle against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

The armed revolutionary movement is wiping out enemy troops in ever larger numbers, seizing arms from them, establishing local organs of democratic power, carrying out genuine land reform and building revolutionary mass organizations. Fascist power and authority is being displaced by the people's democratic power in ever widening areas all over the country.

The CPP, NPA and NDF are demonstrating that political power can be won cumulatively through a protracted people's war. The armed revolutionary movement grows in strength in the countryside and from there encircles the cities until the situation is ripe for a general offensive resulting in the total overthrow of the reactionary state.

As a result of the rapid growth of the revolutionary forces, an end to the US-Marcos dictatorship is now foreseeable. Either the US will junk Marcos or it will sink with him in an accelerated overthrow of the

entire ruling system. But even if the US changed puppets, the ruling system would remain hopeless and incapable of solving its final crisis.

The fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique reflects not only the interests of the autocrat, his clique or the US and the local reactionary classes but most significantly the final crisis of the entire ruling system. By its unbridled use of the coercive apparatus of the state against the people, this tyranny compels the people to accomplish nothing less than the armed overthrow of the state.

The Nationalist Alliance is a legal democratic organization and is committed to employing legal methods for advancing the national democratic cause. Its officers and members have various degrees and ways of appreciating the relationship between armed and nonarmed forms of struggle.

But whether one likes it or not, the revolutionary armed struggle is an essential and growing factor in the overall conflict between the national democratic forces and the fascist puppet forces. The armed and nonarmed forms of struggle help each other in advancing the national democratic cause against the common enemy.

The US-Marcos dictatorship will come to an end within a few years by virtue of all forms of militant struggle, armed and nonarmed. The fascist regime is already caught in a pincer by the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic movement.

In consonance with the healthy commitment of the Nationalist Alliance to wage legal mass struggles without denying the people's sovereign right to armed revolution, there are quite a number of legal forms of struggle that can be fruitfully waged. The Nationalist Alliance has already made significant gains in this regard.

It can continue to conduct campaigns of political education on its national democratic program and on the burning issues of the day. This can be done through rallies, conferences, seminars and other gatherings as well as through the issuance of publications. It can thereby raise the fighting will and consciousness of the people.

It can continue to expand and consolidate its own organizational strength by engaging in the rapid recruitment and basic political education of members and thus develop more leaders of the national democratic movement at every level—national, regional, provincial, district, city or municipal and barangay.

It can continue to mobilize ever larger masses of the people for direct democratic action, and take the initiative in launching mass

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campaigns on a wide scale on the most fundamental and critical issues. With its nationwide membership, the Nationalist Alliance can undertake sustained mass campaigns.

It can either boycott an entire political exercise rigged by the US-Marcos dictatorship or expose such an exercise as a fraud but allow democratic elements to gain what they can on the basis of the unbeatable strength of the people in particular areas. It can turn certain weapons of the enemy against himself. It can encourage and develop democratic elements within the civil bureaucracy and in the reactionary armed forces.

It can wage a campaign of civil disobedience such as a tax boycott, boycott of crony enterprises and their products and so on. As a legal organization, the Nationalist Alliance will have to exert a great deal of political education and moral suasion. But when the armed revolutionaries participate in these boycotts, they can add to these methods certain reasonable acts of interdiction and even confiscation after sufficient warnings.

The range of possible mass campaigns to weaken and cause the dismantling of the US-Marcos dictatorship is wide. Your comprehensive program, practical experience, further research and studies can indicate far more kinds of mass mobilizations to undertake.

The organized strength and ability of the Nationalist Alliance to rally the people to the national democratic cause will continue to grow in stride with the rapid deterioration of the political and economic conditions of the fascist regime.

The Nationalist Alliance has already proven its ability to take on a major role in bringing millions of people to the streets of major cities on certain days of national protest. It can aim higher. It can strengthen itself so that in times to come it can play a major role in bringing the people in their tens of millions to coordinated actions in all cities and towns in a single campaign or even in a single day of reckoning against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

III. The Democratic Coalition Government

The armed revolutionary movement has long been making preparations for the establishment of a democratic coalition government, with effective power on a nationwide scale, by creating the National Democratic Front as a broad united front for armed struggle, by building

local organs of democratic power and by advocating a democratic coalition government.

The National Democratic Front is the most comprehensive united front organization underground. Its scope extends beyond the guerrilla fronts. It embraces all democratic forces in the country which are determined to overthrow the fascist dictatorial regime and establish a democratic coalition government.

The National Democratic Front includes movements, parties, organizations, circles and individuals from the working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. In principle, it encompasses the local organs of democratic political power established by the armed revolution. It enjoys a high prestige not only in the country but also abroad.

The National Democratic Front is expected by the armed revolutionaries to facilitate the participation of all democratic forces, both inside and outside of its present organized framework, in the struggle to seize power from the people's enemy and establish the democratic coalition government.

Since the inception of people's war, local organs of democratic power have been established upon the initiative of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army. These are units of the people's self-government created along the united front line. These local units of the people's self-government now exist in the overwhelming majority of the provinces in the country, especially in guerrilla fronts.

Insofar as these local people's governmental organs have been established in the rural areas, they stress the antifeudal united front in connection with the comprehensive antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal line.

The antifeudal line of the united front involves the main reliance on the poor peasants and farm workers; winning over the middle peasants and further winning over the rich peasants and the enlightened gentry; and taking advantage of the splits among the landlords in general in order to isolate the despotic landlords close to or members of the fascist clique.

Each local organ of democratic power has an overall leading committee with subsidiary committees in charge of organization, education, land reform, improvement of the people's livelihood, defense, health arbitration and so on. Such an organ of government is supported

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by mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, children, cultural activists and so on.

The militia under the defense committee serves as the local police to maintain internal order and security. The full-fledged guerrilla units of the people's army move from one local area to another within its jurisdiction to attend to problems of defense beyond the capacity of the militia.

As the strength of the armed revolutionary movement grows, the level of the people's self-government that can be established will also rise from the barrio to the municipality, from the municipality to the district, until the democratic coalition government can be established.

A new people's government along the national democratic line of the united front is growing in the country even while the urban-centered fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique pretends to be in full control of the situation in the whole country and while in fact losing control of more and more extensive areas in the countryside.

From the viewpoint of the armed revolutionaries, the optimum kind of democratic coalition government to aim for is one led by the working class and its revolutionary party, founded on the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry and further strengthened by the participation of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Even some big compradors may be accommodated if they have a record of supporting the revolutionaries and are willing to convert their merchant capital into industrial capital and thereby change their class character.

This type of democratic coalition government can arise as a result of the complete overthrow of the reactionary state, the fascist puppet dictatorship and the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlord or in other words, the total victory of the broad masses of the people by armed revolution.

The national democratic revolution is completed and socialist revolution begins. In place of the dissolved counterrevolutionary state are the organs of the people's democratic government created in the protracted process of revolutionary struggle on the basis of the revolutionary united front led by the proletariat. The people's army becomes the main component of state power.

The new state will be republican and truly representative of the people. It takes the form of a stable democratic coalition government. There will be processes of election and appointment to fill up the

organs of government at every level so that all patriotic and progressive classes, sectors, parties, organizations, circles and individuals are represented.

But between the present strength of the revolutionary forces and the optimum kind of democratic coalition government, is still a long and tortuous road to traverse. There are various grades of possibilities for some less developed kind of democratic coalition government (if we may use this term to denote some significant degree of democratic content in such a government).

The possibility of any kind of democratic coalition government depends on the historical circumstances, the balance of forces and what advantages there are to be gained by the people. There are enough instances that can be cited from world history regarding the combination of Left, Middle and Right forces in a coalition government.

The Left can participate in this coalition if together with the Middle it can significantly carry forward the national democratic line. The Left cannot participate in such a government if the parameters and conditions are so designed that the Right can unilaterally and arbitrarily manipulate the Middle and the Left to carry forward an antinational and antidemocratic line.

Under the present circumstances and by all indications, the Marcos fascist gang is not in any position nor is it willing to even attempt any kind of coalition government. The Marcos game is monopoly of political power by brute force and sheer deception against the people.

As before, the US is colluding with the Marcos fascist clique in trying to bait the Middle into what is called the "revitalization of democratic institutions and processes." The puppet autocratic regime is being misrepresented as a democratic one. The US is trying to shore up the fascist dictatorship in the face of the surging legal democratic mass movement and the armed revolutionary movement.

The fixed position of the US-Marcos dictatorship towards the Left is to exterminate it by a combination of brute force and deceptive measures. In fact, there is a US scheme to use the Marcos fascist clique first in an anticommunist killing rampage, including the execution of some political prisoners, before the US casts this clique away.

The post-Marcos US scheme is to put up a new set of taskmasters from the Right and inveigle the Middle into a revival of the two-party system, in which two sets of politicians subservient to itself and

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essentially representative of the big compradors and big landlords take turns in oppressing and exploiting the people.

The US and the local reactionaries completely miss the fundamental changes in the Philippine situation. The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system has reached the final stage; and the armed revolutionary movement will continue to grow at an accelerated rate. It is no longer possible for any regime of the Right to become stable as in the pre-Marcos period.

Instead of the Right being able to inveigle the Middle into an anti-Left combination, the Left and the Middle will continue to develop their democratic unity and ability to isolate and then defeat the Right. The relatively most reasonable groups and sections of the Right may possibly seek cooperation with the Left and the Middle in a coalition government.

The broad term Left is being used here to allow grades of possible Left participation in a Right-Middle-Left coalition government. One kind of coalition would be one in which only the legal Left organizations participate. Another would be one in which representatives of the CPP participate together with other Left organizations but with adequate precautions.

In any case, it must be assumed that the CPP will never dissolve the NPA and put the people and itself at the complete mercy of the Right, especially the ultrarightists instigated by US imperialism and connected with the worst elements of the reactionary armed forces. The CPP will be needed in a democratic coalition government precisely because of its armed revolutionary strength and its effective defense of the people's national and democratic interests.

Even as the possibility of a Left-Middle-Right coalition government is considered, the contrary possibility of outright military rule of the Right is not being discounted. After all, the ruling system is in the final stage of its chronic and insolvable crisis and is bound to unleash increasingly worse but desperate assaults on the people.

The escalation of counterrevolutionary violence will only serve to hasten the total victory of the national democratic revolution and the resurgence of the people's democratic republic taking the form of a democratic coalition government.

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Brief History of the Kabataang Makabayan

November 1984

Introduction

As Kabataang Makabayan (the Patriotic Youth) celebrates the 20th anniversary of its founding, it is necessary and appropriate to issue a summation of its history and celebrate its achievements in the struggle to realize the just demands and aspirations of the Filipino youth and people for national liberation and democracy.

Kabataang Makabayan holds the high and great distinction of being the first Filipino youth organization with a clear, correct and comprehensive national democratic program for the youth. In all major spheres of activity—political, economic, cultural and external relations—Kabataang Makabayan has resolutely and militantly opposed US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The KM has consistently and effectively aroused, organized and mobilized an ever increasing number of youth for the national democratic struggle. United within it are worker, peasant and educated (students and professionals) youth.

The KM has always affirmed the class leadership of the proletariat in the new democratic revolution and has vowed to assist this class in its historic mission and in building the basic worker-peasant alliance and the broad united front of the Filipino people.

In an outstanding manner, KM has been responsible for the nationwide spread of revolutionary propaganda, the promotion of social investigation and mass work, the formation of revolutionary organizations through its chapters and the development of various forms of political action, especially mass protest marches and rallies on fundamental issues.

The KM has been a great training school for revolutionary leaders. So many young men and women who have been schooled and trained in it have assumed positions of responsibility in the revolutionary

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party of the proletariat, the people's army and the democratic mass organizations and the national united front.

I. The Formation of Kabataang Makabayan

The KM was founded on November 30, 1964 at its first national congress in Manila at the national auditorium of the YMCA. The KM adopted the national democratic program and vowed to continue the unfinished Philippine revolution under the class leadership of the proletariat. Since then, the basic principles of the KM program have remained constant even as the specific and immediate tasks are adjusted according to changes in concrete conditions.

The new democratic revolution must be carried out in order to replace the semicolonial and semifeudal society which oppresses and exploits the Filipino youth. Together with the rest of the Filipino people, especially the workers and peasants, the youth can accomplish the noble objective of fighting to create a new Philippines that is truly independent, democratic, just, prosperous and progressive.

There were only 84 charter members at the founding congress. They were convened by an organizing committee led by Jose Ma. Sison. The charter members came mostly from the ranks of college students and young workers. They were the cream student and young worker activists who had arisen from study groups and mass actions in the early 1960s.

The student members came mostly from the University of the Philippines and the Lyceum of the Philippines. They belonged to significant campus groups like the student government, student publication, the Student Cultural Association of UP (SCAUP) and others. There were also leaders of national student organizations.

The young worker members came from Lapiang Manggagawa (Worker's Association), particularly the trade unions affiliated with the National Association of Trade Unions. These members were leaders of trade unions and had experience in uniting with students in mass actions, especially the demonstration of October 2, 1964 on the grounds of Malacañang Palace against the puppetry of the Macapagal regime to US imperialism and the scheme to prolong the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langlely Agreement.

The national council was elected with Jose Ma. Sison as national chairman. Sison had been engaged in developing student leaders for

the national democratic movement since 1959 and had been in charge of education and youth affairs in Lapiang Manggagawa since 1962.

Soon after the founding congress, local KM chapters were established in colleges and universities in Manila-Rizal, Central Luzon, and Southern Luzon. Young teachers and professionals also started to join.

The KM became the main youth organization of Lapiang Manggagawa. More young trade unionists were enlisted. The initial young peasant members were recruited through KM student members and through peasant associations in Central Luzon.

To become a member, one had to study the national democratic program, with the KM handbook serving as the basic text. Study was conducted in groups of prospective initiators of local KM chapters in the school, factory or on the farm.

The KM's fame spread far and wide as it was most instrumental in the holding of the 20,000-strong demonstration against US imperialism before the US Embassy on January 25, 1965. This was the biggest anti-imperialist demonstration since the 1940s.

The demonstration was coordinated by KM and was carried out by a united front of worker, peasant, urban petty bourgeois and middle bourgeois organizations. There was an omnibus bill of particulars against US domination in the sphere of politics, military, economy, culture and foreign policy.

II. Nationwide Growth of Kabataang Makabayan

The KM expanded nationwide, cutting across the patriotic and progressive classes, in various ways.

Student and worker members in the Manila-Rizal region were encouraged to make extended visits to their home provinces, conduct study groups and inspire the local youth—their relatives and friends—to form KM chapters.

There was always a drive to have representatives of as many provinces as possible in the 1965 and 1966 annual national conferences of the KM. The least that could be done to have regional and provincial representatives was to group KM members based in Manila-Rizal into their regions and provinces of origin.

But the quickest method for recruiting members of high quality from various provinces was through the national conferences of various

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national student organizations and other organizations which were sympathetic to the KM or whose leaders were members of KM.

Many of the leaders of such national student organizations as the CONDA, "Y" Club, the National Students League and the College Editors Guild were members of KM. Through them, more student leaders, campus journalists, and other student activists from all over the country came into contact with KM members and eventually joined them.

The national conferences of the KM as well as those of friendly student organizations become venues for promoting the national democratic line comprehensively and for discussing the burning issues of the day. The speakers and discussion leaders of the conferences of friendly organizations came mostly from the KM.

The trade unions and peasant associations also helped the KM to reach out to the youth in various parts of the country. Being the general secretary and then the first vice chairman of the Socialist Party of the Philippines and a coordinator of the peasant associations (especially of the Malayang Samahan ng Magsasaka), the KM national chairman Jose Ma. Sison was in a position to facilitate the formation of KM chapters among workers and peasants.

The KM chapters of Central Luzon had the distinction of being the first to hold a regional conference of the KM at the Republic City Colleges in Angeles City in 1965. And those of Southern Luzon followed suit at the Batangas City auditorium in 1966.

On its Second National Congress in 1967, the KM elected a national council which carried representatives of all regions of the country. The national council reelected Jose Ma. Sison as national chairman.

In 1965 and 1966, KM frequently launched rallies against US imperialism and its reactionary local stooges on various issues, especially US economic domination, US military bases, Philippine involvement in the Vietnam war and so on.

The most prominent of these mass actions were those on October 23 and 24, 1966 against the Manila Summit of US President Lyndon B. Johnson and his Asian puppets. The KM and student organizations demonstrated against the US war of aggression in Vietnam and the involvement of Philippine troops in the same war.

The US-Marcos regime bloodily suppressed the October 24th demonstration and consequently conducted an unprecedentedly vicious campaign of anticommunist slander against the KM, its leaders and allies in the student movement.

The youth would not be cowed. They fought back and insisted on their democratic rights against state brutality. The KM and several major student governments agreed to launch the October 24th movement and formed the Nationalist Corps to spread the national democratic line and denounce the puppetry and brutality of the US-Marcos regime.

In the name of the October 24th movement, more student conferences and mass actions were launched. The strength and prestige of the KM rose as the enemy intensified its campaigns of vilification against the KM and its allied student organizations. All over the country the youth became even more interested in joining KM and forming local chapters.

Even students of the Philippine Military Academy and other military officers' training schools were joining KM. As early as 1966, the PMA junior and senior classes defied military officers and invited the KM national chairman to speak before them on the correct concept of national security.

In 1966, KM played the pivotal role, through its national chairman, in establishing the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism, a broad united front of patriotic and progressive classes, sectors, organizations and individuals. He was the founding general secretary and Senator Lorenzo M. Tañada was the chairman of the MAN national council.

Under the auspices of MAN, the KM was able to promote the national democratic line and to launch mass actions against the US-Marcos regime until 1967 when the Lava pseudocommunists schemed and maneuvered to control MAN and derail it from its progressive course. However, the Lavaites failed to grab and destroy the KM and other revolutionary organizations.

In 1966 and 1967 student strikes against reactionary educational policies, rising tuition fees and deterioration of school conditions broke out sporadically under the influence of KM. In 1968 and 1969, the strike movement spread and intensified throughout the country under the firm leadership of the KM. The article of the KM national chairman entitled "Student Power" placed the student strike movement within the context of the national democratic movement.

As early as 1966, student governments and other campus organizations under the influence of KM and in alliance with KM chapters created volunteer organizations and programs not only to propagate the

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general line of the national democratic revolution but also to conduct social investigation and mass work among the workers and peasants.

From year to year, the number of students joining workers' strikes, seeking to integrate themselves with the peasants and combining with the exploited people in mass actions were increasing.

The KM was able to initiate the formation of progressive trade unions and the transformation of old trade unions into progressive ones through the young workers who often predominated in factories. Eventually many trade unions inspired by the KM would form two major labor federations in the 1970s.

The KM coordinated with the Pagkakaisa ng mga Magbubukid sa Pilipinas to launch a 20,000-strong demonstration in Manila on April 11, 1969. The large peasant contingent came from Tarlac, then the area where the CPP and NPA were strongest. The KM served notice that it enjoyed the support not only of the MASAKA led by the late Felixberto S. Olalia but also of a new and larger peasant organization.

A great number of the most advanced activists of the KM would eventually join the CPP in 1968 onwards and the NPA in 1969 onwards. KM helped tremendously in the nationwide expansion of the revolutionary movement.

In his capacity as KM national chairman, Jose Ma. Sison had been in high demand as speaker and writer on the national democratic movement. In 1967, his work, *Struggle for National Democracy*, was published and this served to reinforce and deepen the knowledge of KM members on the national democratic movement.

In 1969 onwards, the KM conducted the School for National Democracy and used *Struggle for National Democracy* as the basic study text in order to develop more cadres for the youth movement and the national democratic movement. Higher theoretical and political education on the national democratic revolution was also provided, with the "Basic Guide for the CPP Cadres and Members" as basic text.

Since 1969, KM was already in fact the youth league of the newly reestablished CPP. The youth organizations in the rural areas established by the CPP and NPA in principle came into the framework of KM.

III. The First Quarter Storm of 1970

As correctly pointed out earlier by the CPP, the ruling classes were no longer capable of ruling in the old way, the people wanted a

revolutionary change of government and the revolutionary party of the proletariat was already in the process of strengthening itself.

In 1970, the political and economic crisis of the ruling system was extremely grave. The trend towards a fascist dictatorship became more and more clear as the US-Marcos regime unleashed increasingly brutal campaigns against the people in both urban and rural areas.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 broke out when the military troops and police brutally assaulted the youth and the people demonstrating against the US-Marcos regime in front of Congress on January 25, 1970 and in front of Malacañang Palace on January 30, 1970.

For three months, the youth and the people of the Manila-Rizal region repeatedly conducted gigantic marches and rallies ranging in size from 50,000 to 100,000 direct participants, excluding the hundreds of thousands of people who openly expressed their support and extended food, money and other material assistance from the sidewalks and windows of their homes.

The unprecedentedly huge mass actions were sustained even as the US-Marcos regime repeatedly made threats of massacre and carried out savage attacks against the demonstrators, resulting in death and serious injury, especially when the demonstrators marched on to Malacañang Palace and US Embassy.

In the provinces, the youth and the people also launched large and widescale mass actions in order to make their own demands against the US-Marcos regime and in support of the rising youth and people of Manila-Rizal.

The FQS of 1970 would arise because KM had done a great deal of ideological, political and organizational work in the 1960s among the student, worker, peasant and professional youth against the all-round bankruptcy of the US-Marcos regime and the rising menace of fascist dictatorship. KM was the strongest youth organization at the core of the FQS in Manila-Rizal and the provinces.

Amidst the storm, KM initiated the formation of a broad united front—the Movement for a Democratic Philippines—against the US-Marcos regime. This united front included KM and its affiliates and so many organizations of the working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

The MDP fought not only its frontal enemy, the US-Marcos clique, but also such disrupters of the mass movement as the Lava pseudo-communists, the clerico-reformists and others who attacked the KM

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and all revolutionaries more than they attacked the blatant enemy. Lumpen proletarian elements and anarchists were also elements to contend with in mass actions.

Subsequent to the FQS, KM exerted all efforts to consolidate and expand its ranks, maintain the high level of political consciousness and activity among the people and stimulate the rise of the revolutionary labor movement and the strike movement.

The school chapters, community chapters and affiliates of KM multiplied rapidly and their memberships rose. Various types of class and functional organizations arose to take up the national democratic struggle.

Aside from the KM, the other national-democratic organizations in the forefront of the great mass struggles included the SDK (Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan), KKD (Kilusang Kabataan para sa Demokrasya), SPK (Samahan ng Progresibong Kabataan)-Molave, and MAKIBAKA (Makabayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan). Likewise, new national-democratic organizations like KKKP (Kilusang Kristyano ng Kabataang Pilipino), STAND (Student Alliance for National Democracy), Alithea, Samahang Radikal, and others sprang up.

More revolutionary trade unions were organized. Between 1970 and 1972, the unions and federations identified with the national-democratic movement included the US Tobacco Labor Union, Northern Motors Workers' Union, Manila Cordage Labor Union, Katipunan ng mga Samahan ng Manggagawa (KASAMA) and Pambansang Samahan ng Makabayang Tsuper (PSMT). Unions and Federations were also established to organize vendors, shopkeepers, salesladies and "despatsadoras." Many of these semiworkers and petty traders were to be found in the markets, stores and bazaars along the streets of Quiapo-Carriedo-Avenida. (This too was the general area which marches or demonstrators frequented).

Likewise, the teachers and other professionals organized themselves. KAGUMA (Katipunan ng mga Gurong Makabayan) and SAGUPA (Samahan ng mga Guro sa Pamantasan) of UP were the prominent national-democratic organizations of the teachers and other academic personnel. Other national-democratic organizations of professionals and intellectuals included the PSIA (Progresibong Samahan sa Inerhiya at Agham), SMS (Samahan ng Makabayang Syentipiko), SMN (Samahan ng Makabayang Nars), and PSP (Progresibong Samahan ng Propesyonal).

Cultural organizations also flourished to make streets their stage and walls their canvasses. The mainstay in the performing and visual arts were Panday Sining, Gintong Silahis, Kamanyang and Nagkakaisang Progresibong Artista-Arkitekto (NPA-A).

From May 1, 1970 onwards, joint actions of the youth and labor were stressed. The military minions of the regime brutally attacked the workers in demonstrations and in picket lines.

Philippine Society and Revolution (PSR) first became available in mimeograph form and was serialized in the UP's *Philippine Collegian* in 1970. This book gave revolutionary guidance to the rising mass movement. In 1971, it would become available in printed book form and sold in several tens of thousands of copies by KM activists.

The KM launched relief campaigns for the victims of typhoons and floods in 1970, 1971 and 1972. Many activists from the ranks of the students and professionals became more dedicated to the national-democratic movement in the process of relief work and dealing with the rural masses.

Following great victories in the mass movement, KM held its Third National Congress on November 30, 1970. As in 1967, the general secretariat continued to carry the main burden of national leadership and daily administration. This statement is needed to stress the fact that Nilo Tayag did not carry out his work as chairman.

As the youth recalled the martyrs of the FQS, their mass actions and those of the people rose in January 1971, despite the attempts of the regime and the clerico-reformists to make the youth quiescent and fearful of threats from the state.

In response to the scheme of the US-Marcos regime to jack up the prices of oil products and other commodities, the KM moved the students to support the strike of transport workers and condemn the regime and the US oil monopolies.

When the regime's troops brutally attacked the students of UP in Diliman, the students fought back, put up more barricades and proceeded to take over the entire university and proclaimed the Diliman Commune. The student rebels used the radio and printing facilities of the university to issue revolutionary propaganda.

Smarting from the heavy blows of the mass movement, the US-Marcos regime had the KM national officer Carlos B. del Rosario kidnapped and murdered in March 1971. Shortly after, Francisco C. Sison, brother of Jose Ma. Sison, and Francisco's driver, Elpidio

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Morales, were likewise kidnapped and murdered in May 1971. The clear objective in these crimes was to seek out and eliminate Jose Ma. Sison who was already being claimed by the regime to be chairman of the CPP.

In June 1971, long people's marches from Central Luzon and Southern Luzon were held to converge in Manila on June 12, 1971. This presented a new and higher level of development in the mass movement, which terrified the US-Marcos regime. The Lava pseudocommunists also brutally attacked the marchers while passing through Bulacan.

KM joined and supported local strikes and rallies of workers which increased during the year even as the regime bloodily suppressed the striking workers with truncheons and gunfire.

On August 21, 1971, the US-Marcos regime had the rally of the Liberal Party attacked with grenades, almost wiping out the entire national leadership of the Liberal Party. The regime falsely blamed the attack on the late Liberal Senator Benigno S. Aquino, Jr. and on the CPP.

This incident, together with subsequent bombing incidents perpetrated by special agents of the regime, was used as the pretext for the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus—the dress rehearsal for the 1972 coup d'etat. The KM national headquarters and the Carlos B. del Rosario Center were raided, and KM officers and members in the premises were arbitrarily arrested and detained.

In response to the brutal campaign of the enemy, KM successfully sought to form a much broadened united front—the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties (MCCCL)—to fight for the restoration of the writ of habeas corpus and to stem the growing menace of fascism.

As a result of the extreme barbarism and mendacity of the US-Marcos regime, many of the clerico-reformists veered toward the national-democratic line. The majority of the members of reformist organizations bolted these organizations and became national democrats. The moderate Khi Rho was transformed into a national-democratic organization, while Lakasdiwa became Lakasdiwang Rebolusyonaryo, to strongly express its revolutionary character.

Despite the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and the incarceration of some activists, the KM and its allies were able to conduct mass actions against the US-Marcos regime. This kept up public condemnation of the bloody crimes of the regime and helped to cause the

defeat of the Marcos clique in the elections of 1971 and the restoration of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus.

The writ was restored, but the US-Marcos clique was merely pretending to end its scheme of grabbing absolute power. The writ suspension was merely a trial run. The reactionary clique in power had already secretly made “contingency plans” for a fascist coup d’etat.

KM continued to launch mass actions under or beyond the auspices of the MDP and MCCCL. A gigantic demonstration was held against the US war of aggression in Indochina on May 20, 1972. The last gigantic demonstration was made on August 20, 1972. In between, mass actions were conducted to denounce the scheme of the US-Marcos clique to manipulate the 1972 constitutional convention in order to perpetuate itself in power and aggravate the insoluble crisis of the ruling system.

The youth movement continued to flourish all over the country even as the US-Marcos clique concocted a “July-August Plan” and was planting bombs in various sites in Manila-Rizal to misrepresent and slander the CPP and NPA, in preparation for the Marcos coup d’etat.

IV. The Underground Kabataang Makabayan

When the US-Marcos clique declared martial law and accomplished its coup d’etat against the third puppet republic on September 22, 1972 (not September 21 per official version), the KM was the object of all-out fascist attack and had to go underground completely.

KM was not caught napping. It was sufficiently forewarned by kidnapping and obvious murder of the hero and martyr Charlie del Rosario, by the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus as well as other events. In fact, the core of KM’s leadership had started to partially go underground in 1969 and to completely go underground in 1971 upon the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus.

The full-blown fascist dictatorship could not make wholesale arrests of KM officers and members, except in areas where the latter did not make ample preparations. On the whole, only a few could be arrested. The KM could continue to operate from the underground, with organs of leadership intact. Many KM members were unidentifiable to the enemy.

Thousands of KM officers and members all over the country wanted to join the armed resistance. There was an extreme lack of arms

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relative to the number of young men and women eager to become fighters of the NPA.

KM officers and members were systematically deployed all over the country and in the countryside. While some could be armed, many others were instructed to work in the urban underground and to participate in rural mass work even without arms.

The KM became a reliable reserve of young cadres for the NPA and for the formation of rural youth associations and other mass organizations. Acting on their own, some of the KM officers and members of Moro nationality joined the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF).

From the urban underground, KM functionaries directed the development of legal struggles as far as possible. Many KM cadres and members were reassigned to spheres of work outside of the youth movement. These spheres of work were either under the National Democratic Front (NDF) or the CPP.

KM maintained its national structure of organization under severe difficulties. It was in July 1974 that KM national functionaries were redeployed to various regions. It was during this period that the decision was made to temporarily dissolve the national structure of KM. Nevertheless, the KM chapters in different schools and localities were maintained, and these basic organizations managed to thrive under harsh condition.

A combination of factors compelled KM to dissolve the national leadership and intermediate organs. Among the principal factors were the tightly repressive conditions of fascist rule, the redeployment of KM cadres and members to other fields of work, the need to simplify the organizational structure in the light of dwindling members, the stress on building and expanding KM chapters at the grassroots and corollary to this, the attention given to the penetration and formation of legal organizations.

The leading comrades in Manila-Rizal took the lead in maintaining and revitalizing KM in the mid-1970s. The underground KM started to recruit members in considerable number while the urban mass movement began to perk up. It was a time when the legal struggles of the youth, labor and other urban poor were openly resurgent in certain areas.

The dissemination of programmatic documents also served to guide and push forward the revitalization of KM. Furthermore, the founding national chairman issued a statement on August 6, 1977 to mark the

resurgence of KM on its own and through seemingly independent or disparate youth organizations of limited scope.

The statement pointed to the gathering storm against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and anticipated the resurgence of the open youth movement. Moreover, it boldly predicted a powerful upheaval of the youth and student movement—together with the movement of workers, peasants and other people—which would surpass the mass actions of the FQS in 1970 in both magnitude and strength.

V. Conclusion

Though this paper's coverage is limited to a partial but very significant period of the history of KM, it still leads us to one clear conclusion. The KM has played a historic role in developing the youth movement and carrying forward the national-democratic revolution.

Doubtlessly, the KM has consistently and effectively aroused, organized and mobilized an ever increasing number of youth for the national-democratic struggle. In an outstanding manner, KM has been responsible for the nationwide spread of revolutionary propaganda, the promotion of social investigation and mass work, the formation of revolutionary organizations through KM chapters and the development of various forms of political actions, specially mass protest marches and rallies on fundamental issues.

The KM has been a great training school for revolutionary leaders. So many young men and women who have been schooled and trained in it have assume positions of responsibility in the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the people's army, the democratic mass organizations and the national united front.

From the KM and similar national-democratic organizations emerged hundreds of martyrs who unselfishly served the people and offered their lives in pursuit of national liberation and democracy. We draw great inspiration from these patriots and heroes as we vow to continue and push forward the life-and-death struggle until victory is attained.

It is therefore a fitting moment to grasp the rich lessons and cherish the hard-fought gains in the course of KM's twenty years of relentless struggle.

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KM will live on. It will make even greater victories as the broad masses of the people win greater victories in the great struggle for national freedom and democracy against the longstanding evils of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

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Our Allies and the Armed Resistance²⁷

Circa December 26, 1984

This article is intended as a discussion paper for the benefit of allies who are interested in carrying out armed struggle, preparing for it or simply exploring it.—Author

The downfall of the Marcos dictatorship would be accelerated and completed within a relatively short period of time if our allies who belong to the middle strata and certain sections of the upper classes would do what they can to advance the armed resistance.

At a certain point in the growth of the armed resistance, the US would be induced to junk the fascist puppet clique as a total failure. Otherwise, as the US would calculate, the armed resistance of all patriotic and progressive forces would advance faster not only to end the fascist regime but also US domination of the Philippines.

At whatever pace our allies respond to our call to increase their share in the armed resistance, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are steadily developing all forms of struggle, especially armed struggle, all over the country.

In the wake of the assassination of Aquino by the Marcos regime, a great mass movement which is peaceful but militant has come to the surface. While this movement is important and necessary, it cannot by itself remove the Marcos clique from power. It is in constant danger of being crushed by the enemy through brute force.

The key to the ascendance and prolongation of the Marcos fascist dictatorship is the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Conversely, the key to the overthrow of this dictatorship and the reestablishment of democracy at a higher level than ever before is armed resistance. The US will never allow Marcos to lose control of the AFP until the armed resistance reaches a certain level that indubitably proves his failure as a puppet.

It is wishful thinking to hope that the Marcos clique will give up its power voluntarily through electoral exercises or as a result of peaceful mass actions. These mass actions are useful and indispensable in

²⁷ Issued under the penname Patnubay K. Liwanag.-Editor

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arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people. But armed resistance must be resolutely and systematically developed.

The lesson correctly drawn from the Aquino assassination is that the enemy does not hesitate to perpetrate the most brazen acts of terror in order to destroy anyone that it deems a serious threat to its power. The Aquino assassination marks a new level in the desperation of the fascist regime and the escalation of its violence against the opposition and the people.

As the political and economic crisis of the ruling system worsens, the regime unleashes more and more counterrevolutionary violence against the people. The fascists are emboldened to commit barbaric acts, especially in the countryside, because of US support for the “modernization” (reequipment) of the AFP and Oplan Katatagan as a result of secret talks between the Marcos-Ver panel and the US Department of Defense-CIA panel in 1982.

The evil that is tyranny must be extirpated. Allowed to persist, it spells the daily violence of exploitation and oppression. A well prepared and well implemented armed resistance puts an end to it. Submission to tyranny is acceptance of violence against the people.

Tyrannicide is justified. This is upheld by all major ideologies in the country: Christian, Islamic, liberal democratic and Marxist. Those who advocate acquiescence or purely peaceful methods in the face of tyranny are either wittingly or unwittingly surrendering to it in cowardice, if they are not among the chosen few who benefit from it.

The moral and practical necessity of armed resistance against tyranny must be patiently explained to our allies. With due respect to their class interests and tendencies at every given time, we must propose to them practical measures on how they can contribute their share in the people’s armed resistance.

In this regard, we propose to them four practical courses of action:

- (1) Support or join the New People’s Army;
- (2) Form their own self-defense organizations;
- (3) Go into active armed struggle; and
- (4) Encourage a democratic movement in the AFP.

Support or Join the NPA

The NPA is a people’s army. It includes communists and noncommunists. They are workers, peasants and members of the middle class.

Moreover, the NPA is recognized as the main armed organization of the National Democratic Front, which is the consultative or confederal organization of the broad united front of all democratic forces.

Our allies can therefore wisely and wholeheartedly support or join the NPA. There is no hindrance whatsoever to extending various forms of support to it. Joining it, however, involves certain individual qualifications and responsibilities.

Support may be made directly to NPA units or through support groups or NPA representatives. It means collecting materials, services and funds for the NPA; providing facilities for the reproduction and distribution of revolutionary propaganda; conducting countersurveillance on enemy forces and providing information to the NPA; and encouraging persons with business or landed interests in NPA-controlled areas to negotiate and pay their taxes (a mere pittance compared to taxes paid to the fascist regime) to the people's government.

The most important materials and services needed by the NPA are the following: arms and ammunition; communication equipment; transport equipment and services, medicine, medical equipment and services; propaganda equipment; clothes and food.

The acquisition of arms and communication can be done through donation, purchase and confiscation from the enemy. The extensive contacts, facilities and other means of our allies can be very helpful in the acquisition and delivery of military material to the NPA from local and foreign sources.

Countersurveillance on enemy personnel, facilities and actions are for immediate and long-term purposes. That of enemy personnel is for the purpose of enlightening, disarming or punishing them. That of facilities is for the purpose of confiscating weapons and other related actions. That of actions is for the purpose of countering them.

Any ally who is determined and qualified to join the NPA may do so and be attached to a specific field unit of the NPA. It is fine if he is prepared ideologically, politically and organizationally by responsible representatives of the NPA.

The NPA may also qualify as its members individuals who belong to support groups even as they maintain their legal occupations. Their distinction from other members of civilian support groups is their pledge to perform military duty when necessary.

Form Self-Defense Organizations

Self-defense organizations are armed organizations that do not actively seek combat with the enemy for such reasons as that they would use their weapons in self-defense only when they are attacked; or that they would go into combat only after they accumulate a certain level of armed strength or when they feel it would be effective to do so.

This type of armed organization is very suitable to quite a number of allies who think that they cannot detach themselves from their legal preoccupations. The concept of self-defense is exceedingly acceptable to them.

Our allies may form self-defense organizations of varying sizes and strength and under whatever name. These may be completely independent from but cooperating bilaterally with the NPA or within the NDF framework.

The NPA recognizes the right of our allies to form self-defense organizations, especially if there are intended as reserve armed strength against the common enemy. Liaison with them is necessary not only to avoid misunderstanding but also to achieve positive and concrete forms of cooperation.

It is quite easy for certain allies to form self-defense organizations. They have the legal right under the ruling system to own licensed guns and have guards to protect their homes and properties, especially because of rising criminality. They can also acquire unlicensed arms from local and foreign sources.

In forming self-defense organizations, all that our allies need to do is to orient, organize and train their armed friends and subordinates for self-defense and prospective armed struggle against the enemy. They have some experience to build on, such as their background in ROTC, in running legal gun clubs and security agencies, and in giving or lending arms to their local leaders.

The NPA is willing to cooperate with allies on the formation of self-defense organizations by giving advice and political-military training and leeway for existence. In turn, our allies can give arms and ammunition to the NPA regularly or whenever possible.

It is also possible for the NPA and our allies to cooperate in acquiring arms in great quantity from local and foreign sources so that both sides are assured of increasing armed strength. Materials for the local manufacture of weapons can also be imported.

Go into Active Armed Struggle

Allies who have arms can go into active armed struggle anytime they choose, whether or not they pass through the stage of forming self-defense organizations.

At any rate, they need to cooperate and coordinate with the NPA and other armed organizations in the NDF in order to avoid anarchy or unnecessary conflicts and to deliver the most lethal blows against the common enemy.

Cooperation and coordination can best be achieved on the basis of common political agreement in the united front and through liaison groups.

The areas of cooperation are: planning, intelligence, political-military training, build up of arms and other logistics, and combat operations.

In order to help prepare the self-defense organizations for active armed struggle, the NPA is willing to include some of their units or elements in actual military operations regularly or occasionally. Participation in NPA activities would raise their morale and improve their skills.

The arms in the hands of self-defense organizations also do not have to be idle all the time. These can be lent within clearly agreed time limits to NPA units in order to augment their strength and seize more arms from the enemy or accomplish other objectives.

In the future, when the NPA is already defeating the enemy in bigger battles, there will be great opportunities for the self-defense organizations to go into battle or openly assume rearguard duties in areas where the enemy has been defeated.

Encourage Democratic Movement in the AFP

The main task of the armed resistance is to annihilate and defeat armed enemy units. But at the same time, we must do work to cause their self-disintegration or turn them against the fascist dictatorship. This is the purpose of encouraging a democratic movement in the AFP.

We must recognize that the overwhelming majority of ordinary troops are recruited from the toiling masses of workers and peasants. They are ill-paid, victimized by intra-service corruption and often brutally treated by their officers. They will be increasingly discontented

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due to the worsening political and economic crisis and demoralized by increasing casualties.

Even among the officers, there are severe contradictions between the Marcos loyalists and officers who are not benefitting from the evils of puppetry, brutality and corruption, favoritism and nepotism. At the rate the economic crisis is worsening, honest democratic-minded officers are already discontented and disgusted with the dictator Marcos and his clique of loyalists.

Our allies can develop their contacts with AFP officers and men who are their relatives, friends, townmates and neighbors so as to encourage them to reject the fascist dictatorship and embrace the democratic movement. Dialogues and literature for the purpose must be made.

The democratic movement in the AFP might develop to the extent that some AFP officers and men would decide to put the fascist dictator into their protective custody and require him to sign away his autocratic powers in favor of a democratic form of government. They can round up the Marcos loyalists after they have taken Marcos into custody. The concentration of power in his single person is both his strength and weakness.

At any rate, the democratic movement in the AFP will be useful in destroying the Marcos-Ver clique, in effecting a complete reorganization of the AFP, or in countervailing or frustrating any coup inspired by the US in its own interest.

While long-term purposes are not yet achieved, our allies can purchase arms and ammunitions from AFP officers and men on a friendly or business basis, collect data on AFP personnel and facilities and prepare for the day that the most rabid minions of the fascist dictator can be incapacitated.

The NPA does its share of encouraging a democratic movement in the AFP. It implants cadres within the AFP, sends revolutionary propaganda within AFP ranks, deals fairly with the families of AFP soldiers in NPA-controlled areas, gives safe conduct to these soldiers on their family visits and treats enemy captives leniently.

The wise policy of the NPA yields positive results. An increasing number of AFP officers and men give for free or sell arms and ammunition to the NPA and promise to join the side of the people (including their own families) at the proper time. These soldiers speak well of the NPA even in their barracks and they regret being put into combat

with it. Many quit the AFP to join the NPA because of enlightenment and moral conviction.

Calculations for the Near Future

The armed resistance is now in the advanced substage of the strategic defensive. The NPA can launch tactical offensives within the scope of 500 to 600 municipalities out of the country's 1,500 municipalities. It has at least 10,000 rifles shared by some 20,000 fighters in rotation.

There are now forty guerrilla fronts, each with three to ten guerrilla zones. Each zone covers three to ten municipalities. The organized mass base has risen to six million people in close to sixty provinces. It involves local organs of political power, militia and mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women and others.

If the NPA succeeds in raising the number of its automatic rifles to 25,000, the NPA shall already be securely in the early substage of the strategic stalemate; and shall be able to launch tactical offensives within the scope of the majority of Philippine municipalities.

The NPA would then gain the capability of wiping out entire enemy companies quite frequently. Dramatic offensives, up to repeated temporary seizures of major towns and provincial capitals, will be carried out by battalion-size operations. The enemy will be forced to concentrate on key points only to leave extensive areas open for the people's government and the NPA to control.

The point shall have been reached when the US will declare the Marcos puppet clique a complete failure and remove it from power. The armed resistance would advance faster toward the stage of strategic offensive. It will be futile for the US to install another fascist puppet dictatorship.

If our allies have strong self-defense organizations, they together with the NPA and other armed organizations will be able to tell the US not to install another fascist puppet regime and to desist from interfering with the formation of a broad united front government.

The word of our allies will have tremendous weight because it would be backed up by their self-defense organizations. These can help bring about the strategic offensive by going into active armed struggle and joining up with the NPA and other armed organizations. Also, without firing a single shot, our allies will be able to persuade local

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government in extensive areas to break away from a fascist regime sponsored by the US.

As a possible plus factor in favor of a united front government, the democratic movement of AFP officers and soldiers will likely grow rapidly after the Marcos fascist clique has been eliminated either by this movement or by a US-inspired clique.

The democratic movement inside and outside the AFP will countervail US influence and will incapacitate any fascist military clique so as to make possible the total reorganization of the AFP under a broad united front government. This is a possibility alternative to the continuance of civil strife.

By helping the NPA increase its armed strength rapidly in one, two or three years, our allies can gain an effective lever for removing the Marcos puppet clique from power. At the earliest, the US will begin to drop Marcos after our allies contribute a few thousand of rifles to the NPA.

Our allies can at the same time form their own self-defense organizations to protect and promote their legitimate interests and have more confidence in the united front for armed struggle and in opposing the US-Marcos regime. The NPA respects these legitimate interests and will unite, cooperate and coordinate with the allies in securing their legitimate interests.

The key to our allies being able to form their own self-defense organizations and also help the NPA increase its rifles in a rapid manner is to import arms. If certain commercial goods can be brought into the country by various methods, there is no reason why arms cannot be brought in, using the same methods.

The amount of arms imported can grow progressively as the ability to solicit, purchase, carry and receive them increases. The importation of ten to twenty thousand rifles in one, two or three years is a realizable and sufficient target.

The world is wide open for acquiring the arms. These can be had from any friendly source abroad. At any rate, revolutionary, or anti-imperialist countries, parties, movements or groups are the most reliable sources. The weapons of freedom can be acquired through grants, loans or purchase, especially from friendly revolutionary movements and organizations abroad.

There is no more effective way to end the fascist dictatorship than waging armed resistance. And whatever are our wishes, the Marcos

fascist clique is driven by the rapidly worsening political and economic crisis and by its own greed and fear of its victims to rule by terror to the very end.

It would be a pity if the great upsurge of mass actions galvanized by the martyrdom of Benigno S. Aquino and other victims of fascist injustice are not promptly matched by determined efforts to accelerate the growth of the armed resistance.

Without the development of the armed resistance, the US-Marcos regime will continue to suppress the national sovereignty and democratic rights of the people and perpetrate bloody acts to keep itself in power.

Since its defeat in the Vietnam war, the general decline of the US has been accelerating. The United States is being weakened by its internal socioeconomic crisis as well as by being drawn to so many trouble spots in the world. It has become more and more possible for countries like the Philippines and for peoples like the Filipino people to free themselves one by one from the clutches of US imperialism.

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The Opposition Must Prepare for any Eventuality²⁸

March 11, 1985

Would you endorse participation [by the opposition] in possible elections in 1985? Do you believe elections will be held in 1985? What are the indications that these elections will/will not push through?

The possibility of simultaneous presidential and local elections in 1985 has been premised on the death or physical incapacity of Mr. Marcos. I would have no objection to the legal opposition participating in such elections, especially because conditions for the opposition to breach the ramparts of fascism would then be far better than before.

But it turns out that Mr. Marcos is still alive and kicking. It is more likely that no elections will be held in 1985. Mr. Marcos is using 1985 to accomplish certain objectives.

I believe that Mr. Marcos is indeed sick with some degenerative disease requiring major treatment every so often to keep him alive and from getting incapacitated. But he will remain dangerous so long as he can utter or write out such monosyllabic words as “grab,” “kill,” “cheat,” etc. and he can sign a decree extending his emergency powers to his loyal chief of staff, whether it be General Ver or General Ramos.

How would you assess the moves of the opposition? Is there a maneuver, do you think, on the part of the Marcos regime to deflect attention from (a) the Aquino assassination trial; (b) measures it is undertaking to intensify militarization; and (c) continued repression by floating the prospect of elections? Do you think, in other words, that the rumors about elections in 1985 are a deliberate ploy?

The opposition cannot be blamed for acting on the rumors of a dying Ferdinand Marcos and on the rumors of elections in 1985, as well as for building up a number of presidential hopefuls. In the first place, the opposition must constantly strengthen itself and prepare for any eventuality.

But what is deplorable is that a number of opposition leaders have become so obsessed with inheriting the autocratic powers of Mr.

²⁸ Interview with Petronilo Bn. Daroy of *Philippine News and Features*.-Editor

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Marcos that they have been negligent in exposing the fact that Mr. Marcos is using 1985 to complete the whitewash of the Aquino assassination; rebuild the image of the regime; get the country deeper into the debt trap; escalate militarization and repression; and prepare the machinery and conditions for fraud and terrorism in the forthcoming elections under the pretext of counterinsurgency.

One or two prominent opposition politicians seem so sure of rising to absolute power that they are already on the campaign to witchhunt communists, denigrate and exclude national democratic organizations, and perpetuate US economic and military domination. They appear too eager to please the US government and uphold the monopoly of power by the big compradors and landlords. They have not paused to consider that against their subjective wishes, the US, particularly the administration of President Reagan, continues to encourage Mr. Marcos to hold on to his fascist dictatorship and to allow him to control and manipulate the AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] and the Comelec [Commission on Elections].

The rumors of elections in 1985 have been a deliberate ploy, as you put it, on the part of the US as well as the Marcos clique. The rumors of a dead or dying Marcos are traceable to the US Embassy, Malacañang Palace [the presidential palace] and Camp Aguinaldo [AFP headquarters]. There is a systematic psywar campaign to put people off balance and deflect their attention from fundamental or gut issues.

My point is that the opposition can and should prepare for elections, engage in all forms of struggle and take up fundamental issues without let-up. As they engage in all forms of struggle, some opposition leaders should stop conceding that the fascist dictatorship has become a democracy; that the 1984 sham elections were a clean and honest political exercise; and that the elections are the only way through which the fascist dictatorship can be ended.

Do you think that President Marcos' announcement of reinstating Gen. Fabian Ver is a preparation on the part of the regime to use terrorism in the elections—whether these be in 1985, 1986 or 1987? Will the pace of the Aquino trial be synchronized with the necessity of elections and the necessity, too, of exonerating General Ver, so that if it becomes necessary to hold elections in 1985, the Aquino assassination trial will end in 1985 in order to exonerate Ver?

The Opposition Must Prepare for any Eventuality

Mr. Marcos' essential interest in having General Ver exonerated and in reinstating him is to complete the process of concealing the real mastermind of the Aquino assassination. A campaign to reverse the people's verdict is going on full-blast, with the connivance of the Reagan administration.

Whether General Ver is reinstated or General Ramos continues as AFP chief of staff, Mr. Marcos continues to be in a position to use terrorism in the elections. The reported differences between General Ver and General Ramos are those of loyal servants to the same master. Both are original members of the so-called "twelve disciples" who conspired with Mr. Marcos in the 1972 coup [declaration of martial law] against the established government. The brutal repression of the people by the military has continued to escalate under General Ramos.

The Sandiganbayan [ombudsman court] trial of the Aquino assassination case will be concluded in 1985, perhaps in three to six months before the end of the year, giving Mr. Marcos and the KBL enough time to bury the Aquino case before the 1986 elections.

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On the Legal Opposition

Circa May 1985

Those who boycotted the 1984 elections are now busy preparing to participate in the forthcoming local and presidential elections. What do you think of this development?

There have been changes in the objective conditions. The political and economic crisis has further worsened and the Marcos clique has become even more isolated.

The legal opposition can further weaken the Marcos clique. Through the elections, they are likely to contribute significantly to the defeat of the fascist puppet clique by coordinating their electoral struggle with the other forms of mass struggle.

The elections are an occasion to further isolate the Marcos dictatorship and strengthen the democratic forces, including the revolutionary forces, which can go on ventilating the fundamental issues.

The local elections can be more closely watched by the candidates and their supporters and the legal opposition would have very good chances of winning many local seats. It is in the presidential elections where the ruling clique would have more opportunity of "winning," of course, through fraud and terrorism.

The KBL will surely lose in both local and presidential elections, if these are kept relatively clean and honest. If the KBL were to win again through fraud and terror, the desire for armed revolution will grow stronger among the people.

Will not participation in these elections sort of endorse the nature and workings of the Marcos regime? Will it not mean that the boycotters of 1984 have already abandoned their 1984 call for meaningful elections?

Far from being an endorsement of the nature and workings of the regime, these elections will be occasions to further expose and oppose the antinational and antidemocratic character of the regime.

I do not think that the 1984 boycotters have abandoned their call for meaningful elections. They have not stopped condemning the evil character of the regime as well as the unjustness of present electoral rules and procedures.

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The US and the Marcos clique are using counterrevolutionary dual tactics in staging the elections. The most determined oppositionists, however, can also use revolutionary dual tactics.

Are not the 1984 participationists correct after all, and the 1984 boycotters riding on the successes of the participationists?

It is wrong to conclude that the 1984 participationists were correct and the boycotters were not. We cannot say that the boycotters were wrong in making just and reasonable demands concerning the elections. Even if they had participated, they would not have changed the election results of 70-30 in favor of the KBL by virtue of a prearrangement between the US and Marcos. The boycotters were not wrong when they said that the Batasang Pambansa would be a sham parliament—a mere embellishment on a despotic regime. A 30 percent opposition minority in a sham parliament is not, by any indication, a whopping success.

The elections staged by the US and Marcos to conjure an illusion of democracy are a mere by-product of the fundamental struggle between all democratic forces and the US-Marcos dictatorship.

The most steadfast among the opposition forces are not the electioneering politicians who wait for opportunities in elections but those who have been risking their lives and limbs fighting the fascist dictatorship since 1972.

Will not these elections isolate, undermine or take away initiative from the armed revolution, the Left in general and the CPP in particular?

I do not think so. Elections staged by the ruling clique are periodic occurrences that do not by themselves provide any profound and lasting answer to the fundamental national and democratic demands of the Filipino people. There will be no losing sight of the fact that elections are merely one of the legal forms of struggle and are subordinate and ancillary to the militant mass struggles and the mass organizing being conducted on a daily basis.

These elections can aggravate rather than solve serious contradictions among the reactionaries and can also result in the ascendance of progressives in many areas where the people's organizations are strong.

These elections cannot dismantle the CPP, NPA, NDF, organs of democratic power, nor the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women and so on.

If again the KBL won through fraud and terrorism, the revolutionary organizations will grow even faster. If the legal opposition won despite the odds, it will have to adopt fundamental policy changes to come to terms with the revolutionary organizations. It will have to deal with the grave problems the Marcos autocracy will leave behind.

What do you think would be the stand of the Left in general and/or the CPP in particular regarding these elections?

I have access only to legal publications. I observe that the legal forces of the Left are open to supporting progressive candidates, especially those responsive to national and democratic demands.

The CPP, being illegal, cannot come out openly and field candidates under its banner. The CPP is the political party leading the armed revolution in the fundamental struggle between the fascist dictatorship and the democratic forces.

But the Party can determine and influence the results of the elections in many parts of the country. It is quite experienced in letting local officials of the reactionary government serve as facades for local organs of democratic power. Otherwise, such officials would be totally rejected by the people in their local areas.

What is your view of the convenors' group and the national unification council of the UNIDO?

Both are serious attempts to unify the opposition. But I observe that both exclude the progressive organizations of the workers and peasants as well as those of the middle strata, which have a long record of resolutely and militantly fighting the fascist dictatorship.

These are excluded in the conception, organization and decision-making of an electoral coalition against the Marcos autocracy. I hope that the convenor group and the national unification council of UNIDO would include them and give them a fair share of responsibility in a broad-based democratic coalition.

What do you suppose would be a program of government that the opposition can carry if it were to solve or mitigate the economic and political crisis?

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It should be a program that comprehensively covers:

- (1) the dismantling of the fascist dictatorship and the realization of democracy;
- (2) the assertion of national sovereignty in political, economic, military, cultural and external affairs;
- (3) national industrialization and genuine land reform;
- (4) a patriotic, scientific and democratic culture; and
- (5) an independent, nonaligned foreign policy.

Such a program should take into account the programs and declaration of principles of progressive organizations and alliances of workers, peasants and the middle strata, like the Nationalist Alliance, CORD, etc.

There should be a blending of the programs of opposition political parties, mass organizations and alliances. The Basis for Unity of the Convenor Group can be elaborated on and improved. I have not yet seen any similar document from the national unification committee of the UNIDO. Whatever similar document UNIDO has should be made known.

As soon as possible, there should be some kind of a grand coalition council or a united front council or whatever the participants may wish to call it. Seats in such a council can be equally apportioned three ways: one-third to representatives of the Left (workers and peasants); one-third to the Middle (middle forces); and one-third to the antifascist sections of the Right (big businessmen and landlords).

The workers and peasants who compose at least 90 percent of our people should certainly be adequately represented. Their organizations should not be ignored. They deserve at least one-third of the seats in a grand coalition council.

But there can be another way of apportioning seats which may be acceptable to everyone. The following can have equal numbers of seats: (1) organizations of workers and peasants, like the Kilusang Mayo Uno, and regional urban poor and peasant associations; (2) middle strata organizations, like the Nationalist Alliance, CORD, Kaakbay, Sandigan, ACT, LFS, etc.; (3) the Liberal Party, both Salonga and Kalaw wings; (4) the Nacionalista Party, both Laurel and Roy wings; (5) PDP-Laban; (6) the regional parties, such as the Mindanao Alliance, Bikol Saro, Concerned Citizens Aggrupation; Panaghiusa, Timek ti Umili, etc.; (7) Businessmen's organizations, such as ATOM, AMA,

Jaycees for Justice, Manindigan, Makati Business Club and other organizations of the enlightened gentry.

Still another arrangement could be a four-way grand coalition council with seats equally apportioned to cause-oriented groups, the Liberal Party, PDP-Laban and Nacionalista Party. In this arrangement, the cause-oriented groups get an extremely modest share.

What would be the tasks of the grand coalition council you have in mind?

Such a council can have the following tasks:

(1) draft a common program of government, the rules of the coalition, and the criteria and procedures for selecting local and presidential candidates;

(2) call as soon as possible a national convention to ratify the common program and other documents, and to receive presidential nominations;

(3) guide the formation of local alliances and the choice of local candidates;

(4) direct the campaign for both the local and the presidential candidates; and

(5) serve as a consultative council to assist a winning opposition president in fulfilling his signed commitment, which is the implementation of the common program of government, and advice him on policies and appointments; or in case of defeat, continue the campaign against the fascist dictatorship and its foreign sponsor.

How would the council be reflected at the local levels (provincial and municipal)? How would the local councils be constituted?

As much as possible, the grand coalition council or united front council should be replicated at the provincial and municipal levels. But I think that provincial and municipal alliances for the purpose of local elections do not have to wait for the grand coalition council to be formed.

The earlier formation of local alliances of the opposition is advisable because local elections are supposed to be held earlier. Local alliances might be easier to form and can support the formation of a grand coalition at the national level.

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Do you think the CPP will accept legalization if the legal opposition won?

I cannot speak for the CPP. But I surmise that it will set a number of preconditions for accepting legalization. Among these could be *first*, some prior satisfaction of the national and democratic demands of the people; *second*, the legal forces of the Left and the Left and Middle alliance are existing freely and are developing in a new setting; *third*, all components of the National Democratic Front agree to discuss matters with the new government; and *fourth*, the CPP will have to decide if it were truly beneficial to the people to discuss matters with the new government.

At any rate, I suppose that the CPP is pleased to be recognized as an important factor by the legal opposition in its offer of legalization.

I suppose that the offer of legalization would carry with it a precondition such as the laying down of arms by the NPA. Do you suppose the CPP will disarm and dissolve the NPA in order to become legal?

My opinion can only be as good as yours. But I would say that before military questions can be tackled, political questions have to be settled first.

I suppose the CPP will ask: Will there be satisfaction of the national and democratic demands of the people? The new regime will have to take concrete measures in this regard.

Then the CPP will ask: Will the new regime reorient and reorganize the Armed Forces of the Philippines so that it becomes an instrument of the people and not a coercive instrument of the US imperialists and the local reactionary classes against the people?

Anyone can see that the CPP is justifiably very wary of the AFP, especially because it has been used by the US-Marcos clique to conduct a bloody fascist counterrevolution against the broad masses of the people. It would be wise for a new president to unilaterally and unconditionally legalize the CPP and invite it to a democratic coalition or a united front government.

The status of the AFP and the NPA can then be subsequently discussed, especially because by 1987 the stage of strategic stalemate in the people's war shall probably have begun.

In the past, Mr. Marcos and Minister Enrile had been publicly offering legalization to the Communist Party. Why have they failed in attracting the CPP?

The lack of good faith on the part of Marcos and Enrile in offering CPP legalization shows in the fact that they are now attacking the legal opposition for offering the same thing and that they are urging the legal opposition to join an anticommunist campaign so as to obscure the urgent issues against puppetry, brutality, corruption and the all-round bankruptcy of the Marcos regime as well as all the other evils of fascist dictatorship.

Marcos and Enrile failed to attract the CPP because they simply wanted the Party and the people's army to surrender to fascist dictatorship and render the people *and* the broad opposition completely defenseless and hopeless. They were simply asking the CPP and the NPA to commit political and physical suicide.

If the CPP and NPA capitulate to the fascist dictatorship, their officers and members would not only be politically discredited but physically wiped out anytime. The dynastic ambitions of Marcos would prevail.

Incidentally, Marcos has legalized the so-called PKP. And this party has had to surrender and submit to humiliating terms.

Mr. Marcos and Mr. Enrile have admitted the growing strength of the NPA. What is the source of this strength?

First, the political and economic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system has been aggravated by the fascist regime of the US-Marcos clique.

Second, the people intensely desire revolutionary change—essentially the fulfilment of their demand for national liberation and democracy.

Third, the people have their revolutionary party and their army—the NPA—is led by this party correctly pursuing the national democratic line. It is, as a consequence, growing stronger everyday.

The NPA is not just a fighting force. It is also an education, mass organizing and productive force. In all its tasks, it seeks to serve the people.

The NPA is supported by local organs of democratic power, mass organizations and local militia units. The armed struggle is integrated

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into a program of genuine land reform and mass base building; and is completed by united front work.

The NPA applies the theory of people's war on the Philippine situation. It builds up its revolutionary strength by relying on the people and seizing arms from its enemy. Strategically, the AFP is superior in the number of personnel, equipment and training. But tactically, the NPA can launch offensives that can wipe out AFP forces piece by piece.

The NPA combination of the people's support and the correct strategy and tactics in accordance with the theory of people's war has been the undoing of the AFP. Its most fatal weakness is its inherently antipeople character—its being the coercive instrument of an antinational and antidemocratic regime.

How do you view the stand of President Marcos, Doy Laurel and the Convenor Group regarding the US military bases in the country?

Marcos would like to have these bases in exchange for US support for himself and his clique. In the past, he would sometimes claim "nationalist" credit for the so-called five-year renewable tenure of the US military bases, the token AFP command over the same, and the commitment for removal of foreign bases under the 1976 ASEAN Accords. But at other times, when he thinks that an outright pro-imperialist position is more profitable, he is for the perpetuation of these bases; his stand is double-dealing in the pursuit of selfish interests.

Laurel can improve on his current stand. He need not appear too eager to please the US. As these bases were imposed on the country by virtue of an executive agreement, there is no reason why this cannot be removed by a truly patriotic chief executive. The military bases agreement allows the Philippine government to initiate the removal of these bases on the ground of Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity. The proposal for a plebiscite on these bases is superfluous.

The stand of the Convenor Group can also stand some improvement. US military bases should be removed immediately or not later than 1991 when the bases agreement expires. Pending removal, the AFP command over these bases should have authority to inspect and control every inch of the same.

What do you think will be the role of the US in the elections? Which of the presidential candidates will it support?

US authorities are making a lot of noise about the US being a champion of democracy; about their desire of strengthening supposedly democratic institutions and processes. But the Filipino people know that the US imperialists have been conniving with and supporting the fascist dictatorship to suppress the democratic forces, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

Now that the Marcos clique is openly detested by the aggrieved people, they come assuring certain elements of the opposition that they are about to phase the Marcos clique out through elections. But at the same time they are providing Marcos with advice and logistics to go on an anticommunist rampage in order to undermine the broad democratic opposition against puppet autocracy.

The US is a double dealer. It will place bets on both Marcos or his surrogate and an opposition presidential candidate. It places the bigger bet on its favorite. Should local elections come ahead of the presidential elections, local election results will indicate to the US on which side to place the bigger bet but the US will try to make both sides beholden to itself.

What do you think are the chances of the legal opposition in the local and presidential elections?

Were the elections clean and honest, the legal opposition will certainly win by a landslide. It is uncertain of winning only because it is the Marcos clique that fixes the electoral rules and that has total control of the AFP and the Comelec.

There is a big chance for the opposition to win the overwhelming majority of local seats despite the odds. But before that, the ruling clique must fail in its scheme of using the bogey of anticommunism to undermine the broad democratic opposition.

Who would most likely be the presidential and vice-presidential bets of the opposition? Or is there a possibility of more than one team of opposition candidates for the presidential elections?

There is an abundance of presidential talents in the opposition. The public is well aware of the twelve frontrunners. At this point it is difficult to single out any one of them.

But when a grand democratic coalition has been formed and the criteria for selecting candidates have been set, it should relatively

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be easy to determine by convention vote the presidential and vice-presidential bets.

There would then be no other serious team of the opposition, unless the old political parties (NP and LP) become irreconcilably divided or the cause-oriented organizations and the basic masses of workers and peasants are ignored.

In case an opposition candidate wins the presidency, how would the proposal for a democratic coalition government broached by the National Alliance be affected?

If the new president happened to have been the candidate of the grand coalition of the opposition, then he can comply with his signed commitment and carry out the democratic program of government by relying on a united front of democratic forces or he can betray his commitments and stand and act like Marcos and soon become detested by the people. The grand coalition fielding the presidential candidate will be the same grand coalition that will advice and assist that candidate, in case he wins and becomes the new president, in seeking to fulfil the national and democratic demands of the people. The problems left by Marcos will be so grave that there will have to be some kind of a national government of unity.

If the revolutionary forces have grown strong enough, a democratic coalition government can probably be worked out in due time. Or the revolutionary armed struggle will continue until conditions arise for such a government.

How will the issues be fought out between the KBL and the legal opposition?

The KBL will be making false claims of performance and achievement and harping on a pro-imperialist and anticommunist line in a futile attempt to detract attention from real issues and social realities.

The broad opposition will raise the national democratic demands of the people and denounce the Marcos performance record of puppetry, brutality, corruption and all-round bankruptcy.

The oppressed and exploited workers and peasants and the middle strata, the cause-oriented groups, will further intensify their legal democratic struggle by focusing on the most vital issues.

The revolutionary forces can also be expected to launch dramatic offensives to underscore the fundamental issues and the people's desire for national liberation and democracy.

Do you expect to be released in case the legal opposition wins the presidency? If released, what would you do? Would you be willing to help the government of the new president?

The legal opposition have come out with a commitment to unconditionally release all political prisoners and amnesty all political offenders. On the basis of this commitment and on the ground that my constitutional and human rights have been so grossly violated by the fascist, I expect to be released.

If released, I would immediately go back to teaching in a university. I would continue with research and writing. Even in detention, I keep abreast of national and international affairs and do a lot of reading and writing.

If a legal opposition candidate were to win the presidency and seek my advice, I would gladly give this in my individual capacity as I would give advice to whoever comes sincerely seeking it.

Is there any chance that the regime of Mr. Marcos would release all political prisoners to beat the promise of the legal opposition?

That chance is nil. The Marcos regime is escalating violence against those whom it suspects of being its most determined opposition. The trend is to kill captives and save on prison expenses. Those lucky enough to be brought to detention centers are in the main tightly kept under a policy of denying their status as political prisoners.

Marcos has completely turned a deaf ear to the pleas of even Cardinal Sin and of human rights organizations and other leading lights for the release and general amnesty of political prisoners. He even delays the release of political prisoners already ordered released by the civil courts, including the Supreme Court and his military commissions.

According to some high-ranking military officers, Marcos has vowed never to release me. There is even the possibility that I would be killed by the fascists.

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The Significance of August 21²⁹

Circa August 1985

August 21 is a day when we recall the barbaric and murderous acts of the fascists. The broad masses of the people rise to condemn these bloody crimes, honor the victims and seek justice for all of them. The level of consciousness and militancy among the people continue to rise for the ultimate purpose of dismantling the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique, and installing a new democratic system free from foreign and feudal domination.

August 21, 1971 was the day when the Second Plaza Miranda massacre occurred, when the entire national leadership of the Liberal Party was almost wiped out and hundreds of people became casualties. This bloody incident was used by the US-Marcos regime as the excuse for the 1971 suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus—the trial run for the 1972 declaration of martial law and establishment of the fascist dictatorship.

Marcos had accused the Liberal Party as an ally of the Communist Party of the Philippines while at the same time he would accuse the latter of seeking to eliminate the former. Again and again, he would use the same dirty trick and bloody intrigue to destroy his opponents. All throughout his career of infamy, he has used the Armed Forces of the Philippines in his bid to monopolize political power and bureaucratic loot as well as to attack the newly resurgent anti-imperialist and antifeudal movement.

The US imperialists instigated the destruction of every semblance of bourgeois democracy; and supported the prolongation of the open rule of terror. What used to be the joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class through a two-party system was transformed into an autocracy; and this big bourgeois autocracy or fascist dictatorship has continued to ride roughshod over the people despite the supposed lifting of martial law in 1981.

August 21, 1983, Benigno S. Aquino, Jr., the chief political rival of the fascist autocrat within the parameters of US neocolonialism and the comprador-landlord state, was assassinated. Aquino had thought

²⁹ Article released through the Free Jose Ma. Sison Committee.-Editor

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that without an armed force of his own nor enough followers within the reactionary armed forces, he could disarm Marcos by pleading reconciliation because after all they prayed to the same God; and they both equated democracy with the continued dominance of US and big comprador-landlord interests in the country.

Marcos had all along been accusing Aquino of being a communist. And yet, in his methodical madness Marcos would accuse the communists of assassinating Aquino despite the fact that he was murdered while under maximum security in the hands of military custodians. Marcos is able to do and say whatever he pleases, no matter how apparently irrational and self-contradictory, only because he can use and manipulate the Armed Forces of the Philippines as his own private army.

The Aquino assassination was done so arrogantly and so scandalously before the eyes of the people of the country and the world that public outrage in its enormity threatened not only the fascist regime but also the entire ruling system. The US imperialist master and the fascist puppet colluded in using cosmetic measures in a calculated scheme to mollify the people and preserve the fascist dictatorship in a fundamental way.

If there is one lesson to be learned from both August 21, 1971 and 1983, it is that the fascists will never give up their power voluntarily and that they will never hesitate to kill people, including their rivals in the neocolonial system, in order to keep their power. The key to their staying in power and getting away with countless crimes is their control and use of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

The national democratic movement has considered Aquino a hero because he was a consistent opponent of the fascist regime and was even an occasional critic of the worst US policies, and not because had he become president, he would have made the Philippines safe for US and local reactionary interests under the flag of anticommunism; as some quarters now use Aquino's name.

By linking the Aquino assassination to the martyrdom of so many other people as well as to the intolerable oppression and exploitation of the entire people, the national democratic movement has given it its broadest and most profound significance. Thus, the people's outrage over the Aquino assassination has flowed into the further development of a powerful movement for justice, national freedom and democracy.

The national democratic movement has never allowed philosophical and theological differences within its ranks to interfere with the development of the broadest possible unity of forces and elements opposed to the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. Furthermore, the movement has always allowed varying degrees of commitment to the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal cause among the antifascist forces.

The broadest possible political unity of the people, irrespective of philosophical, theological or religious differences, must be maintained and further developed against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. And all forms of struggle must be waged.

The attempts of US imperialist agents and a handful of clerico-fascists (some elements of Opus Dei and some Jesuits of the type of Frs. Carroll and Blanco) to create petty incidents so as to ignite philosophical and religious controversy and organizational disruption within the united front must be exposed and thwarted. Every individual and every organization is entitled to the freedom of thought and belief. But fundamental ideological or religious differences should not be used to disrupt political unity and prevent a practical program against the common enemy from being pursued.

It is wrong to insist that communism or a certain religious belief is the main political issue. The few who do so wittingly and unwittingly join the US imperialists and the fascist dictatorship in obscuring the real issue confronting the Filipino people today. The struggle for national liberation and democracy against the fascist regime of the US-Marcos clique is the issue of urgent necessity to the Filipino people.

It is wrong to insist that US imperialism has no responsibility for installing and prolonging the fascist dictatorship and for the underdevelopment and plunder of the Philippine economy; and that democracy simply means a relatively wider sharing of power and wealth among the big compradors and landlords and their political agents.

It is wrong to insist that the people should cease waging armed resistance. To do so is to actually endorse the US-Marcos monopoly of armed force and the continuity of fascist oppression. Those who wish to disarm the people confess from the very start that they cannot do or take part in what it takes to assert national sovereignty against US imperialism and dismantle the fascist puppet dictatorship.

Contrary to the assurances made by US imperialist agents to a few gullible elements within the opposition to the effect that Marcos

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is already being eased out in a gradual and peaceful manner, the US policy towards Marcos is clearly stated in the National Security Study Directive released by the US State Department on March 12, 1985: "The US does not want to remove Marcos to destabilize the GOP."

The US method of incentives and disincentives for Marcos to accommodate the anti-Marcos and pro-US oppositionists has not yielded anything beyond token and negligible results even only for these oppositionists. US bilateral military and economic assistance has been unconditionally approved for 1986 and the same is applicable for 1987. The US, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the foreign private lenders are helping out the fascist regime so long as it accepts every dictate to enable them to suck more blood from the Filipino people. Only US press exposés are now left to annoy the fascist dictatorship.

Marcos continues to have a tight grip on the Armed Forces of the Philippines. He continues to keep the courts and the sham parliament within the bounds of fascist dictatorship. He is frantically militarizing local officials and expanding the paramilitary forces. His fake legislature is about to rig up an electoral code to his complete satisfaction. The Commission on Elections is prepared to fix the results of the elections.

The serialized whitewash of the Aquino assassination is already in its final stage. The Sandiganbayan, the Tanodbayan and the defense in the Aquino murder trial are all being coordinated in Malacañang by Marcos himself. Most of the accused are slated to be acquitted by the Supreme Court because of deliberate errors made by the Sandiganbayan and the Tanodbayan. And Marcos will make use of the forthcoming elections as a laundering process for his bloody and corrupt rule.

Marcos can make the legal opposition look disunited even if it succeeded in uniting and he can have this defeated through fragmented accreditation of the opposition parties. Without the proper reservations concerning participation in the forthcoming elections, the legal opposition is being trapped into endorsing a US-inspired and Marcos-rigged demonstration-type elections as a democratic process.

The national democratic movement firmly believes that the forthcoming elections will be farcical exercises in general. However, it is open to electoral participation if only to support progressive candidates; breach the structure of the fascist dictatorship; propagate the antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal line; and be in a position to

swing people disappointed by overall results of the elections to more effective courses of action.

The worsening of the political and economic crisis is now so rapid that, despite fascist constraints, a sizeable number of progressive candidates will have a good chance of winning. At any rate, widespread fraud and terror by the fascist dictatorship will incite the people to expand and intensify their armed resistance.

The struggle to dismantle the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique is still uphill and entails all forms of struggle. Elections under the auspices of tyranny can never be the major nor sole method for defeating it and cannot be superior to armed struggle and daily mass struggles.

It would be self-defeating for any legal oppositionist to fall for false assurances made by the US imperialists and the intrigues made by clerico-fascists; to get carried away by the illusion of coming to power soon and joining Marcos in an anticommunist witchhunt against the leaders and organizations of the toiling masses of workers and peasants. Legal oppositionists who take a rabid anticommunist line only undermine their own position, help prolong the fascist dictatorship and become its accomplices in the brutal suppression of all democratic forces.

The national democratic movement stands and fights for the establishment of a new democratic system which is truly a government of, by and for the people—the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The movement is rapidly advancing and growing in strength.

The fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique cannot be removed from power if the broad masses of the people are not aroused, organized and mobilized. The people demand nothing less than a democratic coalition government. Even if Marcos is dethroned, a stable government is impossible so long as it is ruled by the big compradors and landlords subservient to US imperialism and at the expense of the working class, the peasantry and the lower and middle strata of the bourgeoisie.

The very emergence and prolongation of the fascist dictatorship and the irrepressible growth and advance of the armed revolutionary movement spell the inevitable doom of the semicolonial and semifeudal system.



Message to Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN)

April 1985

Let me express my warmest and sincerest greetings and congratulations to the officers and members of all the mass organizations, now in the process of forming themselves into the Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN) on the basis of the principles of popular democracy, nationalism, people's welfare and national unity.

BAYAN is emerging as the largest and broadest democratic coalition of patriotic and progressive forces tempered in the heat of militant mass struggles. It represents a new and higher level of development in the legal democratic mass movement.

In forming this alliance, you have taken on an endeavor of historic import. You have bound yourselves to further arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people and carry forward the struggle for national liberation and democracy against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique, which is the concentrated expression of the evils of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

There can be no stronger alliance in the country than one that brings together the organized strength of the workers, peasants, fishermen, urban poor, ethnic minorities, youth and students, women, teachers, lawyers, doctors, writers and artists, other professionals, church people, businessmen and civic leaders who are determined to fight for the national and democratic rights and interests of the entire Filipino people.

We all confront an autocratic puppet regime isolated from and justly hated by the people because of its monstrous crimes. It is a regime that is dying though still dangerous for the simple reason that US imperialism provides it with the means to attack the people and frustrate their will.

After having used this fascist dictatorship, which is the tyranny of a small bureaucratic clique of big compradors and landlord, and finding it an utter failure in the bloody counterrevolution against the Filipino people, the US imperialists now pretend to be pressuring it to give up

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its monopoly of power voluntarily and give way to a supposed process of democratization.

However, the US imperialists are actually egging on the despot Marcos to escalate his campaigns of terror under the pretext of anticommunism and counterinsurgency, the very same pretext under which the fascist dictatorship had been instituted and entrenched not only against the basic masses of the workers and peasants together with the middle social strata of Philippine society but also certain segments of the upper classes outside the tiny circle of Marcos kins, cronies and loyalists within the military.

Under the US game plan of recognizing Marcos as “part of the problem” yet making him “part of the solution,” the US has continued to use him to promote its imperialist interests. Marcos conversely has continued to use the US to promote his fascist interests and to further enlarge his already massive personal fortunes by continuing to loot the country.

The US Reagan administration continuously tries to pass off the autocratic regime as “democratic” and hails every escalation of fascist terrorism and deception (including the Aquino assassination and cover-up) as an “improvement” in the human rights situation in the Philippines. The US in fact equates “moderation” and “democracy” with the preservation and enlargement of imperialist and local reactionary interests through violence and deception.

At the rate that the US-Marcos collusion is proceeding, Marcos will retain or, at the most, merely “modify” Amendment 6; he will continue to control and manipulate the Armed Forces of the Philippines against the people; and he will go on rigging elections until he is unceremoniously kicked out of power.

The present US scheme allows Marcos to fix the rules and procedures of the forthcoming elections through the Batasang Pambansa and the Commission on Elections as well as to use both the regular military forces and the paramilitary forces for fraud and terrorism under the guise of counterinsurgency. In furtherance of militarization and in preparation for the elections, local officials, of whom almost all belong to the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL), have been openly converted into military agents of the US-Marcos clique.

The problem of the legal opposition is not its supposed disunity. It is the fascist dictatorship. It would be far easier to unite the National Unification Committee (NUC), the Conveners Group and BAYAN or

the Nacionalista Party-UNIDO, the Liberal Party, PDP-LABAN and BAYAN than to cope with the fraud and terrorism that the US-Marcos clique is capable of unleashing in electoral exercises under its auspices and control.

BAYAN has correctly criticized US imperialism and the tie-up between it and the fascist puppet regime. Without this fundamental critical standpoint, it is impossible to assert and to fight for the national and democratic rights and interests of the people.

BAYAN is correct in asserting that militant mass actions on fundamental issues are far more important than periodic electoral exercise staged by the US-Marcos dictatorship while at the same time being open to the possibility of participating in elections where fundamental issues can be ventilated, where progressive parties and candidates have a chance of winning, and where the forces of reaction can be split and weakened.

BAYAN is also correct in recognizing that the fascist dictatorship continues to rule through brute force and therefore the necessity for all legal democratic forces to strengthen themselves against such violence and prepare themselves against all eventualities.

The life-and-death struggle between the armed democratic revolution and armed fascist counterrevolution is bound to intensify. There is no solution in sight for the ever worsening political and economic crisis of the ruling system. US imperialism and its fascist puppet continue to aggravate the oppression and exploitation of the people. They leave the people no choice but to wage all forms of resistance.

To win victory in the struggle for national freedom and democracy, all democratic forces must develop a broad national united front founded on the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry, supported by the middle social strata and taking advantage of the splits within the ranks of the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords in order to isolate and dismantle the fascist dictatorship and its imperialist props.

This national united front must aim for the establishment of a democratic coalition government in order to get rid completely of fascist, foreign and feudal domination and establish a free, independent, democratic, just, progressive and prosperous society.

It is gratifying to note that BAYAN is determined to counterpoise the concept and strength of people's democracy against the elitist misinterpretation of democracy by the imperialists, the fascists and

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other reactionaries. With its present mass strength and its brilliant leadership, BAYAN is certain to win greater victories in the struggle.

I hope that BAYAN and all its component organizations will further strengthen themselves by providing their members and the people in general with the correct political orientation and education promptly and rapidly by organizing chapters down to the barrio level and in all barrios in the country, and by undertaking militant mass actions and campaigns to uphold, defend and promote national sovereignty and all democratic rights of the people.

Long live BAYAN!

Unite to dismantle the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Long live the Filipino people!

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On US Moves re Elections and Counterinsurgency³⁰

Circa May 1985

Some sectors have made the observation that the US must be engaged now in activities, independent of Marcos, in preparation for his replacement—which could happen either in the event of his sudden demise or through parliamentary means, such as election, impeachment or resignation. What are the indications of these US moves? Is the recent expose of US funding for anti-Left propaganda part of it?

The most important preparations being made by the US for the possible replacement of Marcos are two-fold. On the one hand, the Pentagon and the CIA are trying to develop a pro-US but anti-Marcos movement among officers of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. On the other hand, funds are also flowing in from CIA coffers and the National Endowment for Democracy in particular to promote anti-Left propaganda.

If Marcos remains healthy, there is no way the legal opposition can overcome him solely through elections. The US continues to support Marcos and still allows him to control the AFP, the Batasang Pambansa, the Commission on Elections and the Courts, etc. He can rig the electoral rules, processes and results. He can remain president beyond 1987.

However, the US is giving false assurances of conservative opposition victories in or before 1987 and handing out substantial funds to some pro-US but anti-Marcos elements in order to encourage them to distance themselves from the Left. These anti-Left and anti-Marcos elements are wittingly and unwittingly undermining the broad front against the Marcos dictatorship. They fall for the US strategic objective of removing Marcos by a coup d'etat sometime beyond 1987 should he fail to destroy the people's revolutionary movement that grows ever stronger.

At the moment, Marcos is worth less than a minor CIA operation. A major CIA operation was said to cost about \$6.0 million several years ago. It would cost much less than that to muster an anti-Marcos

³⁰ Interview with *Philippine News and Features*.-Editor

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coup. Marcos has been thoroughly isolated from the people and there is serious discontent within the Armed Forces of the Philippines. But the US imperialists think that they must first extract advantages from a desperate Marcos and at the same time induce pro-US opposition leaders to steer clear of the Left.

The US is seeking to install in the post-Marcos period either an outright military regime or a military-civilian regime or a civilian regime that will be strictly pro-US and reactionary. If the revolutionaries were alert to the US scheme they would not lose pace in expanding and intensifying the armed struggle. The insoluble economic and political crisis of the dying ruling system is working in their favor.

It would not be easy for the US and its American and Filipino agents to isolate the Left and break up the Left-Middle alliance. The Rightist elements who deck themselves out as “moderates” are isolating themselves by seeking to disrupt the people’s democratic movement and in effect helping Marcos keep himself in power up to 1987 and perhaps even far beyond 1987 if they remained without any clout vis-à-vis Marcos.

However, some politically reasonable sections of the anti-Marcos Right are exposing the maneuvers of the US and realize the need to keep the broad antifascist alliance.

Considering that the country is witnessing the rise of insurgency, crucial to the moves of the regime and of those for a pre-martial law status quo, what is the role of the military. How would you interpret the recent policy, which Marcos himself has admitted to a foreign correspondent, of allowing the civilian forces to participate in the counterinsurgency? Both Marcos and Ramos have admitted that the feudal lords, in Negros at least, are now paying the COLA of the ICHDF. Is this to be interpreted as a reversion to the past practice of submitting the military for direct use by big landlords?

Since the beginning of his fascist rule in 1972, Marcos has always sought to have a complete monopoly of the military and the police. It was in this regard that the police and the paramilitary forces were integrated with the Philippine Constabulary, a major service in the AFP. As a result, the mayors became powerless even as they were held responsible for peace and order. Now, Marcos and the military think that their counterrevolutionary campaign can become effective by activating the mayors as mere supervisors or foremen of the local

police. There is also the specific urgent purpose of allowing the KBL mayors to use the police and paramilitary forces for fraud and terrorism in the forthcoming elections.

Under the integrated defense program the military wants to muster civilian forces (including local officials, prominent propertied citizens, the religious and civic organizations) for military purposes so as to be able to claim that the counterinsurgency campaign is a much "civilianized" effort. The fact is that civilian forces are being militarized and placed under military command for military purposes.

For quite a long time now, the military has been organizing fanatical cults to massacre suspected revolutionary fighters and supporters. Now, the military wants to trap bishops and priests in so-called peace and order councils and use them for psywar campaigns. In several instances, people in villages have been rounded up, misrepresented as "surrenderees," brought to churches to hear thanksgiving mass and take oaths of allegiance to the Marcos regime after the mass.

In view of the rising armed revolutionary movement and the growing inability of the State to give adequate support to the military and police, Marcos and the military are now officially allowing the big landlords to organize and maintain paramilitary forces.

The reactionary pro-landlord character of the state and its main component, the armed forces, is being stressed. There is a reversion to the old practice of proliferating private armies under landlord control. These complement the regular military and police forces of the big comprador-landlord state.

The intensification of the armed counterrevolution is resulting in the accelerated growth in strength and advance of the New People's Army. The proliferation of disjointed regular military, police, ICHDF and hacienda armed units will provide an excellent source of arms for the revolutionaries.

After Vatican Council II and the rise of progressive trends within the Catholic Church, Marcos and the military cannot go very far in utilizing bishops and priests for counterrevolutionary military purposes. The military itself is repeatedly fouling up its own scheme of using the religious by using its agents in killing the likes of Frs. Favali, Romero and Bernardo; kidnapping Bishop Escaler and Fr. Romano and by detaining so many priests like De la Torre, Tizon, Remigio and attacking basic Christian communities, etc.

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The armed revolutionary movement is developing backward villages into advanced political, economic, cultural and military bastions of the revolution. Marcos and the military cannot defeat the revolution through sheer military force or through the militarization of civilian entities and psywar campaigns.

The now open US participation in counterinsurgency has enabled people to discover certain analogies between the present and the situation in the late 1940s and 1950s particularly in the persecution of nationalists like Recto and Laurel. Do you think this is a valid perception?

Yes, it is a valid perception. There are basic similarities. Aside from using the Marcos fascist gang in a vicious armed counterrevolution, the US is trying to use the most reactionary elements in business, professional, academic, civic and religious circles to vilify anti-imperialists.

There are relatively good Jesuits and there are bad Jesuits. A handful of the latter are again active in vicious anticommunist campaigns. There are also some Opus Dei elements who seek to vilify anti-imperialists. There is rivalry between the Jesuits and the Opus Dei within and outside the Church; but the most reactionary elements among both of them are united in their rabid anticommunism even if it means prolonging the tyranny of the fascists by exploiting the reactionary fear of the future (for which they put up a communist bogey of their own making) and disdain for the masses among the upper classes of big compradors and landlords.

There is, however, a big difference between now and the time of Recto and Laurel. The proletarian revolutionary party is much stronger now; has a rapidly growing people's army; and engages in a broad united front along the national democratic line. The broad masses of the people, especially the workers and the peasants and the intelligentsia, have a far higher level of consciousness, organization and militancy, thanks to the persevering work of proletarian revolutionaries since the 1960s.

Progressive liberals and advocates of all-round independence from US imperialism are flourishing under conditions where proletarian revolutionaries are also thriving through revolutionary struggle. Recto's successors—Tañada, Diokno, Lichauco, Constantino—are true nationalist representatives of the Middle and have more abundant support and larger audience than ever before.

On US Moves re Elections and Counterinsurgency

All anti-imperialists—be they progressive liberals or proletarian revolutionaries—are rapidly gaining in strength. It is by uniting with proletarian revolutionaries that progressive liberals become a potent force for the attainment of national freedom and democracy in the resurgent Philippine revolution.

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Tasks of the Trade Union Movement: Keynote Address to the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) National Congress

May 1, 1985

I wish to greet the Filipino workers and express my solidarity with them as they join the international proletariat in celebrating International Workers' Day. In spirit, I join them in their marches and rallies together with the rest of the people in the national capital region and all over the country.

We raise high the red banner of the international proletariat, reaffirm the historic mission of the working class in the liberation of the people from imperialism and all reaction and renew our determination to carry the revolutionary struggle forward.

We resolve anew to further strengthen the broad national unity of the working class with the rest of the people in the fight against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and in striving for the total victory of the national democratic revolution against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

It is not the Marcos dictatorship alone but the entire semicolonial and semifeudal system that is dying. The fascist counterrevolution has failed to quell the revolutionary mass movement; it has, in fact, succeeded in causing this to grow rapidly.

The anti-industrial and pseudodevelopment policy adopted by the US imperialists to prop up the tyranny has only served to aggravate and deepen the agrarian character of the economy; and plunge it irretrievably into the foreign debt trap.

Every IMF-World Bank "economic recovery" measure imposed by the imperialists and fascists spells further loss of economic sovereignty and further intensification of the exploitation of the working class and the entire people. The rapacity of the imperialists and the fascists knows no bounds.

Millions of workers have been laid off. Those who hold on to their jobs are forced to receive starvation wages and are in constant danger of being laid off. The prices of basic commodities keep on soaring

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rapidly. The peso has been repeatedly and drastically devalued and depreciated. The preindustrial import-dependent economy is in a deep state of depression.

The urban unemployed as well as bankrupted entrepreneurs are being urged by imperialist and reactionary propaganda to turn to agriculture, notwithstanding the fact that the economy is in shambles precisely because it has been mainly dependent on agricultural export crops whose prices are constantly depressed in the world capitalist market. Even staple crop production is adversely affected because it has been made dependent on imported inputs for which foreign exchange is in short supply.

A great number of urban workers who have been laid off are indeed going back to the countryside to avoid starvation in the cities. Many of them find their way to the revolutionary armed struggle and reinforce the worker-peasant alliance and the proletarian leadership.

Workers who manage to eke out a living in the cities are participating militantly in the rapidly growing trade union and strike movement as well as in the broad legal democratic movement. The most advanced members of the working class are finding their way into the revolutionary underground and the party of the proletariat.

With the intensification of social unrest, the fascist dictatorship has become increasingly vicious and violent. Under the prodding of the US imperialists, it is escalating campaigns of terror against the working class and the entire people. The US imperialists continue to provide their puppets all the means—military and otherwise—with which to trample on the national sovereignty and all democratic rights of the people.

The more the US imperialists tout the fascist dictatorship as an improving “democracy,” the more are the workers deprived of their basic trade union and other democratic rights; and the more are they made to suffer all kinds of atrocities and abuses—including the brutal dispersal of strikes, murders on and off picket lines, kidnapping, illegal detention, arbitrary dismissals and union busting.

But the workers have not been cowed. They are ever more determined to expand and intensify the trade union and strike movement; and in joining the rest of the people in the broad democratic mass movement, which is a united front of all patriotic and progressive forces.

Genuine and militant anti-imperialist trade unionism is developing vigorously. Economic struggles easily become political struggles against the fascist dictatorship and its imperialist master, especially because of the wanton use of counterrevolutionary violence on the workers.

Right now, the working class movement is in the forefront—developing general strikes and nationwide people's strikes. These strikes will certainly hasten the dismantling of the fascist dictatorship and the end of the unjust social system.

The day will come when the forces of the national democratic movement in the urban centers will conjoin with those in the rural areas in the strategic offensive to wipe out the final strongholds of counter-revolution and win total victory.

The only solution to the ever worsening political and economic crisis of the ruling system is the revolutionary struggle and victory of the Filipino people under the leadership of the proletariat through a correct revolutionary party.

Unite to overthrow the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos clique!

Carry forward the struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Long live the Filipino working class!

Long live the Filipino people!

Long live the working class and all peoples of the world!

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The People's Alternative towards National Freedom and Democracy³¹

May 27 to 31, 1985

I am exceedingly glad to be able to participate in this forum on the people's alternative towards national freedom and democracy, notwithstanding the fact that I am under maximum security conditions of detention by the fascist dictatorship.

It is certainly gratifying that you have provided me with an excellent opportunity to assert and exercise my freedom to address a highly intelligent audience that is committed to the people's struggle for national freedom and democracy, and is determined to promote this struggle with such mighty weapon as the pen.

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

The People's Alternative: The National Democratic Program

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

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

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

³¹ Paper prepared for the Forum on the People's Alternative Towards National Freedom and Democracy during the 20th National Student Press Congress and 45th Annual Convention of the College Editors' Guild of the Philippines, Jaro, Iloilo City, May 27 to 31, 1985.-Editor

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Philippine society is in constant crisis, afflicted as it is by three grave illnesses: foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. This sick society had definitely reached its terminal stage when out of these grave illnesses a fascist dictatorship grew as a desperate attempt of the ruling system to suppress the people's irrepressible demand for national freedom and democracy.

A new type of national democratic revolution is rapidly growing in strength and advancing. A nascent Philippine proletariat through its party is leading the people in this revolution under historical conditions of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

By people, we mean the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. They are rising against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique and, in the process, accumulating the strength with which to defeat US imperialism and the joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

The Democratic Coalition Government and the New Democratic Republic

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

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

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

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

The most important democratic advance will be the elimination, in principle and in fact, of the US imperialists and the local reactionary

classes' prerogative to oppress and exploit the people in the supposed pursuit of individual rights in the abstract.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Genuine Land Reform and National Industrialization

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

The key to the growing success of the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the people's army, in the countryside and the entire country, is the integration of land reform with armed struggle and

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mass base building. At present, the armed revolutionaries are in the main engaged in the reduction of land rent, controlling interest rates, arranging fair prices and other related measures.

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

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

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

The dependence of the Philippine economy on the production of raw materials for unequal exchange with finished products from abroad will be terminated. Enterprises which have been creating the illusion of industrialization by repacking or assembling basically finished components from abroad, either for the domestic market or for reexport, will give way to light industry integral to and bridging local agriculture and heavy industry.

The US and other transnational corporations and banks will cease dictating Philippine economic policy through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Their extraordinary privileges in the extraction of superprofits and usurious interest rates will be ended.

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

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

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

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

A National, Scientific and Mass Culture

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

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

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

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

The scientific outlook and method will be propagated. The Filipino intelligentsia and the people will be imbued with the scientific spirit and attitude and will thereby take advantage of the advances in the

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natural and social sciences throughout the world. The most useful will be adopted and applied concretely in the development of the country.

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

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

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

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

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

An Independent Foreign Policy

The new democratic republic will pursue an independent foreign policy. It will enhance its national sovereignty and all-round development by its external relations. It will develop such relations on the basis of independence, equality, mutual respect, mutual benefit and non-interference.

It will oppose domination, interference, intervention and aggression by imperialism or any other foreign entity. It will refuse to be involved in the selfish, narrow rivalries and quarrels of superpowers or other countries. It will not allow one superpower to use its rivalry or contradiction with another as excuse for violating Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The People's Alternative Towards National Freedom and Democracy

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

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

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

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

The US, despite its record of oppressing and exploiting the Philippines as a colony and then as a semicolony, can be allowed to maintain normal trade and diplomatic relations with the new Democratic Republic of the Philippines after having been made to give up its imperialist privileges.

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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Cracks in the Armed Forces of the Philippines

June 1985

The vigorous rise of the armed revolutionary movement, the undeniable infamy of the US-backed Marcos regime and the ever worsening economic crisis are exacting a heavy toll on the Armed Forces of the Philippines. The AFP is cracking and splitting up into three parts.

One part is pro-US and pro-Marcos. Another is pro-US but anti-Marcos. The third sides with the people and is reported to have some links with the National Democratic Front.

The pro-US and pro-Marcos group is still dominant due to the prolonged fascist rule of Mr. Marcos in favor of US monopoly capitalist interests. But this group is now divided into the Ver (former chief of staff General Fabian C. Ver) faction and the Ramos (acting chief of staff General Fidel V. Ramos) faction.

The Ver faction is entrenched in the Philippine Army and Philippine Air Force intelligence agencies and the Regional Unified Commands (the warlords); and desires the return of General Fabian C. Ver as AFP Chief of Staff or his replacement by Major General Josephus Q. Ramas, Philippine Army commanding general.

The Ramos faction is based in the PC-INP, enjoys the support of many Philippine Military Academy graduates and has the blessings of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. This faction wants General Ramos permanently installed as AFP Chief of Staff and its rivals in the pro-Ver faction (especially from among the overstaying generals) eased out.

Minister Enrile and General Ramos are encouraging and sponsoring the reform movement which is headed by officers personally close to them. This movement has been exposing the shenanigans of what it considers the pro-Ver scalawags and has denounced the involvement of military personnel in the Aquino assassination for bringing shame to the entire military.

The pro-Ver faction retaliates through its mouthpieces by accusing General Ramos and the PC-INP of being responsible for the atrocities against the people in the counterinsurgency campaign and for the

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spread of corruption of PC commands. Pro-Ver officers rhetorically ask: Can General Ramos be "Mr. Clean"?

Even while the Ramos and Ver factions are wrangling and trying to outmaneuver each other, operatives of the US Central Intelligence Agency based in the US Embassy (Manila station) and Clark Air Field (Regional Office for Southeast Asia) and those of the Defense Intelligence Agency in the RP-US Mutual Defense Board and the JUSMAG are quietly cultivating the pro-US but anti-Marcos group of AFP officers.

This group has become disaffected as a result of the Aquino assassination and certain other assassinations in connection with it (e.g., General Aquirre); misallocation of resources, favoritism and nepotism; wanton corruption in the military services and the entire regime; and the bungling of the anticommunist and counterinsurgency campaign by the two Marcos loyalist factions of Generals Ver and Ramos.

This group has a perspective beyond immediate concerns. Principal elements of this group are convinced that Marcos will hold on to the presidency beyond 1987 by sheer fraud and terrorism. They are apprehensive that the people will no longer tolerate another six years of Marcos misrule and that the armed revolutionary movement will reach the strategic stalemate or even the strategic offensive within that period.

This group therefore agrees with its secret US prompters that the AFP must head off in 1988 or thereabout the advances of the New People's Army and the popular demand for the withdrawal of US Military bases (before the termination of the military bases agreement in 1991).

The pro-US but anti-Marcos group of military officers are inclined to launch a military coup one or two years after 1987 and, depending on the conditions, put into power either a military or a civilian-military junta; or pave the way for an electoral contest of civilian parties. There is yet no serious split regarding these options.

The principal elements of this group are confident about giving Marcos enough rope with which to hang himself. Taking cue from their US mentors, they say among themselves that Marcos is worth only a "minor operation" in CIA parlance.

A major CIA operation to topple a chief of state used to cost at least \$6 million. But elements of the pro-US but anti-Marcos group claim one million US dollars would be enough to topple Marcos. Asked how they arrived at the figure, they say that \$100,000 operational fund for

each of some ten battalion or company commanders would be enough to finish Marcos off or to put him into protective custody.

They calculate that the situation would automatically be under their control as soon as Marcos is arrested and made to sign away his emergency powers, citing examples of dictators finally signing away their powers to military captors.

The third group which is presumably linked to the National Democratic Front has been very secretive about the identities of its leaders and members. The public know of them through statements they have issued with more frequency since the Aquino assassination. These statements attack what they call the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique in fundamental national democratic terms and only indicate in general their positions within the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

These patriotic and progressive elements in the AFP are by all indications still a very modest group but they are potent and influential, especially because they have anchored themselves on the fundamental national and democratic interests of the Filipino people. Their importance and number are likely to grow as the armed revolutionary movement rises and the crisis of the ruling system continues to worsen.

The existence of an NDF-related group within the AFP had been indirectly acknowledged by no less than Defense Minister Enrile when he insisted that the reformist movement is not linked to the NDF but intended to seize the initiative from it. Both Enrile and Ramos insist that their reformist movement is not intended to attack Ver and block his return to the position as AFP chief of staff but to seek the improvement of the AFP.

Like the military machine of any regime in danger of collapsing, the AFP is rent by competing loyalist cliques, conservative intrasystem opponents and progressive elements who are influenced and conscientized by progressive relatives and friends and people outside the military service.

Marcos' throne rests precariously on an armed forces that has started to split up. His loyalist forces are divided into factions trying to outmaneuver each other. The pro-US and anti-Marcos progressive elements are gaining enough strength to become a valuable factor in the revolutionary movement.

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On the Casey Visit, US Pressures and Synchronized Elections³²

June 3, 1985

Victor Soriano of *Philippine News and Features* interviewed Sison through the good offices of legal intermediaries.

What is your reading of the Casey visit and the US Senate Resolution setting conditions on US assistance?

The visit of US Central Intelligence Agency chief William Casey and the US Senate Resolution are part of the series of US pressures on the Marcos regime to make tokens of reform for the purpose of stabilizing it and promoting US imperialist interests. These US moves are in pursuance of the National Security Study Directive of the State department in November 1984 and US President Reagan's National Security Directive of January this year.

The CIA chief's mission was to give Marcos a political-military intelligence briefing and serve warning on him that if he does not follow the US recipe for some so-called reforms in the autocracy and the military, the armed revolutionary movement would continue to advance and threaten to finish off the US and local reactionaries in a few years' time.

The US Senate Resolution gives Marcos a strong message that there is a bipartisan consensus of the Republicans and the Democrats on the need for certain tokens of reform and minor shifts of policy. The "conditions" set on US assistance to the Marcos regime are meant to make the US look good even as it continues to prop up an undiminished and fortified fascist dictatorship.

Do these mean that the US is junking or phasing out President Marcos?

Marcos is merely being ordered to apply more cosmetics on his brutal and corrupt autocratic regime. But he is being allowed to appear as resisting US orders so that only the smallest concessions

³² Published in *Philippine News and Features*, Vol. 1, No. 35, June 3, 1985.-Editor

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within the longest possible time until 1987 will be given to his political opponents within the system.

The US has all the leverage to compel Marcos to give up his despotism within a short period. But amidst all the pretenses at so-called democratization, the US is in fact encouraging Marcos to sharpen his knives and escalate his campaigns of terror against the people as well as his political rivals within the system under the shibboleth of anticommunism and counterinsurgency.

The US is allowing Marcos to rig the forthcoming local and presidential elections and to use fraud and terrorism on a wide scale. At the moment, the US and its fascist puppets are planning to humor the legal opposition parties by conceding to them some ten to thirty percent of local seats but to keep the presidency in the hands of Marcos or his surrogates.

The deeper US game plan is to sponsor a coup d'état against Marcos or his surrogate in 1988 or 1989 in order to meet the probability of the people's war reaching the stage of strategic stalemate and to expedite massive US military intervention as well as the extension of the terms of the US military bases beyond 1991.

At present, the struggle within the Armed Forces of the Philippines is conspicuously between the Ver and the Ramos factions which are loyal to both the US and Marcos. But the US is at the same time cultivating a new faction that is pro-US and anti-Marcos. This faction is steadily gaining ground by denouncing the shenanigans of the Marcos loyalists, especially the overstaying generals, and intends to ride on the people's hatred for Marcos.

The US is bent on perpetuating an antinational and antidemocratic system, with or without Marcos, in the style of South Korea, Taiwan and Indonesia. But the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces do not cease to prepare themselves against the worst as they hope for and achieve the best within the shortest possible time.

Can you comment on the bipartisan moves for "synchronization" of elections late this year or early next year?

As a matter of course, the KBL [the ruling New Society Movement party] in the sham legislature goes through the motions of considering the views of the minority as stipulated in the electoral code. But personally, I do not think that there will be synchronized local and

presidential elections this year. What is more likely is that local elections will be held next year.

Talks of synchronized elections this year or early next year are intended to whip up election fever and focus attention on electoral parties, personalities and the false hope of reforms under the auspices of the fascist dictatorship. What the US and its fascist puppets wish to achieve is to isolate the revolutionary mass movement by means of an early and prolonged election fever (long before the actual elections), while trying to destroy the revolutionary forces through an escalation of military campaigns.

But the armed revolutionary movement and the legal democratic mass movement are expanding and intensifying and cannot be led astray by such transparent tricks. The revolutionary forces are not allowing themselves to be isolated by the election fever and eventual elections. Obviously, they are even taking advantage of these in pursuance of higher goals in the revolutionary struggle.

Some quarters claim that there is a polarization within the anti-dictatorship alliance regarding the US and early elections. Could you comment on this?

First, let me point out that there is the overriding polarization between the people and the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique. Then, we can talk about the polarization within the antidictatorship front.

The Right oppositionists who depend on the US and elections in hoping to remove Marcos from power are few and impotent. But the Left and Middle opposition forces which rely on the people in waging all forms of struggle on all fronts are rapidly increasing their strength and effectiveness.

The Right oppositionists take the class stand of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. The Left and Middle opposition forces take the stand of the toiling masses of workers and peasants as well as such middle social strata as the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie respectively.

What would be your advice regarding the polarization in the anti-dictatorship front or rifts within any alliance organization?

The most stable and reliable basis for the national united front is the alliance of the working class and the peasantry who comprise at least

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90 percent of our people. This alliance is easily broadened by further alliance with such middle social strata as the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle or national bourgeoisie.

In dealing with those sections of the reactionary classes which oppose the Marcos clique but depend on the US and elections, the point is to take advantage of the splits within the reactionary classes and to further narrow the target to the fascist ruling clique.

There are several ways of dealing with anti-Marcos reactionaries. One way is to deal with them outside of a formal united front organization and achieve cooperation through ad hoc committees. Another way is to include them in a formal united front organization, but care should be taken that the basic national democratic interests are not sacrificed but in fact advanced.

The broader a united front is, the more there should be independence and initiative of the component organizations. Differences and debates are healthy so long as these are directed towards united action for toppling the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

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Land Reform and the Peasant Movement: Message to the National Founding Congress of Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas

July 24, 1985

I wish to express my most heartfelt greeting to all the representatives of the peasant organizations now assembled here for the founding of the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (Peasant Movement of the Philippines).

The formation of a national peasant alliance is the welcome fruit of indefatigable efforts to uphold, defend and promote the democratic rights and interests of the Filipino peasantry in the face of worsening feudal and semifeudal exploitation, imperialist incursions in Philippine agriculture and the brutal campaigns of terror in the countryside.

United in a national alliance, peasant associations can grow stronger and become more effective, can arise where they do not yet exist, and can generate a powerful movement not only to push land reform and uplift the economic conditions of the peasant masses but also to make them the main political force in the struggle for national freedom and democracy.

After all, the peasantry is the majority class in the semicolonial and semifeudal society. The solution of the land problem is the main content of the national democratic revolution. In the course of carrying out that solution, the peasant masses emerge as the backbone not only of the economy but also of democracy.

Aside from adopting an organizational framework satisfactory to all, the founders of the alliance must arrive at a common understanding of the history and national situation of the peasantry and formulate an economic and political program of action for the peasant movement.

In suppressing the national and democratic rights of the Filipino people, US imperialism has retained domestic feudalism and superimposed on it the requirements of monopoly capitalism. Further on, the fascist dictatorship of the big comprador-landlord clique has grown out of foreign and feudal domination.

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The fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique has deepened the agrarian and semifeudal character and consequently the dependence of the economy on the unequal exchange of local raw materials (mainly agricultural) and of finished products from abroad. The colossal amount of domestic resources extorted from the people and of funds borrowed from abroad have been used to provide superprofits for the multinational firms and banks and feed the greed of the bureaucrat capitalists who are basically big compradors and landlords.

Under a bogus land reform program involving essentially the promotion of the fixed land rent system, and a few negligible land sale contracts between landlords and tenants through the mediation of the Land Bank in rice and corn areas, the land problem has worsened as never before.

The ruling clique has forced the massive transfer of land to its members from landlords out of power, owner-cultivators, the national minorities and the public domain, in general. The few token land transfers to rice and corn tenants now in default of their installment payments because of land overprice, the rising costs of production and deeper indebtedness are nothing in comparison to the land acquired by the Marcoses, Romualdezes, Cojuangcos, Benedictos, Floirendos and so on, as well as the extensive land contracted out to foreign and local agrcorporations.

The monopoly of Philippine agriculture by the US-Marcos ruling clique has been achieved through the bureaucrat capitalist monopoly of political and military power; acquisition or control of the most extensive lands, state and private banking and financing facilities, domestic and foreign trade of all major agricultural products; and the collection of special levies for private manipulation; the use of local and foreign funds for agricultural infrastructure; ownership of major agricultural mills, transport and storage; import and wholesale of agricultural equipment and agricultural chemicals; etc.

The peasants and farm workers have suffered the most from the rapid concentration of landownership in the hands of a few; the unceasing rise of land rent in real terms; scarcity of farm jobs and depressed farm wages; usurious rates of interest from banks and private money-lenders; the downward pressure on the prices of farm products; the skyrocketing of prices of basic consumption goods and agrichemicals and other imported inputs; rising irrigation fees; manipulation of trading

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monopolies and so many kinds of direct and indirect levies imposed by the regime.

Being a mere agrarian adjunct of the world capitalist system, the Philippine economy is forced to submit to the plunder by foreign multinational firms and banks. All kinds of imported supplies related to agricultural infrastructure have inflated prices while Philippine agricultural export prices are depressed well below production cost in the world capitalist market. The deficit in foreign trade and balance of payments keep on rising and the imperialist banks act as the most unconscionable usurers on earth.

All Philippine export crops are in a state of depression. The farm workers in Negros and elsewhere are starving. Even production of food staples has been gravely affected by the scarcity of foreign exchange needed to import agricultural inputs on which production has been made so dependent.

The "miracle rice" program has never really produced any surplus for export. Take into account both the token export and massive import of rice over any relevant number of years. Increases in rice production have not increased the income of peasants but have sunk them deeper into debt because of the ever spiraling prices of imported agricultural inputs.

Agricultural chemicals have also damaged the naturally beneficial properties of the soil; and pesticides in particular have killed off the fish and other sources of protein in streams and irrigation canals; caused the deterioration and death of farm animals; and spawned a new breed of pests immune to chemicals.

The peasantry is suffering not only from the crisis of feudal and semifeudal exploitation but also from vicious acts of fascist terror. Landgrabbers use military, police and paramilitary units to drive peasants off the land under the pretext of counterinsurgency. The fascists are indiscriminately killing peasants, looting and burning their homes wherever peasants rise up to assert their rights and interests.

The gravity of the present stage in the chronic crisis or the approaching death of the ruling system can be clearly seen in the countryside. Because of the rapid concentration of land in the hands of the few, the dispossession of the peasants of their holding (including homesteads and ancestral communal lands and even tenancy rights), massive unemployment of agricultural workers, there is a colossal increase in

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the magnitude of surplus labor in the countryside. But there are no industries to absorb this surplus.

The inevitable result is accelerated expansion and intensification of the people's war combining armed struggle, agrarian revolution and mass base building among the peasant masses. It is not surprising at all that the proletarian revolutionary party, the people's army and the organs of democratic power, the underground peasant associations and other mass organizations are rapidly growing in the countryside.

Under the order of US and US-controlled lending agencies including the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, the fascist dictatorship has been calling on foreign and local corporations to further grab land from the peasant masses. But what crops can now be profitably planted for the glutted world capitalist market; what corporations can invest in the countryside without having to reckon with the preemptive US-Marcos monopoly of Philippine agriculture; and what long-term advance can any agricorporation gain in the face of a rapidly growing armed peasant movement?

The ruling system is dying because it has shunned industrialization as the lead factor in genuine economic development and it can only succeed in inciting the peasant masses to wage armed revolution by further exploiting and oppressing them.

To work truly for the emancipation and social upliftment of the peasant masses, Kilusang Magbubukis ng Pilipinas must arouse, organize and mobilize them for a united struggle against the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique against US imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The peasant masses must be the main force of the national democratic movement led by the proletariat, founded on the basic worker-peasant alliance and including all other patriotic and progressive forces, especially the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie.

There must be a national united front relying mainly on the workers and peasants, winning over the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, and taking advantage of the contradictions within the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class in order to isolate and destroy the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique.

Within the larger context of the national united front is the antifeudal united front led by the proletariat relying mainly on the poor peasant and farm workers, winning over the middle peasants and neutralizing

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the rich peasants and enlightened landlords in order to isolate and destroy the despotic power of evil landlords, most especially fascists.

The membership of peasant associations and alliances must be drawn from poor peasants and farm workers and middle peasants. In patriotic organizations that are broader and reflect the national united front, rich peasants, enlightened landlords and other patriotic elements in the countryside can join the poor peasants, farm workers and middle peasants.

The problem of feudal and semifeudal exploitation cannot be solved in a profound and lasting way without the political struggle and victory of the peasant masses against the fascist regime and against the local tyrants. Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas must use all possible legal means to prevent the people's enemies from using their political and military power to put down the peasant masses.

The key objective of the peasant movement is to achieve genuine land reform—essentially the breakup of feudal land-ownership and the redistribution of land to landless tillers. The monopoly of agricultural land; credit; mills and agricultural equipment; supply of seeds and agricultural chemicals; and domestic and foreign trading must be done away with.

A strong clamor must be raised for the free redistribution of land—all ill-gotten lands in the hands of fascists and local tyrants, regardless of crop; most lands leased to agrcorporations and fake ranches under pasture leases; excess portions of plantations and ranches (relative to market); much of logged over land; and so on.

Tenants must receive their individual share of the land. Union cooperatives of farm workers can take over management of certain portions of plantations. Settlers must be secure in their individual ownership of homesteads. So must be ethnic minorities in their ancestral-communal and individual ownership of land.

Land must be redistributed to every peasant family unjustly evicted from their piece of land. Land for redistribution can be made available by confiscation of land from the fascists, despotic landlords and other landgrabbers; by expropriation from enlightened landlords willing to invest their proceeds in industries; and by simple distribution of excess portions of plantations and ranches to cooperatives of farm workers and other tillers; and again by simple distribution of tillable public lands to old and new settlers and to national minorities.

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The vast majority of land reform beneficiaries will become owners of their share of land. But to achieve economies of scale, production and other types of cooperatives must be developed. And each stage of cooperation can be raised to a higher one. Land reform should lead to higher productivity.

The maximum goal of land reform is the distribution of land at no cost to landless tillers. But if this is not yet possible in a comprehensive or big way, because the reactionaries are still powerful, a peasant alliance like Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas must be satisfied for a while with working for the minimum goal of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising farm wages, improvement of prices for farm products paid to the peasants, demanding subsidies directly beneficial to the peasants, lowering prices of agricultural inputs and irrigation fees, and elimination of levies that are ultimately passed on to the peasants.

Wherever possible and depending on the strength of the peasant movement, certain lands owned by fascists and evil landlords can in effect be confiscated; or certain lands can be expropriated at a fair price agreed upon by the landlord and peasants. Certainly, legal work can always be done to guarantee to settlers the ownership of their homesteads and to national minorities of their ancestral-communal and individualized lands.

The peasant associations in the alliance must promote higher production through labor exchange, mutual aid and cooperation. Farming, sideline occupations, such as the production of organic fertilizers, animal husbandry, fishing, forestry, handicrafts, food processing and so on, should also be promoted and encouraged.

Production, credit, marketing and other kinds of cooperatives can be developed in the main line and sideline occupations. Farm and other kinds of wages can be basically settled among the barrio residents under the auspices of the peasant association. Any kind of dispute, which is a contradiction among the people, can be settled through arbitration.

At best, the peasant association must be the main support and promoter of democratic self-government in the barrio. Such a government must function to serve the interests of the peasants and the entire people in the barrio in the spheres of mass organizing, mass education, livelihood, health, arbitration, self-defense and so on.

The peasant association must be a major component of the national democratic movement and the democratic coalition government

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at every level—barrio, municipality, district, provincial, regional and national. The national peasant alliance must see to it that the peasant masses are adequately and competently represented at every level.

Going back to the key question of land reform, I would like to point out that it is a necessary complement to national industrialization; while national industrialization is the leading factor of economic development, land reform and the resultant higher agricultural production are its indispensable basis.

Land reform induces the peasants to raise agricultural production for food and industrial processing and creates a larger domestic market for industries. National industrialization will ensure the supply of consumer and production goods for the peasants, raise the standard of living and their productivity and expand industries in order to absorb the growing labor force in the country, especially in the countryside.

It is therefore absolutely necessary for the KMP to call for national industrialization together with land reform so that the socioeconomic base for an independent, democratic, just prosperous and progressive society can be established.

Land reform and national industrialization are the substantial bonds of the basic worker-peasant alliance and the entire urban petty bourgeois and middle bourgeois alliance.

I hope that KMP will grow in strength and win great victories in mobilizing the peasantry for their own political and economic benefit and for the comprehensive advancement of the struggle for national liberation and democracy.

Long live Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas!

Unite to dismantle the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Fight for the rights and interests of the peasantry!

Push forward a program of genuine land reform!

Long live the national democratic movement!

Long live the Filipino people!





On Soviet Aid and Relations with the Soviet Union³³

Circa September 9, 1985

It is often bruited about as in the recent column of Jesus Bigornia (Bulletin Today, September 9) that you are opposed to the Filipino revolutionary movement having relations with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. What is your comment?

I am a political detainee. My opinion on this matter is as good as yours. The revolutionary forces—the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front—can very well decide what is best for them and for the Filipino people.

There is much talk about possible Soviet support for the Filipino revolutionaries in the US imperialist and local reactionary media only because of the need to justify the rapidly increasing US military support for the fascist regime as well as the most flagrant US military intervention.

Is it necessary for the CPP or the NPA or the NDF to have relations with and get every possible support (especially military assistance) from the Soviet Union and the CPSU?

Even without military assistance from abroad, the Filipino revolutionaries can win their struggle for national liberation and democracy. Practically all the firearms in the hands of the NPA have been seized from the enemy.

The CHDF, police and small detachments of the AFP are ready sources of arms for the guerrillas. Eventually, the NPA will become stronger enough to take on larger enemy units from stage to stage in a people's war conducted in a self-reliant way.

Let the puppet Marcos regime get the arms from the Pentagon. In the course of people's war, Marcos unwittingly becomes the chief transport and supply officer of the New People's Army.

According to the same column of Bigornia, the Mindanao revolutionaries are for getting military assistance from the Soviet Union while

³³ Interview with *Philippine News and Features*.-Editor

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their Luzon counterparts who are supposed to be your faithful followers are against such assistance. Can you comment on this?

I cannot pretend to know what goes on in deliberative bodies of revolutionary organizations. But I can say that the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries have proved to the entire world that they can gain armed strength by seizing arms from the enemy.

I have made modest contributions to the entire national democratic not only in Luzon but also in Mindanao and the Visayas.

Bigornia's sources are making guesses and trying to sow intrigues against the revolutionary movement.

In your estimate, do the CPP/NPA/NDF already have relations or are they about to have relations with the CPSU? Why?

I do not have any factual basis to make any estimate.

To those who think, especially the US imperialists and their Filipino puppets, that it is wrong to have relations with the Soviet Union and the CPSU, I would like to throw a question: Why do they not take the Marcos regime to task for having relations with the Soviet Union?

Moreover, it is the pseudocommunist party headed by Felicísimo Macapagal in behalf of the Lava clique that has close relations with the Soviet Union and this party is in collusion with the Marcos regime against the Filipino people.

On what grounds do you suppose should revolutionary forces in the Philippines have relations with the Soviet Union or the CPSU?

Any government, movement, party or organization abroad can establish fraternal and friendly relations with the revolutionary forces in the Philippines so long as they respect the sovereignty of the Filipino people and deal with their Filipino counterparts on the basis of independence, equality, mutual benefit, mutual respect and noninterference.

If the US-Marcos regime can have good relations with the Soviet Union now, there is no reason why the revolutionary forces cannot look forward to good relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of the above principles.

It is necessary for Filipino revolutionary forces to seek every possible assistance from abroad in order to countervail US domination, interference, intervention and aggression. It is US imperialism which makes proletarian internationalism an urgent necessity.

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Mr. Bigornia says that should the Soviet Union or CPSU give military assistance to Filipino revolutionaries, the people's war would become more protracted. Please comment on this.

It will become less protracted, provided the Filipino revolutionaries can absorb and internalize such foreign assistance.

At best, foreign assistance can only be supplementary. The self-reliant efforts of the Filipino people should render it of marginal weight in the total effort against the armed counterrevolutionaries.

Is there anything more you would like to say?

The US is hellbent on pouring in military support for the fascists. It is out to crush the revolutionary movement and exclude the Left from political institutions and processes in the Philippines.

It is the rabid anticommunist policies of the US and the local reactionaries coupled with all-out military campaigns of suppression that push the Filipino revolutionaries to seek international support for their struggle.

★ ★ ★



Message to the Conference on US Intervention and the Nationalist Response

September 19, 1985

I wish to express my solidarity with the officers and members of the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy on the occasion of their Conference on US Intervention and the Nationalist Response. I share with you a profound interest in the full exposure of the various types and methods of US intervention as well as the reasons for such intervention in our country today. I hope that by this conference you can strengthen the basis for a broad united front of the people against US imperialism and for waging ever more militant struggles against this alien power and its rabid puppets.

There are enough indications that the US would retain the Marcos fascist dictatorship beyond 1987 and that only the flimsiest of concessions will be granted to the anti-Marcos reactionaries in US-Marcos controlled elections. This is because the US continues to regard the anti-Marcos reactionaries as mere reserves for the perpetuation of foreign and feudal domination.

US bridge financing has propped up the ruling clique of fascists since 1983. This year, the US-controlled multilateral agencies (International Monetary Fund and World Bank) and the foreign private banks have granted the regime further financial props in exchange for the surrender of economic sovereignty and intensified exploitation of the people.

Under US dictation, the fascist puppets are increasing the extraordinary privileges of the US multinational corporations, aggravating the agrarian character of the economy, pushing down real income levels of the people, pushing further import trade liberalization, increasing the domestic tax burden and sinking the country deeper into foreign indebtedness. There can be no economic recovery but only further misery under the US monopolies and the fascist big comprador monopolies.

Despite pretenses at conforming with certain reformist demands, the US has finally approved for 1986 and 1987 the bilateral economic

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and military assistance in connection with the US military bases, with no conditions whatsoever that would drastically improve the political chances of the anti-Marcos reactionaries.

The fascist dictatorship remains undiminished to do the bidding of US imperialism. The overriding political concern of the US-Marcos tandem is to launch brutal campaigns against the people and their revolutionary movement as well as to make the legal opposition grovel for the flimsiest of concessions in exchange for the further entrenchment not only of US dominance but also of the fascist dictatorship.

The US imperialists are now of the belief that they have achieved success with the ruling clique of fascists in mollifying the people's outrage over the Aquino assassination and all other barbarities as well as in canalizing such outrage toward electoral exercises completely controlled by the US-Marcos regime.

The US scheme is to use the fascists in a vicious campaign of terror against the people, especially the toiling masses, and to extend the life of the US military bases beyond 1991.

If Marcos or his surrogate retains the presidency, of course through fraud and terror, the US will give him all-out military support to attack and seek the total destruction of the revolutionary movement of the people. At the same time, the life of the US military bases will be extended by an agreement made a few years before 1991.

If Marcos or his surrogate succeeds in crushing the armed revolution, he will be rewarded with the completion of his term beyond 1987. If the armed revolution continues to rapidly grow in strength it will be able to launch tactical offensives in more than half of Philippine municipalities and cities within the latter half of the decade, and the strategic stalemate shall have begun.

The US has begun to introduce special operations forces and build up facilities in the Philippines in preparation for all-out US military support for the Marcos fascist gang and for direct US participation in military campaigns against the people.

The current increase of military advisers under the pretext of assisting Philippine puppet troops in the operation and maintenance of US-supplied weapons is comparable to US military intervention in Vietnam in the early 1960s or in Central America today.

The yearly joint military exercises of US and Philippine puppet troops have a clear sabre-rattling orientation against the Filipino people and have been used as a method for leaving and passing on

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military equipment to the Armed Forces of the Philippines beyond the level of US military assistance approved by the US Congress.

Of course, the US military bases are always ready channels for weapons delivery and training services to the AFP.

The Filipino people must be farsighted enough to anticipate a US war of aggression before the end of the decade or early part of the next decade. US military strategists think that they can no longer win a war on the Asian mainland but that they still can in the Philippine archipelago.

It is good to prepare against the worst and hope for the best even as we need to act according to the current circumstances. Foresight and deep analytical thinking is necessary so that the people will know exactly how to frustrate every increased level of US intervention in our country. We must also actively seek the support of the American people and other peoples of the world in frustrating US intervention.

It is sad to note that some anti-Marcos elements have the illusion that with the support of the US they can remove the Marcos puppet clique from power in or before 1987 solely through electoral exercises controlled by the fascist dictatorship and the US.

Funds are being given to some anti-Marcos reactionaries by the US Central Intelligence Agency and the National Endowment for Democracy, Asia Foundation and other subversive US entities in order to spread anticommunist hysteria and attack the Left and the middle forces who take the line of fighting for national sovereignty and democracy.

These US funds are chicken feed, if not chicken shit, when compared to the far larger funds and other kinds of support received by the Marcos ruling clique from the US. By taking an antinational and antidemocratic line under the guise of anticommunism, these pro-US but anti-Marcos reactionaries are undermining their own position and rendering special service to the US-Marcos combine.

They seem to forget that anticommunism has been the convenient tool of the US and the Marcos clique in attacking the entire range of the antifascist opposition—the forces of the Left, the Middle and the anti-Marcos Right. Aquino was called a communist yet his murderers in power continue to claim that he was killed by the communists.

The Bishops-Businessmen Conference has been used recently by the Asia Foundation to adopt and “sanctify” a “socio-political survey” which turned out to be a rigged (faulty framework and methods,

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including bad sampling and leading questions) propaganda coup for Marcos and the KBL.

The institutional church and its high clergy are also being cajoled to engage in rabid anticommunist propaganda and take part in the so-called counterinsurgency campaign in exchange for US supplies of food for the victims of the economic crisis and military depredations. The Opus Dei and some Jesuits are concentrating on pro-imperialist and anticommunist propaganda with US funding.

The US is trying to create an anticommunist alliance between the fascist dictatorship and the anti-Marcos Right in seeking to destroy the armed revolution and preserve the oppressive and exploitative semicolonial and semifeudal system. This is an unrealizable scheme.

The now obvious total whitewash of the Aquino assassination and what can be anticipated as electoral fraud and terrorism in forthcoming elections will scandalize and anger even the most naive and timid among the anti-Marcos Right. The violent contradictions within the reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords will increasingly flare up.

The inability of the ruling classes to rule in the old way has been clearly proven by the emergence of a full-blown fascist dictatorship in 1972. Since then, the crisis of the ruling system has worsened to the extent that we can now foresee the death of that system.

The victory of the national democratic revolution is inevitable not only because its integral forces—based on the toiling masses and the middle strata—are rapidly growing in strength but also because the contending cliques of the reactionaries are hopelessly split.

The best move that the US can make is to lay off and allow a broad alliance of the Left, the Middle and the anti-Marcos Right to remove the ultra-Right Marcos regime from power. But this cannot be expected of the US as it maintains an extremely counterrevolutionary policy towards the Philippines.

The inability of the US to discard the Marcos fascist gang soon enough signifies not only a defect in perception and analysis but an increasingly untenable and desperate imperialist position in Philippine and in world affairs. US imperialist power continues on a course of general decline although it continues to have some relative strength in the Philippines.

The US finds it convenient to retain the fascist dictatorship. It distrusts a considerable number of anti-Marcos reactionaries and

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the spokesmen of the middle social strata who voice out in their own way some of the major demands of the nation and the people. And it is mortally afraid of the revolutionary movement of the workers, the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

Before the US can discard the Marcos fascist gang, the revolutionary movement shall have become several times stronger than it is now. By their own counterrevolutionary violence and rapacity, both the US and its puppet clique will continue to incite the people to wage an even fiercer armed revolution.

Long live the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy!

Unite to expose and oppose US intervention!

Down with US imperialism and the fascist dictatorship!

Long live the Filipino people!

Victory to the national democratic movement!

★ ★ ★



In Solidarity with the September 21 Mass Protest Actions

September 21, 1985

In the newspeak of the fascist regime of the US-Marcos clique, September 21 is a day of thanksgiving. But this has always been a day of sorrow since 1972, when the US-Marcos clique went all out to establish a fascist dictatorship and suppress the national and democratic rights of the Filipino people by counterrevolutionary violence.

For thirteen long years, an autocracy (concentration on one person of supreme and unlimited executive, legislative and judicial power) representing in the most brutal and corrupt manner the reactionary interests of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism has reigned in the country and aggravated the crisis of the ruling system to the point that the armed revolutionary movement of the people has expanded and intensified on a nationwide scale.

Only ten days ago, the fascist dictatorship made one more ritual call for national reconciliation. But the very text of Marcos' speech betrayed a complete lack of good faith. After countless kidnappings, murders, massacres and other barbarities; after robbing the entire people of their rights and of their social wealth; after mortgaging the nation away to foreign creditors, the puppet autocrat offered his sham call for reconciliation with no token whatsoever of his earnestness.

Instead, he demanded that the people and all his opponents capitulate to his sovereign majesty and join him in his anticommunist hysteria. As always, he vowed to continue reigning and eliminating democratic forces under the pretext of anticommunism and counter-insurgency. Like a trickster, he even displayed some burnt out AFP penetration agents and coerced villagers as "NPA surrenderees."

The sham call for national reconciliation is immediately aimed at trapping the legal opposition into condoning or endorsing the total whitewash of the Aquino assassination and the commission of fraud and terror in the forthcoming elections. The long-term objective is to castrate the legal opposition and render it inutile and effete against the continuation of the fascist dictatorship beyond 1987.

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The correct response to every sham call for reconciliation by the fascist puppet dictatorship is to strengthen the revolutionary unity of the broad masses of the people and to intensify all forms of revolutionary struggle along the general line of fighting for national independence and democracy.

In view of the unceasing antipeople rampage of the fascists and the renewed threats being made by the fascist dictator himself, the revolutionaries have no choice but to expand and intensify the armed struggle. The legal democratic forces are alerted to continue their militant mass struggles and prepare to defend themselves against more bloody onslaughts.

The current acts and actuations of the fascist regime are driving more and more people to join the revolutionary armed struggle. The regime is as arrogant as it is conspicuously rotten to the core. The confidence of the people in prevailing in the end over this tyranny is derived from the rapid worsening of the insoluble crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system and from the ever accelerating growth in strength of the proletarian party, the people's army and the national united front.

Unite to dismantle the fascist dictatorial regime of the US-Marcos clique!

Forward with the national democratic revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

★ ★ ★

Draft Program of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines

September 23, 1985

Note from the Author: *In 1983, I read in prison for the first time the so-called New Katipunan Draft Program of the National Democratic Front which had been drafted in 1981 and circulated since then among the revolutionary forces and people. Mindful that the NDF is the revolutionary united front of the basic revolutionary forces of the working class, peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, with an openness to the national bourgeoisie, I objected to such revisionist notions as taking out any reference to the leadership of the working class, deviating from the line of new democratic revolution and recycling the old democratic revolution supposedly to attract the forces of the national bourgeoisie and even the anti-Marcos reactionaries to formally join the fold of the NDF. I wrote a counterdraft immediately in 1983 to uphold the line of new democratic revolution in the NDF. My counterdraft became the basis of a new draft in 1985. This was made and issued by representatives of the forces within the NDF. The text is herein published in full.*

I. People's War and the National Democratic Front

For more than four and a half centuries, the people of the Philippine islands have been fighting against foreign invasion and domination. From Lapu-Lapu to Dagohoy and Sultan Kudarat, from Diego and Gabriela Silang to Andres Bonifacio and the *Katipunan*, and from Macario Sakay to the present revolutionary guerrillas in our plains and mountains, our history has been one long and difficult struggle for communal and individual liberty, social emancipation, and national independence. The most glorious pages of our history were in fact written in those periods when the most oppressed among our people took up arms and rose in rebellion to defend themselves against the violence of foreign oppressors and their local lackeys and collaborators.

Ours is a history with a heroic tradition of revolutionary armed struggle we are justly proud of. Our forebears launched hundreds of armed

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uprisings and rebellions in self-defense, and to cast off the Spanish colonial yoke. Filipinos fought and won the first revolutionary people's war to dismantle European colonialism in our part of Asia. For almost four years, we successfully carried out guerrilla warfare against Japanese invaders during World War II. And for a whole decade at the turn of the century, heroically and at great sacrifice, our people waged a war of national liberation against American imperialist troops to defend the first but short-lived democratic republic in the East.

This history is not dead and past: our tradition of armed struggle and resistance in defense of the Motherland and to regain our freedom and independence is still very much alive today. It is alive for one obvious reason: a foreign master—US imperialism—still dominates the Philippines; and its local big and small collaborators and puppet tyrants—at present led by the dictator Ferdinand Marcos—are still actively sowing evil in our country, helping to perpetuate foreign domination and intensifying the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people.

Under the sponsorship of US imperialism, the Marcos clique imposed fascist martial rule in September 1972 amid the worsening political and economic crisis of the semicolonial, semifeudal system long dominated by foreign interests and their comprador allies, by big landlords and bureaucrat capitalists.

Through naked armed force and open terror, the US-backed Marcos dictatorship has monopolized state power for over a decade. Since it imposed martial law and abolished or corrupted all semblance of republican democratic processes, the dictatorship has aggravated the basic problems of semicolonial and semifeudal Philippine society, causing untold suffering among our people. US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, the three basic problems that continue to plague our society, have become far more oppressive and exploitative through the dictatorship, which in this period functions as the favored governmental form and the “crisis management team” of the reactionary ruling classes.

Massacres of innocent farmers and workers, hamletting, arbitrary arrests and searches, indefinite detention of dissenters, torture, “salvaging” or liquidation of suspected subversives and sympathizers, violent dispersal of protest assemblies seeking to air legitimate grievances, forcible relocation of urban poor residents and ethnic minorities, monopolization and manipulation of the established mass media, the suppression of truth and dissemination of falsehood, and a thousand

and one other violations of basic human and civil rights—this situation has been our common plight under the dictatorship.

Unbridled inflation, rising unemployment and underemployment, scarcity of prime commodities, grinding poverty, financial bankruptcies, capital flight, mounting foreign trade deficits, and a gargantuan foreign debt that has mortgaged the entire nation for the next two generations, are the economic burdens that have been heaped on the Filipino people by the US-Marcos dictatorship.

Similar to the execution of Jose Rizal and its political impact on society towards the end of the last century, the cold-blooded murder by the dictatorship in August 1983 of opposition leader Sen. Benigno Aquino Jr., sparked a re-awakening among people of all classes and sectors in Philippine society. The assassination underscored the thousands of political murders the dictatorship has been perpetrating for over a decade, and served to focus national and international attention on the complete bankruptcy of the US-Marcos regime.

Since the latter months of 1983, tens of thousands from the middle classes and sectors of society, and even including significant numbers from the anti-fascist circles of the elite, have joined millions of toiling people and militant students in unprecedentedly huge street demonstrations and other forms of protest assemblies, all calling for the immediate removal of the US-backed fascist dictatorship.

The overwhelming majority of our people have awakened and are demanding an end to the hated dictatorship. The basic causes of our problem have been exposed and clarified through the terrible crises and the heartening mass protest actions during the past decade, especially in the last one and a half years. The determination to rise up as a united people, and the spirit of struggle and sacrifice for the common good, have reached a very high pitch among the people. Furthermore, the principles and bases of popular unity have been understood and accepted by almost all: an end to dictatorship and foreign domination, recovery of national sovereignty, unhampered national economic development, and genuine democracy and social justice for all classes and ethnic groups in the Philippines.

Yet, many Filipinos are still searching for an answer to the crucial question: exactly *how* do we overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship and build a new Philippines?

The National Democratic Front (NDF), since its establishment in April 1977, has consistently maintained that the correct answer to this

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question is found in our history, particularly in our heroic tradition of armed struggle to oppose foreign domination and the local tyrants who have aided and abetted this domination. Thus, the NDF has sought untiringly to unite, develop and coordinate all possible parties, groups and individuals, including their armed contingents, for greater participation in the ongoing people's war to overthrow the US-backed Marcos dictatorship and attain genuine democracy and national liberation.

The NDF is made up of Filipino nationalists, democrats, progressive christian and church people, national minority autonomists, women's emancipationists, socialists, communists, and other genuine patriots here and abroad, representing a wide variety of political and ideological trends. Membership in the NDF is voluntary, and no single political party or group will be allowed to dominate the organization or monopolize the decision-making processes in its leading and subordinate bodies.

The NDF has emerged as the most developed organizational expression to date of the revolutionary united front. It provides a framework and channel for the unity and coordination of all groups and individuals adhering to, and advancing, the general line of fighting for national liberation and genuine democracy. It wages armed struggle—specifically, a people's war—as the principal form of struggle at this stage of the Philippine revolution, but it also recognizes the importance of other forms of struggle, and in fact combines and coordinates the armed struggle with all types of clandestine and open, non-legal and legal struggles.

The NDF has established basic organizational structures on the international, national, regional, provincial, city, town, and barrio levels. It is persevering to multiply these structures and further broaden their membership and scope.

The NDF has studied well and taken to heart the essential lessons of the Filipino people's revolutionary history, and continually sums up current revolutionary practice. It also draws lessons and inspiration from the brilliant revolutionary achievements of the peoples of other countries, especially those of the Third World.

Amidst the continuing revolutionary ferment in our society, the united front of the Philippine proletariat, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie is developing rapidly. The NDF, apace with the entire national democratic revolution, is in an exceedingly favorable situation to step up its expansion and consolidation. It

continuously enhances its indispensable role in advancing the people's war from one stage to the next until total, nationwide victory is won and a new Philippine republic with a democratic coalition government is established.

II. The General Program of the NDF

The general program consists of the NDF's long-term tasks. These remain valid and binding on all members of the united front for the entire course of the national democratic revolution and provide the strategic guidance and direction for the implementation of the immediate tasks.

1. Unite the Filipino people to overthrow the tyrannical rule of US imperialism and the local reactionaries.

The central aim of uniting the Filipino people is to complete and win total victory in the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and genuine democracy.

The broadest and strongest possible unity of the people is necessary because the enemy we confront and seek to defeat—the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship—is still strong, and it rules by armed force. Only the power of a united people, using revolutionary armed force, can successfully overthrow it.

The broadest and strongest unity of the people is attained by painstakingly building the national united front. The prospects for this are very favorable because the dictatorship has become more and more isolated due to its countless crimes against the people. All sectors of society are oppressed by the dictatorship and are thus open to joining together in a common effort to rid Philippine society of this hated regime.

The workers, the poor and middle peasants, and the lower stratum of the urban petty bourgeoisie make up the main forces of the national united front. Comprising the overwhelming majority of the people, they are the most exploited and oppressed and are thus the most desirous of revolutionary change.

The rich peasants, the upper stratum of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie—small and middle property owners, traders and professionals, small and middle businessmen, and most

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of the intelligentsia—are also stifled and oppressed by the dictatorship. Together with the toiling masses and the lower petty bourgeoisie, they are significant forces willing to join in the common struggle to overthrow the dictatorship.

The establishment of the dictatorship and the political and economic crises it has spawned have also seriously afflicted some sections of the privilege classes—the big capitalists and big landlords. They currently espouse certain democratic aspirations of the people, and they participate in the people's struggles in various ways and in varying degrees. The number of government officials and military officers and men who have become demoralized and discontented with the regime's political and moral bankruptcy, is also increasing daily. They may be drawn into various types of alliances at certain times and to a certain extent, provided this strengthens the main forces of the united front and contributes to the defeat of the ruling clique.

The National Democratic Front serves as the organizational framework and channel for unity, cooperation and coordination of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces including overseas Filipinos. Even as a number of patriotic and democratic forces, groups and personages may not yet be ready to integrate into the NDF, we unite with them and encourage their initiative in fighting the Marcos regime and its imperialist backers.

In the common struggle against the US-Marcos dictatorship, and in the process of working together to build the united front, the various classes, sectors, organizations and individuals discover the common roots of their separate grievances. Through increasing cooperation and coordination, they also develop the necessary trust and working unity essential for establishing the democratic coalition government.

2. Wage a people's war to win total, nationwide victory.

The struggle for national liberation and genuine democracy faces an enemy that is armed, well-entrenched and powerful. Thus, the Filipino people can defeat this enemy only by waging a people's war. The strategy of people's war entails the total mobilization of the entire people for armed struggle, open mass struggles, rural and urban uprisings, and other forms of unarmed and armed combat to destroy by stages the military and political capability of the dictatorship.

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Armed struggle is the primary form of struggle we must wage. It is only by building their own armed strength through revolutionary armed struggle that the people can effectively assert their sovereignty, independence and democratic rights. This is starkly clear, especially in the face of the fascist dictatorship.

By waging armed struggle, the people can frustrate the enemy's attacks and preserve their gains, build a genuine people's army and smash the coercive instruments of the reactionary state.

While being the most decisive, armed struggle must be combined with various effective forms of legal struggle. Open mass struggles, such as rallies, marches and demonstrations, strikes and pickets, petitions and delegations, serve to advance the people's economic and democratic demands, temper the people, and further educate them politically and prepare them organizationally for higher forms of mass struggle. These forms of struggle also effectively isolate the fascist ruling clique and its military establishment locally and internationally, thus weakening the dictatorship's political position and helping prepare the ground for further advances by the people's armed forces. The armed struggle, in turn, inspires and creates conditions for more open mass actions, until finally aspects of these two forms of struggle effectively combine in rural and urban uprisings, in mass confrontations and raids on the regime's personnel and agencies in which fighting with arms breaks out and in region-wide and nationwide workers' general strikes and people's strikes.

Under certain conditions, engaging in parliamentary exercises within the ruling system can also achieve certain democratic gains for the people and contribute to the advance of people's war. We can also take advantage of such exercises to conduct widespread political education and expand the people's organizations, thus creating favorable conditions for the armed struggle and the open revolutionary mass movement. Moreover, the people's victories in these exercises serve to further loosen the ruling clique's hold on parts of the state machinery.

We can also conduct political work within the regime's bureaucracy and military machinery (i.e., among government officials and military officers and personnel) to divide and neutralize agencies and sections of the enemy camp. We seek to win over as many of them as possible to the side of the people through various forms of cooperation, including providing support and by open defection.

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For a long period, the armed struggle is mainly waged in the countryside. It is here where the enemy's political power is weakest and the ground more suited to developing guerrilla and regular units of the people's armed forces. While wearing down the enemy's effective armed strength, the armed struggle in the countryside serves to build the people's political power—the seeds of the coalition government in the localities.

In the cities, effective forms of legal struggle and partisan operations render direct and indirect support to the armed struggle in the countryside by disrupting, and therefore weakening, the nerve center of the enemy's political-military apparatus. While gradually decimating the latter's strength, the legal struggle and armed partisan activity prepare the people politically and militarily for widespread uprisings and insurrections, thus mobilizing them for direct participation in the people's war.

We continuously build the people's armed forces in the course of people's war. The New People's Army is currently the main armed force within the NDF. The NDF encourages other political parties, groups and individuals to form their own popular armed forces, either within the framework of the NPA or as separate entities. Should independent armed groups arise, the NDF will welcome and strive to coordinate with these, and eventually prepare the ground for the creation of a unified command for all revolutionary armed forces.

The probable course of development in the people's war includes the stages of strategic defensive, strategic stalemate, and the strategic offensive. While on the strategic defensive, the revolutionary armed forces launch tactical offensives in the countryside to seize arms and strengthen themselves until they reach the strategic stalemate, when their strength is more or less at par with that of the reactionary armed forces. Subsequent to the strategic stalemate, the people's armed forces can go on to the strategic offensive to defeat the enemy in the centers of his power.

The people and their revolutionary armed forces are basically self-reliant in the course of the people's war. They seek military assistance from abroad only to supplement their self-reliant efforts in the face of the long-standing and increasing US military assistance to the dictatorship and the growing threat of direct US intervention and aggression. Without US military and other support, the fascist dictatorship cannot last long.

3. Establish a democratic coalition government and a people's democratic republic.

The establishment of local organs of democratic power in the countryside is already creating the basis for a nationwide democratic coalition government and a democratic republic. But the broadening of the character, representation and work of these local organs of democratic power does not stop. The effective level of democratic government will also keep on rising from the barrio level through the municipal, district, city, provincial and regional levels to the national level.

On the eve of total victory of the armed revolution, a political consultative conference of all representatives of patriotic and democratic classes, parties, mass organizations, groups and other positive forces shall be held to form a council that will pave the way for the formal establishment of the democratic coalition government on the national level. Upon the formation of this council, the people's democratic republic shall be proclaimed.

The council shall ensure that the transition to peaceful conditions is smooth and orderly and that the wounds of war are healed as soon as possible. All government functionaries not guilty of any serious crimes against the people shall be allowed to stay on in the civil bureaucracy to avoid disruption of necessary public services. As in the course of the people's war, no political party, group or individual shall be allowed to monopolize the decision-making processes and the execution of state affairs.

A constituent assembly shall be elected to draft the constitution of the new state. After ratification of the constitution, general elections shall be held, and the democratic coalition government inaugurated. Thereupon, the council shall cease to function.

In its constitution and practice, the people's democratic republic shall uphold the essential elements of a genuine modern-day republic: people's sovereignty and national independence; all political authority emanating from the people; democratically elected officials who shall be their representatives and servants; elected representative assemblies at all levels that express the will of the people, rather than a single individual making laws; determination of the popular will through free and clean elections and other democratic means; and the free exercise by the people of all their basic democratic rights and freedoms.

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The democratic coalition government shall establish a fair and equitable system of justice. Upon victory, a people's tribunal shall be created. This tribunal will have jurisdiction to try and punish the enemies of the revolution and their collaboration who have committed crimes against the people, and to escheat properties and ill-gotten wealth amassed by the ruling elite of the old order. Severe punishment of those with grave crimes (i.e., those who owe the people blood debts) and reeducation of those who deserve leniency shall be undertaken in accordance with a procedure that will ensure a fair hearing by an impartial tribunal. In the long-run, a people's democratic court, as the highest judicial organ under the democratic coalition government shall be established. People's court shall be heard in public, with the accused having the right to defense. These courts shall also be set up at the local levels.

The democratic coalition government, as the particular governmental form representing state power in the people's democratic republic, promotes the people's will and their interests, ensures the proper representation of the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie in the government, and upholds the people's democratic rights. It is a coalition of all allied classes, parties, mass organizations, groups and forces that have worked effectively for the overthrow of the US-Marcos dictatorship or any incumbent reactionary regime that comes after it.

4. Integrate the revolutionary armed forces into a single national revolutionary army.

The revolutionary armed forces that have arisen under various anti-fascist initiatives during the armed struggle shall be integrated to form a single national revolutionary army under the democratic coalition government. It shall be under a ministry of national defense and shall have ground, naval and air forces. In addition, there shall also be police forces and the people's militia under a ministry of public security. The basic tasks of the revolutionary army are to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country and to defend the gains of the revolution and the Filipino people from internal subversion and external aggression. To this end, the revolutionary army as well as the people shall constantly be in a state of readiness to repel

any act of intervention and aggression from foreign forces, including the United States.

The forces of national defense shall be drawn from the strategic forces, regional forces and guerrilla forces that have been battle-tested in the course of people's war. The national police force shall also be drawn from the local police forces and the militia shall be improved where they have already been formed in the course of people's war and shall be formed in places where they do not yet exist.

With the time-tested revolutionaries firmly in command of the national revolutionary army, former enemy officers and men who have joined the revolutionary cause before total victory or who have not committed any serious crime shall be allowed to stay in the military service on a selective basis and shall pass on their knowledge and expertise to the revolutionary fighters and shall themselves undergo revolutionary education.

Aside from its military function, the national revolutionary army shall participate in other areas of national life, especially production. It shall be a revolutionary school for its permanent members and for the youth who shall be required to render military service for a certain reasonable period of time.

5. Uphold and promote the free exercise of the people's basic democratic rights.

In the constitution and practice of the democratic republic, the people's sovereignty is the sacred principle from which flows all rights and responsibilities. The government can govern only as it represents the people's will and interests and upholds the people's basic democratic rights. The people shall have the right to revolt against any oppressive and tyrannical regime.

There shall be an express constitutional provision against autocracy or one-man rule under any circumstance. There shall also be an express provision against the declaration of martial law without this being first decided on through the collective processes of definite organs of government and according to publicly ascertainable facts. If so declared, it should last for only a specific and brief period.

All the basic democratic rights contained in a liberal democratic constitution shall be embodied in the constitution of the people's democratic republic. These include the right to life, liberty and property;

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to due process; against arbitrary arrest and search without judicial warrant; to privacy of personal communications; to free choice of domicile and free movement; to free association and assembly; to strike; to free speech and the free press; to freedom of thought and of religious belief and practice; to freedom of suffrage through secret ballot; and to gainful employment.

On the other hand, apart from publicly-owned means of production, all people shall have the right to individually own the means of production and of consumption achieved through land reform, honest labor and entrepreneurship, skill, inventiveness and intellectual merit. All owner-cultivators and all other owner-producers ranging from the lowliest tool-owner to the national bourgeoisie shall be assisted by the state to expand their productive endeavors through state credits, assured markets, cooperatives and joint ventures with the state.

The democratic coalition government shall address and take steps to remove the distinct forms of oppression women have faced and shall provide equal opportunities for them as well as their equal participation in all aspects of social life. The new government shall rally the people's organization, particularly the women's organizations, into taking active roles in this undertaking.

6. Terminate all unequal relations with the United States and other foreign entities.

Throughout the long history of US imperialist domination of the country, the US and other foreign interests have used various treaties and other agreements to violate the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines and to perpetuate the country's subservience to foreign interests. The US-Marcos dictatorship has further expanded and extended these extraordinary privileges, to the grave detriment of the broad masses of the Filipino people. These unequal and unjust laws, treaties and agreements, including the Investments and Export Incentives Acts, the Universal Banking Law, the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, the Mutual Defense Treaty, the Military Assistance Pact, as well as various cultural agreements prejudicial to the national interest, must be terminated once and for all. The democratic coalition government shall likewise demand an end to, and vigorously defend itself against, all

forms of foreign intervention and interference in the country's internal affairs.

The United States must leave its military bases in the Philippines and cease to provide military assistance to local reactionaries. The military bases shall be used for military and civilian purposes by the democratic republic. No foreign power shall be allowed to set up military bases on Philippine soil, nor to carry, by any means of transport, nuclear weapons into Philippine territory.

As a rule, direct investments and profit-making assets of the US and other big foreign capitalists, especially those in the vital and strategic industries, shall be nationalized. Where necessary, the manner of compensation, as well as any possible exemptions to this policy, shall be the subject of negotiations, based on the national interest. However, those that have been actively used for counterrevolutionary purposes shall be confiscated outright.

All foreign loans used to overburden and sabotage the Philippine economy, deepen the country's agrarian and non-industrial state and divert local resources into unproductive channels such as the IMF loans must be cancelled. Otherwise these loans must be renegotiated in order to do away with their obnoxious features and arrive at terms for the easy payment of new loans from the same sources for productive and industrial purposes.

7. Complete the process of genuine land reform, raise rural production through cooperation, and modernize agriculture.

The current land reform policy of the revolutionary movement is to reduce land rent and eliminate usury. It is only in certain areas that despotic landlords and landgrabbers are being divested of their land in favor of poor peasants and settlers.

Eventually, the general land reform policy shall be to distribute land to the landless tillers equitably and at no cost. Under the democratic coalition government, this land reform process shall be completed throughout the country.

In the people's democratic republic, the beneficiaries of land reform and other owner-cultivators shall be encouraged to increase production in agriculture and side occupations. All forms of agricultural cooperation such as simple exchange of labor, mutual aid and cooperatives shall be encouraged. The process of agricultural cooperativization and

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mechanization shall be accomplished in stages and in connection with the development of industry. Agriculture shall become the base of the economy, providing food and other necessities to the people, as well as raw materials for industry, on an expanding scale.

Assured of a widening market for their products, the peasants will derive greater incomes and will increasingly be able to purchase industrial products for their productive as well as consumption needs.

Rich peasants shall be allowed to retain their standard of living and shall be encouraged to utilize their surplus capital for other economic enterprises so as to maintain or improve their incomes. They will, however, have to gradually rely more on their own labor power rather than on hired labor.

Landlords who have supported the revolution and who do not oppose land reform shall continue to be given due consideration. They shall be given land to till, some compensation or alternative sources of income to support their families. Opportunities in industry, either through employment or entrepreneurship, shall be open to them.

Plantations owned and controlled by transnationals or by their allies among the comprador big bourgeoisie shall be taken over by the state. The new government shall adopt a flexible policy with respect to other capitalist farms, to be determined by the size of the farm, the type of crop, and the attitude of the owners towards the revolution. Certainly, capitalist farm-owners who have supported the revolution shall be given every opportunity to work closely with the state to raise agricultural production and modernize agriculture. However, farm workers must cease to be exploited, and demands for just wages and improvement in their working conditions must be met.

The refining, processing and marketing of agricultural products shall be owned or controlled by the state, by agricultural cooperatives, by joint state-private enterprises or by private industry, in accordance with the type of crop, its relative importance to the national economy and the people's livelihood, and other factors specific to the product.

In general, however, the trading, refining and processing of major agricultural products shall cease to be controlled by a privileged few and shall be turned over to the state or to capable agricultural cooperatives. The local processing of a wide variety of agricultural products shall be encouraged, but no private enterprise shall be permitted to dominate the people's livelihood, exploit farm workers, peasants and other agricultural producers, and extract monopolistic profits.

To boost agricultural production and modernization, the democratic coalition government shall develop the local fertilizer, seed and pesticide industries. It shall ensure the proper irrigation of farms and the tapping and distribution of water resources. It shall extend credit, technical assistance, marketing and storage facilities to agricultural cooperatives.

Livestock production and fishing shall be encouraged and developed, and their producers, especially the small ones, shall be enjoined to form cooperatives or associations and be given appropriate state assistance. The depletion and pollution of marine resources by transnational firms and foreign fishing fleets which have victimized Filipino fishermen and fish farmers shall be ended.

8. Carry out national industrialization as the leading factor in economic development.

The democratic coalition government shall carry out national industrialization as the leading factor in economic development. This shall complement agriculture, which is the main basis for economic development. The development of the agricultural sector will make a large amount of agricultural surplus, which used to be appropriated by a parasitic landlord class, available to support the needs of industry. At the same time, agricultural growth will increase the purchasing power of the rural population and expand the domestic market for products turned out by the industrial sector.

National industrialization shall break up the present colonial pattern of trade based mainly on the export of agricultural and extractive raw materials and the importation of finished goods and capital. Under the new government, such raw materials as logs, copper concentrates, coconuts, sugar and the like shall be processed locally. The marginal repackaging, reassembly, and the light processing industries for the domestic market and for reexport shall, as much as possible, become integral to products truly manufactured in the Philippines.

The democratic coalition government shall nationalize all vital and strategic industries which are now owned or controlled by imperialist interests and their comprador and bureaucrat capitalist allies. All ill-gotten wealth and assets of the fascist clique shall be confiscated by the state. Non-vital industries similarly owned or controlled by imperialist interest or their allies, may be partially nationalized and operated

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on a joint-venture basis between the state and national capital, or may be turned over completely to capable Filipino entrepreneurs.

Nationalization represents the collective determination of the Filipino people to assert their economic independence, transfer control of the fundamental means of production and distribution from a handful of foreign monopolists and their allies to the people, break the import-export character of the present semicolonial and semifeudal economy, hasten national industrialization and agricultural modernization, and gear the economy towards promoting the people's livelihood in an all-round way.

Nationalized enterprises shall be under the supervision of state boards composed of government officials and people's representatives, which shall be held accountable to duly-constituted bodies.

The democratic coalition government shall dismantle all private monopolies and monopsonies, especially those serving imperialist interests and those created on the basis of bureaucrat privilege. No form of monopoly control by private industry shall be allowed to dominate the livelihood and welfare of the people. Private entrepreneurs contributing positively to the task of developing the nation's productive capacity and capital resources shall be encouraged to enter into areas of the economy where their expertise and capital are most suited. They shall be ensured a normal return on capital invested or compensated commensurate with their specific contributions to industrial or agricultural development, in accordance with the applicable policies and laws.

The new government shall nationalize the banking industry. The people's savings shall be safeguarded and used prudently to develop industry and agriculture. Stockholders of banks who are not directly agents of imperialist interests shall be fairly compensated. They shall likewise be encouraged to channel their resources and capital towards industrial development, where vast opportunities will be created by the liberation of the economy from the imperialist stranglehold. Foreign banks shall receive compensation under terms determined by the state.

Vital sectors of the import-export trade shall be nationalized. Imports shall be geared towards accelerating the thrust of developing a self-reliant economy. Production shall be oriented towards satisfying the domestic market first, while proceeds from exports must be used primarily to import essential capital goods and raw materials not readily available within the economy.

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The energy industry, including petroleum refining and distribution, shall likewise be nationalized as a necessary step towards making the country self-reliant in energy production, and to make energy available at reasonable cost to both industrial and residential users. At the same time, the state shall develop the production and use of inexpensive energy from indigenous sources.

The democratic coalition government shall strive to build and develop a modern transport industry geared towards benefitting the commuting public and the different sectors of the economy. Transnational tire and automotive firms shall be nationalized. The development of local rubber, glass, metal, electrical and engineering industries serving the transport sector shall be encouraged. Where possible, railway systems shall be developed. The development of an effective national railway system has long been sabotaged by imperialist interests concerned only with selling their high-priced cars, trucks, spare parts and accessories.

The telecommunications industry, which is vital and where natural monopolies are present, shall be nationalized. The new government shall also take the lead in building a modern shipping industry to facilitate transportation and communications, and to further develop inter-island trade. In an archipelagic country such as the Philippines, the development of a modern and efficient shipping industry is of major importance.

Transnational drug and pharmaceutical companies shall also be nationalized. The practice of selling high-priced, foreign brand name drugs will be stopped. Priority shall be given to developing medicines using local materials.

High priority shall be given to developing the steel industry as the backbone of the country's industrialization program. The comprehensive national resource base of the country shall be protected and utilized towards developing the metal, chemical and engineering industries comprehensively. The capital goods industry shall be developed intensively so as to improve rapidly the country's productive potential and expand its means of production.

Monetary and fiscal policy shall be utilized by the new government to promote economic development, national industrialization and agricultural cooperativization and modernization. Restrictive monetary policies as dictated by the imperialist-controlled International Monetary Fund and similar institutions, bankrupt local industries, stunt

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production, promote widespread unemployment, and benefit only those enterprises that corner the available local credit.

The democratic coalition government shall remove all onerous taxes, especially those which have placed heavy burdens on the working people and the low-income sectors. It shall levy the necessary taxes in accordance with the people's level of incomes and production. State revenues will be augmented by incomes from nationalized and expropriated enterprises. Large savings will also result from the state's strict policy of not engaging in unnecessary and unproductive projects. The new government shall do away with the present large and parasitic reactionary armed forces; it shall maintain only the appropriate size of armed forces, supported by an active and dependable people's militia, necessary to defend the state and the nation.

Trade and other forms of economic relations with all countries, including the United States, shall be promoted on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. The new government shall engage, whenever possible, in barter or counter-trade with such countries as are willing and able to do so.

The democratic coalition government shall institute state economic planning in order to prevent destructive imbalances in the economy and to promote well-balanced growth among heavy, medium and light industries, between heavy industry and agriculture, and between capital accumulation and consumption. It shall also ensure a proper mix between centralized and regional development so that the benefits of economic program are properly spread out geographically. It shall utilize market forces to complement the state plan.

Our country has rich and abundant natural resources and a large industrious and educated population. The new Philippines shall certainly achieve economic and social progress once the fetters of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are completely broken.

9. Guarantee the right to employment, raise the people's living standards and expand social services the soonest after establishing democratic state power.

It is anticipated that inflation, scarcity of goods, production breakdown speculation and other ills brought about by the decline and final collapse of the reactionary government will be carried over into the early years of the new government. The coalition government shall

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take swift and decisive steps to control and solve these problems by judicious use of political power and try reviving production as soon as possible. The new state shall have to pass through a period of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

The democratic coalition government shall adopt measures to ensure that all productive enterprises immediately resume and expand their production. Assurances and appropriate incentives shall be given to owners, managers and technicians. Industries producing basic consumer goods shall be afforded larger capital to expand production. Civil service personnel of the overthrown government—except those accused of serious crimes—will be urged to continue manning their offices and serving the public.

The new government shall fix at reasonable levels the agricultural tax and requisition prices for agricultural staples and other producers, allowing the peasants to immediately enjoy the benefits of land reform and to trade their surplus products freely and profitably. Sufficient supplies of grain and other necessary foodstuff shall be ensured to urban residents and other people who do not produce these.

The new government shall ensure a wage policy that is consistent with the requirements of improving the lot of the working people, increasing productivity and expanding the domestic market. It shall also give due consideration to protecting the purchasing power of the peso. Prices will be stabilized, if not lowered, by boosting local production, eradicating the monopoly practices of transnationals, lowering the cost of capital and reducing the country's dependence on high-priced imports.

The new government shall see to it that investments in light industries run ahead of those in heavy industries, in order to provide more consumer goods, generate more employment, raise the people's living standards and pool more capital at a rapid rate. It shall adopt and implement a series of five-year plans to comprehensively develop the economy, including the heavy industries, by stages.

The new government shall encourage overseas Filipinos to contribute their talents and resources to the speedy reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country even as it provides them with opportunities for decent employment.

The new government shall encourage and assist displaced people to return to their places of origin or to new areas where they can engage

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in production. Demobilized soldiers on both sides of the conflict shall be given ample opportunities to work and earn decent incomes.

It shall also implement programs to provide the necessary social services to the people, including housing, social security and relief. The welfare of the handicapped, the aged and children shall be given special attention. No man, woman or child shall be left without the resources to meet basic needs. This shall be the joint concern of the government and the people's organizations.

A comprehensive health care program shall be developed with emphasis on primary health care and combining traditional with modern medicine. A national health care system shall eventually be established by the new government to make health care available to all.

The country's natural environment shall be conserved and developed to enhance national development and promote the people's livelihood and welfare.

10. Promote a patriotic, scientific and popular culture and ensure free public education.

The democratic coalition government shall do all it can to propagate nationwide a culture that is patriotic, scientific and authentically popular. It shall foster and promote this through the educational system, the mass media, and direct educational campaigns among the people.

The new government shall provide free and universal education, which is a basic right of the people. Education shall primarily be the responsibility of the state. It shall take steps to ensure that primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education become tuition-free and accessible to all Filipinos. However, privately-owned and administered educational institutions at the tertiary level will be allowed, but all remnants of elitism and unreasonable profit-making shall be eradicated. It shall also carry out extensive literacy and educational campaigns to raise the cultural level of people in areas that have lagged behind because of past disadvantages.

Under the new government, the quality of education shall continuously be improved by eradicating imperialist cultural influences and judiciously adopting the most modern scientific and technical advances from foreign sources. Education shall be geared towards the comprehensive development of the nation and shall serve the people's interests.

The new government shall see to it that teachers and students of the social sciences correctly comprehend the laws of development of Philippine history and society, and learn how the basic problems of our people can be solved. Those in the natural sciences, engineering and technology should be guided to provide the necessary knowledge for national industrialization and agricultural development. Writers and artists should be encouraged to create moving and relevant works which reflect social realities and the people's struggles. Comprehensive sports and athletic programs shall also be implemented to develop the people's well-being.

The democratic coalition government shall promote Filipino as the official language nationwide, while encouraging local languages and dialects to flourish in their respective areas. Our cultural heritage shall be preserved and developed and all Filipinos, primarily the youth, should be encouraged to learn from the past to serve the present.

11. Respect and foster the self-determination of the Moro and Cordillera people and all ethnic minorities.

The democratic coalition government, as a general policy, shall promote the unity and equality of all people, nationalities and ethnic groups of the Philippines.

It shall recognize the right of the Moro people to self-determination, including their right to secede from a state of national oppression. It shall guarantee them equal economic, political and social rights, and the preservation of their way of life. It shall respect their right to autonomous political rule.

The democratic coalition government shall likewise foster the right of the Cordillera people and of all ethnic minorities to self-determination in their specific communities. It shall allow and help them achieve all-round development (political, economic, social and cultural) according to their own autonomous decisions and specific conditions. It shall give them all the necessary support to enable them to advance and catch up with the rest of the nation.

In areas where they constitute the majority, the ethnic minorities shall have a dominant voice in the organs of local government. In areas where there are people of various ethnic origins, they shall be guaranteed proportional representation. They shall also have representatives in the highest levels of government.

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The new government shall fully encourage the ethnic minorities to engage in economic activities in their respective areas, and shall give them priority in employment where the government is allowed to put up investment. They shall also be assured of a large part of the returns from these enterprises to hasten their social progress.

The culture of the ethnic minorities shall be preserved and fostered and given a place of honor in the array of diverse local cultures in the Philippines. At the same time, they shall be afforded all the opportunities for modern education at all levels. Cadres arising from the local masses shall be encouraged to take the lead in further developing their culture and communities towards revolutionary direction.

12. Adopt and practise a revolutionary, independent and peace-loving foreign policy.

Our people's war is part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism being waged by national liberation movements, revolutionary parties, governments and countries, as well as by the working people in capitalist and imperialist countries. Our struggle contributes to their victories, just as their achievements help advance our revolutionary movement.

We wage people's war on the fundamental principle of self-reliance, but we also consider international support as an integral part of our struggle. Thus, we seek the political and material support of other countries and revolutionary movements and organizations abroad. Those who extend such support prove themselves true friends of the Philippine revolution and the Filipino people. In no instance, however, will we become so beholden to any foreign entity that we would even consider sacrificing the sovereignty, national independence and democratic rights our people are fighting so hard to attain.

The democratic coalition government shall establish diplomatic and trade relations with all countries irrespective of ideology or social system. These relations will be characterized by mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, and by mutual benefit in every possible field.

The new government shall protect the rights of all overseas Filipinos, migrants as well as permanent residents abroad. It shall also respect the rights of all foreigners temporarily or permanently residing in the Philippines.

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The new Philippines shall have close and warm relations with the Third World and socialist countries. It shall also develop close relations with capitalist countries. Provided the United States gives up its imperialist privileges in the country, the new Philippines will develop normal diplomatic and trade relations with it.

The people's democratic republic will work for the removal of the reactionary forces of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and will help create a situation where the Southeast Asian countries can develop themselves freely, without interference from any imperialist power, foreign military bases, and nuclear weapons in the region.

The new Philippines shall pursue an independent foreign policy. It shall strive to support the revolutionary struggles of other peoples, and actively participate in the movement to establish a new economic order. It shall uphold, and conform to, decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and other international organizations which enhance the sovereignty, independence and equality of nations, and which defend and promote international peace and security.

III. SPECIFIC PROGRAM OF THE NDFP

The specific program consists of the immediate tasks to be carried out. These are required by the current conditions and are directed towards the fulfilment of the general program. From time to time, these specific tasks may be adjusted or modified according to changes or developments in the current situation.

A. POLITICAL TASKS

1. Build the broadest possible united front of the Filipino people to isolate and defeat the fascist dictatorship of the US-Marcos regime.

2. Demand the repeal of the Marcos constitution and all autocratic and anti-democratic laws and decrees. Demand the repeal of all laws discriminatory against women, national and ethnic minorities and Filipino nationals.

3. Oppose all forms of suppression of the people's democratic rights and expose and condemn all fascist acts of terror against the people, such as massacres, forced mass evacuations, hamletting, bombardments, looting, arson, mass arrests, kidnapping and "salvaging."

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4. Demand the release of all political detainees and prisoners of conscience.

5. Build local organs of democratic power at all levels, from the barrio to the regional level, as part of the overall effort to establish the democratic coalition government.

6. Build and develop revolutionary mass organizations of workers, peasants, fishermen, urban poor, youth and students, church people, teachers and other professionals, businessmen, women and cultural activists. Encourage them to wage militant economic and political struggles.

7. Encourage Filipino entrepreneurs and their spokesmen to advocate anti-imperialist and democratic policies, and to extend political and material support to the revolutionary mass movement and the armed struggle.

8. Establish links and persuade anti-fascist elements among the landed gentry and the big bourgeoisie to cooperate with, and give material support to, the revolutionary mass movement and the armed struggle.

9. Penetrate and influence agencies of the state bureaucracy from the barangay to the national level, and persuade personnel of these to raise economic and political demands and support the revolution secretly or by open defiance. Oppose and sabotage whenever possible the functioning of fascist political parties, organizations and agencies.

10. Oppose national and ethnic oppression and discrimination. Promote and safeguard the right of the Moro people and all national and ethnic minorities to self-determination, and adopt measures to foster their political autonomy and economic and cultural development.

B. MILITARY TASKS

1. Wage people's war and build the people's armed forces self-reliantly. Encourage various political groupings and people's organizations to form armed groups and heighten unity, cooperation and coordination among these.

2. Develop the material and combat capability of the people's armed forces by launching raids, ambushes, local uprisings, city partisans operations and other appropriate forms of armed tactical offensives.

3. Campaign for the removal of all US military bases, facilities and personnel from Philippine territory. Expose and oppose US and

Draft Program of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines

other foreign military assistance programs to the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and punish foreign military and civilian personnel directly involved in training, logistical support, intelligence and field operations.

4. Punish the most abusive military and civilian officials and personnel, especially those who owe blood debts to the people. Smash the enemy's espionage network and such terrorist units such as the "lost command," armed fanatical pseudo-religious sects, death squads and other counterrevolutionary paramilitary units.

5. Disarm repeatedly the Civilian Home Defense Forces and police units, but avoid harming those not guilty of any serious crimes and who are of good standing in the community.

6. Diminish the enemy's political and military strength by repeatedly annihilating his combat forces, destroying military installations and logistics, and smashing his politico-military operations.

7. Mobilize the people to provide all possible forms of support to the people's armed forces, and to carry out effective surveillance and intelligence work against the dictatorship's forces.

8. Expose and denounce abuses and internal ills within the AFP, such as corruption, extortion, profiteering, collusion with criminal elements, nepotism, favoritism, and bullying of inferior officers, enlisted men and trainees.

9. Penetrate the ranks of the regular and paramilitary units of the enemy, including the CHDF and barangay tanods. Launch a patriotic and democratic movement within the AFP.

10. Encourage officers and men of the AFP and its paramilitary units to support the people's cause by defection, sabotage or transfer of arms, ammunition, equipment and vital information to the people's forces.

C. ECONOMIC TASKS

1. Call for national industrialization and demand an end to all privileges enjoyed by US and other transnational corporations. Encourage Filipino entrepreneurs to advance their demand for national industrialization and to strengthen their economic position against foreign capital.

2. Demand the cancellation of all foreign loans inimical to genuine national economic development.

3. Condemn the dictatorship for continuously aggravating the economic crisis and for the ravages of inflation, rising unemployment

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and underemployment, and excessive tax and loan burdens on the people. Dismantle the Marcos clique's agro-industrial monopolies and confiscate all its ill-gotten wealth.

4. Reduce land rent and eliminate usury. Implement wherever appropriate the program of land confiscation and free land distribution, especially against despotic landlords and landgrabbers.

5. Support the workers' trade union movement and all their progressive struggles to improve their working and living conditions.

6. Work for equal economic opportunities for both women and men.

7. Support the students' demands for just and reasonable school fees, free public education, and better study and living conditions. Support the demands of college graduates, skilled workers and professionals for expanded employment opportunities and higher salaries to encourage them not to seek employment abroad.

8. Promote various side occupations such as animal husbandry, fish culture, vegetable and fruit raising, handicrafts, and the like, and protect small producers and merchants from extortion by government agencies and enemy troopers.

9. Organize urban small producers, street peddlers, jeepney and tricycle drivers, and employees in small-scale service establishments, the better for them to improve their conditions and protect themselves from the police and military men.

10. Uphold the rights of the Moro people and of all national and ethnic minorities to their ancestral lands, help them to recover these lands, and protect them from landgrabbing by foreign corporations, government agencies and big landlords and capitalists.

D. SOCIAL WELFARE TASKS

1. Demand indemnification to victimized families for loss of lives and property, injuries and other damages and costs resulting from abuses and atrocities committed by the dictatorship's armed forces; and call for the immediate trial and punishment of those responsible for these depredations.

2. Campaign for significant reductions in the dictatorship's military and defense budgets in favor of more fund allotments for public health, education, public utilities, relief and other social services.

3. Call for the reduction of direct and indirect taxes which primarily burden the broad masses of the people.

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4. Demand an end to the dictatorship's practice of obligatory deductions from employee's salaries under such pretexts as social security, medicare and housing schemes. Expose and oppose its bogus "civic action," "social welfare," and economic programs such as the Kilusan para sa Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran (KKK), Philippine Charity Sweepstakes, Panamin, Sariling Sikap, Pag-ibig, etc., that serve as mere cover for counterinsurgency measures, extortion and schemes to loot and squander public funds.

5. Call for more jobs and relief programs for the growing number of unemployed.

6. Call for higher payments for pensioners and those disabled by work-related injuries and illnesses.

7. Urge private relief and humanitarian organizations like the International Red Cross, to provide food and medical aid directly to victims of military atrocities and natural calamities.

8. Call for the provision of free medical services and medicine in depressed urban and rural areas. Train paramedic personnel among the people and develop indigenous medicine and primary health care.

9. Oppose the dictatorship's ejection of slumdweller without provision for adequate housing and jobs in relocation areas. Resist and punish those who eject poor peasants and settlers to make way for foreign agrocorporations and land speculators.

10. Resist the wanton destruction of forest, land and marine resources and the disturbance of the ecological balance for the profit of transnational corporations and at the expense of the poor people who, as a result of these devastations, suffer such calamities as floods, drought, pollution, displacement and loss of livelihood.

E. CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL TASKS

1. Promote a patriotic, scientific and popular culture and oppose imperialist fascist and other reactionary ideas and attitudes in the educational system, the mass media and other institutions.

2. Use and develop the national language as the principal medium for revolutionary communication nationwide, while encourage local languages and dialects to flourish for immediate local purposes. In the long term, propagate Filipino as the national language to further enhance national unity.

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3. Preserve the people's cultural heritage and infuse revolutionary content into traditional literary and art forms. Encourage writers and artists to create works of art which serve the toiling masses and the revolutionary movement, and build schools, theaters, workshops and other institutions to propagate and develop revolutionary art.

4. Encourage teachers in public and private schools to depart from reactionary textbooks and use progressive materials in teaching their students.

5. Encourage mass media workers to take an anti-imperialist and democratic viewpoint and desist as much as possible from disseminating pro-imperialist, fascist and other reactionary propaganda.

6. Encourage studies and researches on Philippine society, history and people's struggles.

7. Encourage the publication and dissemination of progressive and revolutionary books, journals, pamphlets, newspapers and other reading materials.

8. Demand intellectual and academic freedom, and support the democratic movement of students, teachers and non-academic personnel.

9. Call for the expansion and improvement of free public education at all levels.

10. Respect and foster the diversity of cultures among the various ethno-linguistic communities in the country.

F. TASKS IN FOREIGN RELATIONS

1. Demand the termination of all subservient laws and unequal treaties and agreements with the US, Japan and other foreign entities that violate national independence.

2. Denounce throughout the world the fascist character and terroristic acts of the dictatorship and campaign against all forms of foreign support and assistance to it.

3. Denounce US imperialist domination over the Philippines and unite with all peoples fighting US imperialism.

4. Build and develop the broadest and strongest possible foreign support for the Philippine revolutionary movement. Seek all forms of effective political and material support for the people's war.

5. Foster friendship and solidarity with the American people and other peoples of the world.

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6. Arouse, mobilize and organize overseas Filipinos to support the revolutionary movement in the Philippines.
7. Support the struggle of overseas Filipinos to uphold and promote their economic and political rights.
8. Support the national liberation and other revolutionary struggles of peoples abroad.
9. Support the world peace movement.
10. Prepare the groundwork to make possible official recognition by other countries and international organizations of the Philippine democratic coalition government.

The 12-Point General Program of the NDF

1. Unite the Filipino people to overthrow the tyrannical rule of US imperialism and the local reactionaries.
2. Wage a people's war to win total, nationwide victory.
3. Establish a democratic coalition government and a people's democratic republic.
4. Integrate the revolutionary armed forces into a single national revolutionary army.
5. Uphold and promote the free exercise of the people's basic democratic rights.
6. Terminate all unequal relations with the United States and other foreign entities.
7. Complete the process of genuine land reform, raise rural production through cooperation, and modernize agriculture.
8. Carry out national industrialization as the leading factor in economic development.
9. Guarantee the right to employment, raise the people's living standards, and expand social services the soonest after establishing democratic state power.
10. Promote a patriotic, scientific and popular culture and ensure free public education.
11. Respect and foster the self-determination of the Moro and Cordillera people and all ethnic minorities.
12. Adopt and practice a revolutionary, independent and peace-loving foreign policy.

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US Intervention in the Philippines

Circa October 1985

The United States government sponsors and props up tyrannical regimes and when the people's resistance to tyranny grows, the former acquires more presumption to intervene in the client states.

1. The US instigated the Marcos coup in 1972 to suppress the anti-imperialist movement and to reverse such nationalist gains as the Supreme Court decisions in the Quasha and the Luzteveco cases. The US openly and enthusiastically supported and propped up the Marcos fascist dictatorship for a long time before pretending to call for "normalization" (under President Carter) and for "democratization" (under the Reagan administration), which in both instance are in fact calculated to further entrench and prettify the fascist dictatorship.

2. The US is responsible for sinking the Philippines into the debt trap by pouring loans to the Marcos puppet regime. The former has steadily increased bilateral loans (through its Agency for International Development, Export-Import Bank, Commodity Credit Corporations, etc.) and military assistance (through grants, sales credits and international military education and training or IMET).

3. While foreign loans poured in in great amounts, the Marcos regime was in a position to allocate an increasingly large part of the government budget for the military. At the same time, the increasing military assistance was not reflected in the budget. During most years of the 1970s there was more indirect US military aid (foreign loans) than direct US military assistance and the pattern of high military spending was set.

4. The increase of direct military assistance accelerated in connection with the retention of the US military bases—the \$500 million package under Carter and the \$900 million under Reagan, both spread out over five years. Total US economic and military assistance rose from \$151 million in 1984 to \$231 million in 1985, involving an increase of 53 percent and far exceeding any previous rate of increase. These have included the economic support fund (ESF), military grants, military sales credit and IMET. The ESF has a military thrust as it is being used for "civic action" with its psywar and intelligence objectives in the counterinsurgency campaign.

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5. The counterinsurgency scheme being implemented by the Marcos regime involves the advice and approval of the US, specifically its agencies such as the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency. Oplan Katatagan was formally presented to the US during President Marcos' state visit and was approved by the US.

6. Now that the US is worried by the rapid growth of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army, it is giving more military assistance beyond the \$900 million five-year package. The US is also bringing in more military advisers, in addition to the present level of personnel in the JUSMAG.

7. The US is stepping up its military intervention as in Vietnam in the early 1960s and in El Salvador currently. Deliveries of war materiel and military advisers have increased. This is in preparation for an outright US war of aggression as in Vietnam.

8. The US has always directed and controlled the Armed Forces of the Philippines through the US-RP Mutual Defense Board and the JUSMAG in terms of anticommunist indoctrination, strategic concepts and plans, counterinsurgency advice, military supplies, intelligence, office training, etc. US direction and control of counterinsurgency operations are being enhanced.

War exercises are used for sabre-rattling purposes against the Filipino revolutionary movement. These are being used to intimidate the people. These are actual preparations for US armed intervention and aggression against the Filipino people.

10. Under the present US scheme of intervention, Marcos is being assured that he can prolong his fascist dictatorship under the guise of counterinsurgency. But in fact, the US wants to strengthen its own hold over the AFP to be in a position to use the AFP in any way that best serves US interests.

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Incredible Testimonies of Aquino Escorts

Circa October 1985

If the testimonies of Ninoy Aquino's close-in security escorts were to be believed, the assassination was not a conspiratorial tragedy but a comedy of errors or a case of too many coincidences in a short span of time.

The team leader Lt. Castro augmented his men with other men (Sgts. Casta and Pelias) in a very unmilitary freewheeling manner, forcibly prevented the foreign journalists from following and taking pictures of Ninoy Aquino and his escorts descending the staircase, and worst of all separated himself from his team.

The attempt to show that the military did not plan the assassination is so ridiculous and so obvious. The attempt to spare the team leader of any responsibility is also indicative of the arrogance of the designers of Oplan Balikbayan who continue to insult the public.

Sgt. de la Cruz committed perjury by first testifying that he was in the tube at the precise movement of the Aquino assassination. He later admitted that he was on the platform of the staircase when confronted with photographs and related testimonies that belied his claim. He was in a position to watch the Aquino assassination.

But he would insist that his eyes were so focused on the action at the exit of the tube that he failed to see the murder take place. It is made to appear that he was not in a state of alert relative to the person of Aquino, he had no reflexes whatsoever, had an inflexible neck and, most incredible, had two eyes but with neither panoramic nor peripheral vision.

A complete physical-medical examination of Sgt. de la Cruz is in order. He might prove to have defective eyes and to have no reflexes. But it is simply incredible and insulting to the public that four other escorts supposedly on the alert had the same visual dysfunctions at the same time in the same place.

The vision of each of the four other escorts was supposed to have been always averted from the very person they were supposed to be securing and riveted to such narrow focuses as the steps on the stairway in the case of Sgt. Miranda, the van in the case of Sgt. de Mesa and Sgt. Lat; and the right direction of the tarmac, in the case of CIC

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Moreno. So, they claim that none of them ever noticed the presence and appearance of the alleged assassin Galman.

Sgt. Lazaga may be proud of his eyesight and call his teammates blind because he was supposed to have seen all the phases of Galman's action (standing still below the plane, walking, darting, aiming and firing—except that phase of drawing a gun).

But Lazaga was unbelievably mute. He did not give any warning to his teammates. The sight of Galman with a gun and darting would have prompted an alert Lazaga to shout a warning. He was blind only to the supposed drawing of a gun and had an ample chance to see the succeeding motions of Galman but he failed to shout a warning.

A complete physical-medical examination is also in order for Sgt. Lazaga.

Galman supposedly brushed the wrist of his shooting hand on the shoulder of Sgt. De Mesa. The reflex of a karate expert like De Mesa had been so slow that he failed to foil the aim of Galman but he was quick enough to put the alleged assassin into a spin with a parrying blow.

The time gap between the shot that killed Aquino and the next shot was at least 3.5 seconds. If indeed Galman was spun by the parrying blow, he must have pirouetted several times. But what is most unbelievable is that CIC Moreno who was right behind De Mesa lost his normal eyesight and his reflexes.

As a matter of fact, either De Mesa or Moreno was in the best position to shoot Aquino or to protect him from a threat on the left side.

It is made to appear that each of the military escorts had no responsibility whatsoever for the assassination. In effect, it is even unwittingly made to appear by the escorts that individually and collectively they had no responsibility whatsoever for the security of Aquino.

The attempt to clear everyone of any responsibility through incredible claims or obvious lies only serves to stress that there is not only a coordination of lies after the assassination of Aquino but that there was a conspiracy before, during and after the crime.

That Ninoy Aquino was shot on the staircase is conclusively supported by the audio recordings of the Tokyo Broadcasting System, American Broadcasting Company, and the reporter Sandra Burton; the voiceprint analysis of Suzuki; and the testimonies of Viesca, Layoso and Balang.

General Ver and all his subordinate officers responsible for Oplan Balikbayan made possible the Aquino assassination and the subsequent attempts at a cover-up.

There was a deliberate plan not to provide photographic recording of the operation by security photographers and to prevent independent photographers from taking pictures of the same.

All the security men were deliberately positioned in such a manner that they would be able to claim failure to witness the assassination (for example, nobody was positioned at the foot of the staircase).

The closest relatives and friends of Ninoy Aquino were prevented from witnessing his arrival, including his brother-in-law Ken Kashiwara who had accompanied him on the plane.

The previous claims of Mr. Marcos and General Ver that Aquino's military escorts covered Aquino with their own bodies have proven to be lies. Even as the escorts have lied that Aquino was shot on the tarmac, they aver that they never shielded Aquino with their bodies. They abandoned him as soon as he was shot.

As commander-in-chief and as chief of staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, respectively, Mr. Marcos and General Ver cannot escape command responsibility as well as criminal culpability for the Aquino assassination.

From top to bottom, those who have conspired to kill both Aquino and the fall guy Galman and then cover up this clear case of double murder appear to be tactical geniuses. But they are definitely strategic idiots.

The people have made their judgment not only because of the tyrannical framework of the crime but also because of their grasp of the crucial details of the crime.

The Aquino assassination will damn Marcos in his lifetime and long after in history.

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On the Snap Elections³⁴

November 10, 1985

What do you think are the reasons for the calling of snap elections? Will they be held?

According to some highly placed US officials, Laxalt in representation of Reagan stressed to Marcos that political reforms toward democratization should be immediately undertaken and that the 1986 local elections and the 1987 presidential election should be made credibly clean and honest. Also among the specific suggestions supposedly made to Marcos was that he should retire in 1987.

If these US officials are to be believed and Marcos is serious about holding snap presidential elections, then he is trying to preempt with a fait accompli the so-called political reforms the US wants and the specific suggestion that he withdraw from the scheduled 1987 presidential election.

If it is true that his second kidney transplant is not holding out well, then Marcos is also trying to preempt God or nature by putting in place his chosen successor. He still looks healthy when he appears in public, however, though his appearances might be well-timed relative to his dialysis and other maintenance treatments.

Another plausible reason for the calling—though not necessarily the holding—of snap elections is US-Marcos propaganda gimmickry: whipping up an election fever and dangling the dubious chance of changing the situation for the better possibly through a change of president.

It could also be a gimmick to divert public attention from the impending total whitewash of the Aquino assassination and to channel the potential explosion of public outrage toward an electoral circus.

Whatever the reasons of Marcos alone or of the US and Marcos for calling snap elections, these cannot be held if the opposition parties fight it all the way, from the Batasan to the Supreme Court, and at the same time make it clear to Marcos' foreign master that the calling of elections is such a surprise move and therefore such a swindle that holding them will only aggravate the political crisis.

³⁴ Interview with Philippine News and Features.-Editor

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What would be the scenario before and after the elections?

Whether held in 1986 or 1987, the US is maneuvering to have pro-US candidates for president and vice-president on both the KBL and the opposition sides. The US wants to be a winner no matter who among the contenders wins the election.

All possible contenders are now being made to go through a litmus test on the question of US military bases among others. Marcos and Enrile are still the favorite choices of the US for president and vice-president, respectively, because they are categorically for the US bases beyond 1991.

At any rate, whether the presidential elections are held in 1986 or 1987, there is no time and no way for the opposition to overcome the election rules, the Comelec, government resources, the military and paramilitary forces, the Marcos near-monopoly over the mass media and other factors that are overwhelmingly in favor of Marcos and his teammate, unless the US takes action to cut down Marcos for fear that its own interests would be threatened by the people, who will not take another six years of Marcos misrule.

A sham reelection of Marcos through fraud and terror will aggravate the political crisis and cause the intensification of the revolutionary armed struggle, especially because Marcos is under US orders to escalate armed counterrevolutionary actions. He will use a "fresh mandate" to justify a more violent antipeople and anticommunist rampage.

What would be its effects on the country in general and on the different political groups and the movement in particular?

The people cannot take another six years of Marcos and his fascist kind. The political and economic crisis will worsen more rapidly. The contradictions between the Marcos and the anti-Marcos factions of the big comprador and landlord classes will become more violent.

The middle strata of society composed of the middle bourgeoisie and the urban petty bourgeoisie will swing to the armed revolutionary cause. And, of course, the toiling masses of workers and peasants who suffer the most from oppression and exploitation will support and join the armed struggle in unprecedentedly increasing numbers. The mass organizations will intensify their legal democratic struggles.

And if they are subjected to increased repression, in connection with the so-called counterinsurgency campaign, a great number of legal activists will opt to join the armed struggle.

What is the US role? What do you think is the US, IMF-World Bank reaction to the call for snap election?

If the US is for snap elections, then it is for the sham reelection of Marcos. The sooner the presidential elections are held, the more disadvantageous they would be for the opposition parties which would be better off if given time to test and develop their mettle in the local elections first. The US is for snap presidential elections if it does not deny the widely-held belief that it is the instigator.

The roots and dimensions of the political attitude and wishes of the IMF and World Bank belong to the US. These banks are not supposed to openly make specific political demands, such as snap elections, although they are known to openly call for the improvement of political conditions in general terms as these affect the economy.

What do you think of the Cory-Doy tandem? Kalaw?

It is not yet time to declare or indicate personal preferences. What I can say is that he or she who comes closest to a national and democratic program of action such as those put forward by BAYAN and the Nationalist Alliance deserves support. Why didn't you mention Salonga, Padilla, and Diokno?

There is a minimum program on which almost all serious opposition presidential hopefuls agree on. But to get the support of particular organizations and personalities, we can expect concrete demands separately made by these organizations of any candidate seeking their support.

What do you think of the opposition politicians' jockeying for position?

I consider it normal for politicians to compete for the support of various parties and organizations in the opposition. May the most qualified contender get the most support. The important thing is that the contenders be eager to fight the common enemy.

Detention and Defiance against Dictatorship

What are the possible combinations of the opposition that you foresee? Why?

The front runners in the opposition are widely reported to be Laurel, Salonga and Cory Aquino. The presidential and vice-presidential candidates may be drawn from among them. The health status of Diokno is unclear. Salonga should not be underestimated, especially if presidential elections are held in 1987.

Considerations for creating the tandem should include: adherence to antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal demands; consistent struggle against the regime; individual competence; brilliance and uprightness; ability to get the broadest support within the opposition and among the people; and access to resources for running an effective campaign.

But if the DOP (dominant opposition party) accreditation is given to UNIDO by the Comelec, Laurel will run away with the opposition presidential nomination. If to the Nacionalista Party (Roy), Tolentino would probably be the candidate. Marcos can actually choose his opponent through the Comelec.

Suppose electoral rules and processes are clearly rigged from the outset, should the genuine opposition make a fool of itself by fielding presidential and vice-presidential candidates? Even Lucio de Gala might refuse to file his candidacy.

How do you think would the underground movement react?

I think the underground revolutionary party and organizations will use the forthcoming elections in several ways to expose and fight the fascist regime of the US-Marcos clique as well as the general and essentially farcical character of the elections, broadcast the principles and program of the movement for national freedom and democracy, and support the candidacy of antifascist and progressive candidates wherever possible.

If all serious opposition parties boycott the presidential elections because these are absolutely rotten, I suppose the underground movement will also have nothing to do with it—except, perhaps, to launch dramatic offensives to break the monotony of the Marcos monologue.

How would snap elections affect the scheduled local elections?

If Marcos fabricates a “fresh mandate” for himself in snap elections, he will certainly use the US-inspired intensified campaign of repression

to fix the process and results of the local elections overwhelmingly in his favor. Much is sinister in this matter of holding snap elections before the local elections.

Can you give other insights, comments on the present political situation, particularly in relation to recent developments?

The US officials themselves loudly acknowledge that Marcos has not delivered on the US demands for “political reforms” intended to improve the chances of the legal opposition and to create the illusion of democracy. But here comes Marcos calling for snap elections even before such so-called reforms have been undertaken.

By the way, the US has fallen silent on Amendment 6. There is no more US demand for its repeal or even mere modification. Obviously, the US wants to retain Marcos or have his surrogate as chief puppet beyond 1987; he would have the autocratic authority to sign (possibly in 1988 when the current 5-year agreement ends) an entirely new agreement extending the life of the US military bases beyond 1991.

In the war of nerves with Marcos, the opposition stalwarts are saying with bravado that they are ready to face Marcos in snap elections, provided this is in accordance with the Marcos constitution. But I think that they would be at a gross disadvantage if such elections are indeed held.

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On the Dangers of Reformism³⁵

December 15, 1985

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

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

Reforms and Reformism

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

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

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

Reformism endorses and prolongs the unjust system of oppression and exploitation. Palliatives for festering social ills are offered or

³⁵ Keynote address to the First Regular Congress of the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy-National Capital Region and also published in *National Midweek*, Vol. 1, No. 12, February 12, 1986.

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undertaken without attacking the fundamental causes; the iniquitous system is thereby preserved and even fortified. The essential purpose of reformism is to lead the oppressed and the exploited people astray and to attack organized revolutionary forces. Reformism is the systematic use of palliatives in order to preserve the fundamental interests of the exploiting classes.

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

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

US Promotion of Sham Reforms

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The so-called reforms being pushed by the US constitute reformism as well as barefaced counterrevolution. These can only further aggravate the crises of the ruling system. Ultimately these will result

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in more favorable conditions for the growth and advance of the legal democratic mass movement as well as the armed revolutionary movement.

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

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

US-Marcos Electoral Exercises

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If, against all odds, the opposition won, this would be something to be happy about in the event that the elected president could substantially improve the situation by having to rely on a broad democratic coalition. The forces of the national democratic movement could thereby be able to legally achieve some of their demands for the benefit of the entire people.

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

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

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

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On Marcos and Aquino re CPP

December 21, 1985

In a recent blast against the Aquino-Laurel tandem, President Marcos accused it of taking a “dangerously naive policy” in offering ceasefire and negotiation to the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People’s Army. In the process, he also cited alleged CPP former Chairman Jose Ma. Sison as having previously proposed a grand coalition or united front council to support a new democratic government. Philippine News and Features forwarded a list of questions on the subject to Mr. Sison. Hereunder are the questions and his answers.

Can you comment on the comparison made by President Marcos between the Philippines and Nicaragua?

His comparison is inappropriate if not impertinent. If a comparison has to be made, Marcos is the Anastacio Somoza of the Philippines. The reelection of Anastacio Somoza in a US-sponsored electoral farce damned not only the Somoza dictatorship but the entire ruling system of the big compradors and landlords as well.

What is your reaction to President Marcos’ assertion that there is a democratic state in the Philippines being opposed by terrorists?

The so-called democratic state in the Philippines is a joint class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class both subservient to US imperialism. Worse, this class dictatorship has narrowed into a fascist dictatorship—an open rule of terror—that has done away with tokens of bourgeois democracy. Those who rule the country today are the real terrorists against the people. It is not terrorism on the part of the people to fight the instruments of tyranny.

Can you compare the positions of President Marcos and of Cory Aquino re the CPP and NPA?

Mr. Marcos’ position is one of fanning the flames of civil strife in order to justify his fascist dictatorship. He wants to get a “fresh mandate” for escalating violence against the revolutionaries and the people. He is bent on a killing spree. Yet he has plunged the economy into a

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grave crisis and he has increasing difficulties giving his own troops decent pay. What socioeconomic efforts to match military efforts is he talking about?

The position of Mrs. Aquino is wise and commendable. She promises to seek a ceasefire and negotiations. Apparently, she understands the need to develop the broadest possible unity of patriotic and progressive forces in order to face up to the grave political and economic crisis.

What is this idea of a grand coalition or united front council attributed to you by President Marcos? Is it already existent or in the making? Does it include the CPP/NPA and the NDF?

I proposed a grand coalition or united front council among all legal democratic organizations and opposition political parties to work for a democratic coalition government about a year or so ago. On the basis of news reports, I observe that all entities in the legal opposition are exerting all efforts to unite against the fascist dictatorship in every field of legal struggle.

The inclusion of the CPP, NPA and NDF in some broad democratic arrangement is something beyond my competence to effectively propose to the legal opposition.

What do you mean by reorienting and reorganizing the AFP?

The AFP must adopt a patriotic, democratic or pro-people orientation. It must not be a tool of a foreign power and of the local exploiting classes. It must be cured of its blind loyalty to Mr. Marcos and purged of its crimes as *the* instrument of fascist tyranny.

Naturally, a new regime will have to reorganize the AFP in accordance with its own orientation. It would be foolhardy for Cory Aquino if, after winning the presidency, she retains within the AFP the diehard Marcos loyalists and assassins of her husband as well as other victims. She herself would be in grave danger from these rascals.

By controlling and manipulating 280,000 men of the military, police, paramilitary and cultist groups to kill and persecute opponents, the fascist dictatorship is not only a monitor lizard but a large man-eating crocodile or shark. Pick your metaphor.

Do you suppose the CPP and NPA will respond positively to Cory Aquino's promise of general amnesty for armed rebels and CPP legalization as well as her offer of ceasefire and negotiations?

I am not in a position to answer your question. But as one who studies political developments very closely, I think that the revolutionary movement will seriously consider any sincere proposal for the good of the people. Unlike Marcos who never offers anything but demands outright capitulation and surrender in the guise of an offer, Cory Aquino inspires confidence and merits serious attention.

If Cory Aquino wins and releases you among other political prisoners in accordance with her pre-election commitment, what will you do?

That is a big if because the fascist dictatorship will do everything to cheat and terrorize its way to victory. But let me go with your assumption.

I will go on writing and teaching. I will enjoy being reunited with my family. I will be in a position to do more in the service of the people than I can now.

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The Chances and Consequences of an Opposition Victory³⁶

December 26, 1985

Why do you suppose President Marcos decided on holding snap elections?

The US, more specifically, the Reagan administration, ordered him to do so. It calculates that a presidential election will absorb the people's outrage over a lot of things; give the Marcos regime a "fresh mandate" to do its bidding, especially with regard to suppressing the revolutionary movement; and strengthen the pro-US opposition vis-a-vis the Marcos regime and the revolutionary movement.

The US order for snap election has coincided with the need of the despot Marcos for the thickest possible whitewash of the Aquino assassination. There is also Marcos' health problem. He wants a sham reelection before his second kidney transplant fails any time from March onward.

Even now, Mr. Marcos can no longer make extensive public appearances, as his opponent Cory Aquino does. People do not only ridicule his campaign line (for example, "subok sa krisis" is rendered as "subo sa krisis") but also note his puffiness of face and his wobble.

What are the chances of the Marcos-Tolentino or the Aquino-Laurel tandem?

The Aquino-Laurel tandem would surely win by a landslide were the elections clean and honest or the people sufficiently militated to frustrate the Marcos scheme of fraud and terrorism. The unity of the opposition political parties and the enthusiasm of the people for the opposition ticket are very encouraging.

The opposition can expect to win overwhelmingly in Central Luzon, Metro Manila, Southern Tagalog and Bicol—regions where 40 percent of the electorate is concentrated. Western Visayas can give the opposition a big lead and Central Visayas, at least a slight lead. Mindanao will go heavily for the opposition.

³⁶ Interview published in *The National Midweek*, Vol. 1, No. 10, January 15-22, 1986.-Editor

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In order to “win,” the KBL will have to cheat on the scale and in the style of the sham voting exercises held from 1973 to 1978. The fascist dictator has built-in advantages. It would be a miracle if these advantages are not used. Behind the KBL are the military and paramilitary forces, most local officials from the provincial down to the barangay level, the COMELEC, government funds and facilities, and the Marcos monopoly of the mass media.

As a matter of course, KBL fabricators will gize zero votes to the opposition tandem in an unbelievably great number of real and imaginary precincts in the territories of Bongbong Marcos, Juan Ponce Enrile, Leonardo Perez, Kokoy Romualdez, Durano, Ali Dimaporo and the like. If cheating is done only in these predictable places, the opposition can offset this more than sufficiently in two or three regions where the count is authentic.

The big problem for the opposition is how to overcome the cheating. From the start, expect the snap election to be rigged. No fascist dictator has ever allowed himself to be defeated in an election he arranges and controls. Should the opposition win the votes but lose the count, the united anti-fascist forces can proceed to more effective forms of struggle with the broadest possible base.

What do you think of boycott at this time? Will not boycott take away precious votes from the opposition and allow these to be delivered to the regime?

A boycott campaign waged to the maximum—asking the people to stay away from the polls and stopping the electoral exercise in as many places as possible—will certainly take away votes from the opposition and allow these to be delivered to the regime. If, let us say, maximum boycott had an effective influence on 20 percent of the electorate, the regime would be able to usurp the vote through sheer fabrication; the opposition would thereby hit twice—suffering an effective loss of 40 percent of the votes.

As revolutionary organizations determined to overthrow the regime and carry out the people’s democratic revolution, the CPP (Communist Party of the Philippines), NPA (New People’s Army) and even the NDF (National Democratic Front) must boycott the snap election. However, for the sake of flexibility but still adhering to revolutionary principles, they can limit boycott to the minimum extent of not openly and not directly participating in the selection of presidential candidates and

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in the electoral campaign or not endorsing and supporting legal opposition candidates.

They can thus allow the opposition candidates to seek votes from their organized mass base, which is sizeable and can be decisive.

An example of minimum boycott would be the United States' or the Soviet Union's refusal to participate in the Olympics at one time or another, without necessarily seeking to get all or the majority of countries to boycott. The minimum boycott would be just enough to draw attention to certain principles or certain wrongs.

Are you aware that certain alliances, organizations and personages in the cause-oriented movement have been divided on the issue of boycott or participation? Don't these splits have a debilitating effect not only on the Aquino-Laurel tandem but on the broad antifascist front as well?

To some extent, I am aware of the discussions between those for boycott and those for participation in cause-oriented alliances and organizations. I do not think that the choice is a simplistic one between *maximum* boycott and *uncritical* participation. Under present circumstances, maximum boycott is too rigid a position in view of the fact that many organizations and personages in antifascist alliances, all opposition political parties and the spontaneous majority of the people are for critical participation. Of course, uncritical participation is unacceptable because it means capitulation to the enemy.

Those who take the position of minimum boycott or of critical participation can stay and work together in the same democratic alliances and mass organizations. Their common objective is the intensification of the struggle for national freedom and democracy against the fascist dictatorship and the exposure of the regime's scheme to use fraud and terrorism and make the electoral exercise a farce and a mockery of the people's will.

Those who are for minimum boycott objectively extend indirect support to the opposition ticket and allow it to get as many votes as it can. Those for critical participation extend direct support to the opposition ticket but make clear that they do not place their hopes mainly or entirely in any electoral exercise arranged by the fascist dictatorship. The distinction between minimum boycott and critical participation is not harmful but helpful to the opposition ticket.

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Those for minimum boycott can have their own rallies and other mass actions where they can fully express their views. But they can also share the same speaking platforms with those for critical participation and even with the opposition tandem without being obligated to express direct support for any candidate. The point is to maintain antifascist unity. Furthermore, they can join an electoral coalition if this has a bearing on the forthcoming local elections. Many democratic organizations and personages are involving themselves in the snap election because they want to improve their position with regard to the local elections in May.

Which of the two contending tandems is better and more acceptable to you and why?

You pose an extremely easy question to answer. To me personally, the opposition tandem of Aquino and Laurel is far, far better and more acceptable. The fascist dictatorship seeking a fresh mandate is absolutely detestable. Its performance record and experience in puppetry, brutality, corruption and mendacity are extremely offensive. *Any force that seeks to topple tyranny possesses and gains positive worth.*

Marcos has vowed to retain his autocratic powers and escalate his bloody campaign against the people and the revolutionary movement. In contrast, the Aquino-Laurel tandem promises to dismantle the fascist dictatorship, institute a new democratic constitution, restore the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, repeal the repressive decrees, unconditionally release all political prisoners and so on.

Marcos is not ashamed to call as his economic program the impositions of the US, the IMF and World Bank, which spell further exploitation and misery for the people. The Aquino-Laurel tandem has the advantage of learning from the sorry experience of the Marcos regime or else it will plunge the country deeper into the pit of economic crisis.

Marcos has declared categorically that he will extend the life of the US military bases beyond 1991. At least, the opposition tandem has not pledged to the US imperialists that it will perpetuate US military bases in the country and has given some consideration to the growing demand of the people for the dismantling of these bases.

Are you not worried about the pro-US and upper class character of the Aquino-Laurel tandem?

There is no doubt that the Aquino-Laurel tandem has pro-US inclinations and big comprador-landlord interests. I do not expect much from it in terms of outright anti-imperialism and antifeudalism. That is why in giving direct and indirect support to it, one must retain and exercise critical faculties and maintain the national democratic initiative. But we can expect much from the opposition tandem in terms of antifascism. The Marcos fascist dictatorship is the narrowest concentration of the joint class rule of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class and is the faction of these classes that is most subservient to US imperialism. In the World War II alliance against the fascist powers, the proletariat and other revolutionary forces did not disdain to cooperate with the antifascist capitalist and other reactionary forces.

We must consider first of all that we are confronted with a fascist dictatorship which has long-standing intimate ties with US imperialism and has accumulated a tremendous amount of power and loot. And the US Reagan administration is unwilling to junk Marcos once and for all. The overriding interest of the US is to create the illusion of democracy through an electoral show.

It is wrong to think that Marcos is a pushover. He is still in a position to ram through his sham reelection in the same way that he did the total whitewash of the Aquino assassination. After Marcos gets himself "reelected" through fraud and terrorism, some US spokesmen will criticize the conduct of the electoral exercise while others will claim it to be clean and honest. By and large, the US will accept the *fait accompli* and push the regime to hunt down and kill the revolutionaries and to extend the life of the US military bases beyond 1991. Assuming he lives longer than expected, Marcos will be retired or disposed of in some other way by the US probably by the time the armed revolutionary forces have doubled or trebled their present strength.

Even if the possibility is strong that the fascist regime will cheat the opposition tandem, national democratic forces must give direct and indirect support to it so that it can reach more people during the electoral campaign and raise their political consciousness. When the dictator gets his sham reelection, the national democratic forces will be in a position to bring the greatest number of people to more effective courses of action.

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Should the opposition tandem win, would it not have taken the political initiative away from the national democratic movement only to serve US and reactionary interests?

Just to have a fighting chance in the current electoral show, the opposition tandem has to get the support of the broadest possible antifascist united front. In case the tandem wins, it cannot dispense with this broad democratic alliance in order to dismantle the Marcos fascist dictatorship. In addition, there will still be the grave economic and social problems that cannot be solved without a broad democratic alliance, including the revolutionary forces.

The very dynamics of all antifascist forces trying to dislodge the despot and then undoing the effects of his worst crimes create excellent opportunities for the revolutionary forces. These forces will grow in strength and advance in every sphere of the struggle for national liberation and democracy in spite as well as because of the subjective will and objective limitations of their nonrevolutionary allies.

Should the opposition tandem win, it will not be able to ignore the revolutionary forces nor outrightly adopt a harsh policy toward them. As a matter of fact, the new regime will have to seek negotiations with them. To continue Marcos' fascist policies will be self-defeating.

A new regime will need all possible support to wipe out the still potent remnants of Marcos' tyranny and confront the fundamental problems of the people. If it pursues Marcosism without Marcos, it will be totally discredited in a few months and will face a people enraged at a betrayal—and, as a consequence, a stronger revolutionary movement.

If the regime cheated the Aquino-Laurel tandem of victory, what do you think will happen next?

The fascist regime will try to preempt the rise of popular resistance by invoking its fake mandate and escalate violence against the revolutionary movement. It will also escalate its verbal attacks against the legal opposition but will avoid unleashing a violent campaign against it in order to allow it to participate in the May local elections.

If they are not firmly united with the legal opposition parties, the cause-oriented organizations with national democratic orientation might be subjected to violent suppression before the local elections. They must therefore continuously develop unity with the legal opposition parties in order to discourage the common enemy from attacking anyone.

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After getting the most out of the local elections, the fascist regime will try to expand the range of its violent attacks and subject the opposition to harsh persecution. By the second half of the year, the intensity of fascist violence and popular armed resistance will rise dramatically. And the fascist regime will go berserk blaming the legal opposition parties and the cause-oriented organizations for its own escalation of violence and incitement of revolutionary resistance.

By retaining Marcos as chief puppet, the US will be practically creating a Vietnam war situation. The US can thereby retain its military bases and even increase their number in the short run but it will lose them all in the end.

In case the Aquino-Laurel team wins, what are the chances of the CPP and NPA agreeing to a ceasefire and negotiations with the new regime?

I am not in a position to answer your question. I can only surmise that they will not refuse to consider any serious proposal to achieve national unity for the purpose of advancing national independence and democracy against the historical evils that afflict the nation.

Cory Aquino is to be commended for offering the prospect of ceasefire and negotiation. She is not as arrogant as Mr. Marcos who keeps raving that the revolutionaries must either surrender or be killed. If my estimate were correct, the revolutionaries or the legal national democratic forces will be interested in dismantling the fascist dictatorship and instituting a new democratic constitution, a multiparty system and a genuine parliamentary system.

Even if there were agreement with the underground revolutionary forces soon, there can be one much sooner between the new regime and the legal democratic forces.

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Interview with Sekai

February 18, 1986

What do you think of the final results of the recent snap presidential election? Do you think the Batasang Pambansa has come out with just results? (If your answer is NO, kindly explain it in a manner which would be easy for the Japanese to understand.)

The Batasang Pambansa did not come out with fair results of the snap elections. The certificates of canvass submitted to the Batasang Pambansa are almost entirely the product of fraud and terrorism by the fascist regime. These did not conform to the legal safeguards and other requirements; and are loaded with statistical improbabilities.

President Reagan has recognized the victory of Mr. Marcos. He has also asked the opposition presidential candidate, Corazon Aquino, to refrain from heading street demonstrations to prevent civil disorder. What do you think would be the Filipinos' response to this?

The Filipino people are thoroughly disgusted with Reagan's endorsement of Marcos' sham reelection, his absurd claim that fraud and terrorism were committed by both the fascist regime and the opposition; and his admonition to Mrs. Aquino to refrain from holding street demonstrations.

The people are more than ever determined to undertake concerted actions to assert their national sovereignty against US imperialism and to oppose and defeat the criminal collusion between the US and its fascist puppet.

Now that Mr. Marcos has been reelected as president for another term of six years, do you think there is no other means of realizing the hoped-for government of the Filipino people except through armed struggle? Why?

In the final analysis, there is no other way for the Filipino people to realize a truly democratic government but to wage armed struggle against tyranny. The Marcos regime is determined to keep itself in power through brute force. And its imperialist master continues to support it and extend to it military and other assistance.

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Peaceful and legal forms of struggle are important in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people. But these are not enough to bring down fascist tyranny. These must lead to the strengthening of the revolutionary armed forces and their victory over the armed counterrevolution.

What is the process or steps through which the Marcos dictatorship could be brought down? After it shall have been brought down what will be the character of the government that would succeed it?

The process through which the Marcos dictatorship can be brought down may be called people's war. The people self-reliantly build their military strength and political power by seizing arms from their enemy. At the strategic level, the enemy is militarily superior. But at the tactical level the revolutionary forces can launch offensives which they can win. They shall in the end be able to accumulate strength to put the enemy on the defensive and launch the strategic offensive in concert with general uprisings.

After the downfall of the fascist government, a people's democratic government can be established all over the country. Such a government would be based on the alliance of the working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and other patriots. The establishment of this government serves to mark the attainment of national sovereignty and independence by the people and their realization of democracy both in form and substance. Not only civil liberties will be guaranteed, especially among the workers and peasants, but genuine land reform will be accomplished in favor of the peasant majority of the people.

Last year CIA Director Casey, Senator Laxalt, special envoys of President Reagan, and other American factfinding groups came to the Philippines. A statement made in the US Senate Special Committee Report and Committee on Foreign Relations declared that "in 3-5 years the Philippines will fall into an irreversible situation." The continued gains of the NPA and the NDF indicate the possibility of CPP participation and influence in a democratic government which would be constituted in the future. How would you evaluate this?

The semicolonial and semifeudal system is already dying. It is wracked by an ever worsening political and economic crisis because of foreign and feudal domination. The ruling classes can no longer rule in

the old way. They are bitterly and violently split. A fascist dictatorship has been imposed on the people since 1972. An armed revolutionary movement has been growing in strength at a cumulative rate.

The advance of the Philippine revolution has been irreversible since a long time ago, long before US imperialism could acknowledge the trend that there would be a strategic stalemate in the people's war within a few years. So long as US imperialism and its local stooges seek to oppress and exploit the people further, the people's armed revolution will develop and advance at an accelerated rate. Especially after the failure of the snap elections, the people see more clearly than before that the road to national liberation and democracy is through the road of armed revolution.

When a national democratic group shall have taken over the government, what do you think will happen to the Clark Air Base, Subic Naval Base and the other American bases in the Philippines?

After victory of the national democratic revolution, the US will be told to vacate their military bases and facilities in the Philippines in accordance with Philippine sovereignty and territorial integrity. The land and permanent improvements on it will be used for purposes beneficial to the Filipino people.

However, if the ongoing civil war between the fascist dictatorship and the people becomes a national war because of US aggression, the Philippine revolutionary forces will have to attack US aggressor troops and the US military bases even before the total victory of the national democratic revolution. The US should not launch military aggression so that the dismantling of the US military bases in this country will be effected in a diplomatic and peaceful manner.

The US has the option of withdrawing its military bases as peacefully as it did from Thailand in the 1970s or it will lose them all as it did in Vietnam as a result of the people's revolutionary victory over US aggression.

Kindly give your views regarding the claim of some journalists that there will be a large-scale massacre of the Filipinos living in urban areas and intellectuals as in Cambodia. I think the movie "Killing Fields" carries a lot of influence. I do not think that we can escape from confronting the Cambodian problem insofar as contemporary history is concerned. What are your thoughts about this?

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Some American journalists doubling as CIA agents have been trying to slander the Filipino revolutionaries and the NPA as copies of a distorted image of the Khmer Rouge. The CIA-funded psywar campaign is a total failure in view of the fact that the NPA is carrying out a people's war in consonance with civilized conventions and that the fascist dictatorship is the one guilty of having turned the country into its killing fields.

The NPA and the BMA have had fighters only in the thousands. Their fighters are difficult to kill because they are guerrillas closely linked to the people. However, the fascist regime has already murdered at least 150,000 people and wounded at least 100,000 in the course of their military operations. Further on, at least 250,000 have been tortured and maimed; 300,000 have been arbitrarily arrested and detained (at the least for one month); and at least six million people have been displaced and dispossessed of land and homes through military campaigns of suppression and landgrabbing activities since 1972.

I do not think that there will be any massacre of intellectuals and urban dwellers upon the victory of the people's democratic revolution. The urban petty bourgeoisie which includes the overwhelming majority of intellectuals is a basic force of the revolution. Urban residents cannot be forced to do things they really cannot do. It is foolish to punish anyone for something he is incapable of doing. Even big compradors and big landlords who have no blood debts cannot be killed or punished severely but are given a chance to earn a living and enjoy a decent life.

During and after the victory of the armed revolution, the united front of all patriotic and progressive forces and elements is necessary to build a truly free, independent, democratic, just, prosperous and progressive society.

There are many priests in the NPA. What do you think is the role in the Philippine revolution of these priests who believe in liberation theology?

The participation of many priests, nuns and other religious believers in the national democratic revolution is clear proof that this revolution harmonizes and satisfies a broad range of interests.

Religious people are no different from other people in wanting a just social system—free from the scourge of fascist, foreign and feudal oppression and exploitation; and in assuming responsibilities in the revolution according to their capability. Because they are respected

by the people and sensitive to what is just or unjust, priests, nuns and other church workers are in an excellent position to help arouse, organize and mobilize the people for the revolutionary cause.

Religious people who believe in national liberation and democracy are not an entirely new phenomenon in the Philippines. Many priests were in the forefront of the old democratic revolution. It is not surprising that there is an increasing number of them in the ongoing national democratic revolution.

After the establishment of a democratic coalition government led by a national democratic group, how would the IMF loans and the multinationals here be handled? Don't you think there will be capital flight in case of nationalization and the Philippine economy would fall into a worse condition? What do you think will be necessary for all Filipinos to be able to eat three times a day?

The IMF will not be allowed to dictate economic policies of the democratic government of the people. Only those loans which have been beneficial to the people shall be honored. The loans which have been extremely exploitative and have been beneficial only to the conniving foreign firms and the bureaucrat capitalists and cronies will be cancelled. If the lenders want to be repaid, they can help the government go after the ill-gotten wealth of the fascists which had been stashed away abroad.

Foreign firms which can really deliver useful technology and help in the development of the economy can deal with the government and earn legitimate income. All foreign firms must respect the policy of the government to own and control strategic industries, build a self-reliant economy and give Filipinos top priority in every field of enterprise open to the private sector.

I do not think that the nationalization of the economy will put the Philippines in a worse situation. National industrialization can be pushed forward on the basis of self-reliant efforts of the people and with the assistance of socialist countries. A great deal of savings can be made by preventing imperialist firms from taking control of the economy and bringing out superprofits.

Genuine land reform and cooperativization in stages will be carried out in order to emancipate the peasantry politically, to produce more food for the entire people and raw materials for processing industries and create a large domestic market through the peasants who will

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no longer be surrendering their surpluses to the landlords and can therefore use these for their production and consumption needs.

Do you have any message to the Japanese people?

I wish to express my deepest appreciation for the concern that the Japanese people have shown for the Filipino people. We as a people are struggling for national freedom and democracy in a self-reliant way. But we face great odds in our struggle because of increasing US intervention and its continuing support for a tyrannical regime whose rejection by the Filipino people has once again been demonstrated in the recent snap elections and its aftermath.

The Filipino people need a great deal of moral and material support from the peoples of the world, including the Japanese people. We therefore appeal to the Japanese people's high sense of internationalism in the interest of freedom, justice, progress and peace and urge them to support our struggle for national liberation and democracy. Whatever support they can give will be part of the confluence of international support for our people's revolutionary struggle.

We belong to one world. We must help each other create a better world—free from imperialist domination and all other forms of oppression and exploitation.

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Interview with *Der Spiegel's* Tiziano Terzani

February 18, 1986

The elections are over. President Marcos is reelected for six years. How does the future of the Philippines look from your prison cell?

It looks very bright indeed! The revolutionary forces can now advance more boldly than before the elections. From what I hear and read, the broad masses of the people are exceedingly eager to participate in the legal democratic mass movement as well as in the revolutionary armed struggle.

Had Mrs. Cory Aquino won, would the situation have been different?

Let me first clarify the conditional clause of your question. Mrs. Aquino really won. Her landslide victory was so great that days after election day, Marcos had to have the certificates of canvass from many provinces and cities repeatedly refabricated to be able to show a small margin in his favor.

Had Mrs. Aquino been able to assume power, she would probably have taken some steps towards democratic reforms and dismantling the fascist dictatorship. And immediately, the people would have gained better conditions and chances for ridding the country of foreign and feudal domination.

How do you evaluate the Cory phenomenon? How does it come that her following is made up of the Makati rich and the poor of the slum areas?

Cory Aquino happens to be the intelligent and dedicated widow of the arch political rival of the fascist autocrat. Her husband was brutally murdered by the regime. His martyrdom has been added to the atrocities and abuses inflicted by the regime on the people. She has emerged as a determined figure seeking justice not only for her husband but also for all other victims of fascist oppression.

When the split among the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords has become very bitter and violent, it becomes politically wise and necessary for the underdog even among the very rich of

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Makati to link up with the poor of the slum areas against their common oppressor. The Marcos regime is so oppressive that it has victimized a very broad range of the citizenry.

Some observers say that the CPP by boycotting the elections has actually taken votes away from Cory and thus helped Marcos to be reelected. It is an old joke that “Marcos in power is the best recruiter for the NPA.” Is that so?

The boycott tactics adopted by the CPP in the snap elections had the flexibility of indirectly helping the electoral opposition to gain votes where it can. The boycott was a direct response to the fact that the elections were inherently rigged. The flexibility corresponded to the fact that many antifascist allies and the overwhelming majority of the electorate momentarily had the illusion of being able to remove the fascist dictator through a process he himself and his US masters have designed.

Even if the CPP had opted for participation, Marcos would have screwed up the snap elections just the same. His power to cheat would still have prevailed over the will of the electorate. He would just the same have effected the fabrication of votes, tally sheets and certificates of canvass in his favor. Electoral fraud was backed up and secured by the coercive apparatuses of the fascist dictatorship.

Only in an ironic sense is Marcos “the best recruiter for the NPA.” So is the Pentagon its best arsenal; and so is Marcos its chief transport and supply officer for delivering US-made arms to areas where the NPA can get them—through ambushes and raids. Statements of irony are not to be interpreted as declarations of a desire on the part of revolutionaries to perpetuate evil. The revolutionary movement wants to end fascist tyranny as soon as possible and by every possible means—the most effective of which is armed struggle.

Those who believe in beating Marcos through electoral farces of his own making would be in a stronger position if they changed their minds and devote to armed struggle the same amount of personnel, efforts, money and other resources that they poured into the snap elections. Their big big problem is how to overcome the violence that Marcos is unilaterally employing against them. This is also the same problem of the entire people. At any rate, armed revolution by the people is a democratic act superior to participation in pseudodemocratic processes staged by the US and Marcos.

Now that the elections—according to many observers—have proved to be a fraud and that the hopes of many young people for change have been frustrated, do you expect many people asking to join the party and its New People's Army?

Certainly, I expect many more people asking to join the CPP and NPA. The entire people are thoroughly disgusted with the electoral farce. They see more clearly than ever before that there is no way to end the US-Marcos regime but to take the road of armed revolution.

As soon as the New People's Army was formed in 1969, the big problem was paucity of arms in relation to the great number of people waiting to take up arms. Upon the full emergence of fascist dictatorship in 1972, there was an avalanche of young people volunteering for service in the NPA. But there was a scarcity of arms. I surmise that in the aftermath of snap elections, there is again a sudden surge of people insisting on being armed above the usual level of extra volunteers beyond the number of arms available.

If so, will the NPA be forced to accept outside help in order to supply the new recruits with weapons and ammunitions?

It would be fine for the NPA if there are foreign friends willing to extend moral and material support, including military supplies. This foreign assistance can help hasten the end of the people's suffering under the heels of imperialist and fascist terrorism. But I think that the NPA can march from victory to victory by self-reliantly carrying out a people's war and seizing weapons from the enemy. Anyway, the US and its local puppets have an abundance of arms for seizing by the NPA through ambushes, raids and arrest operations.

The revolutionary flow is stronger than ever before. As a matter of fact, there are now objective conditions for general uprisings. These conditions are running far ahead of the actual capabilities of the NPA. What can be done to take advantage of these conditions is for rural troops and armed city partisans of the NPA to do what they can faster and on a wider scale.

The enemy is not that awesome. He has only some 40,000 combat effectives in 77 maneuver battalions backed by 120,000 personnel in service or noncombat units. The 50,000 policemen and 70,000 CHDF most of the time are sitting ducks. Even the regular combat effectives of the AFP are divided into small units which are vulnerable to guerilla offensives.

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The record of recent communist revolutions in South East Asia leaves much to be desired. Vietnam with its "reeducation" camps and its boat people, Cambodia with its mass graves must scare a lot of people away from your party that by simply calling itself communist is rooted in the same ideology that together with "liberation" has also brought new misery and new repression. Already some observers point out that the NPA might be the future Khmer Rouge of the Philippines. What do you have to say about this? Is the record of Vietnam and particularly Cambodia a burden in your conquering the "hearts and minds" of the people in this country?

Your premises and allegations about revolutions in other countries are subject to debate. We have to weigh many factors peculiar to the history and circumstances of those countries. I can only say that revolutions in different countries cannot be exactly the same; and viewpoints regarding them can vary widely. At any rate, I can presume to speak more competently about the Philippine revolution.

Already, the Marcos fascist dictatorship has unilaterally turned the Philippines into its killing field. Since 1972, it has murdered at least 150,000 people, wounded at least 100,000, tortured and maimed at least 250,000, arbitrarily arrested and detained for a minimum of one month some 300,000, and displaced some six million through military campaigns of suppression and landgrabbing activities. The Filipino people cannot be discouraged from waging armed struggle because their enemy has an insatiable bloodthirst. On the contrary, they are driven to fight even more fiercely.

The US Central Intelligence Agency psywar campaign to label the NPA as the new Khmer Rouge is nonsense. The killing field of the US and Marcos is right here and now in the Philippines. If the people give up the armed struggle, there can be no end to the reign of fascist terror as well as the violence of daily exploitation by foreign monopolies and their big comprador and landlord puppets. Horror stories biased against revolutionaries in other countries do not frighten the Filipino people and do not deter them from carrying out their own national democratic revolution.

As regards similarity of ideology, I do not think that the superiority of liberal democracy over absolute monarchy and feudalism was ever nullified either by the terrorism of a Robespierre or by the empire-building of a Napoleon. I do not think that the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the program of the national democratic revolution can

be discredited in the Philippines just because the propagandists of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism badmouth the revolutionaries of other Southeast Asian countries. The evils of fascist, foreign and feudal domination are the urgent concern of the Filipino people who fight for national freedom, democracy and social justice.

After the bishops' statement, how do you value the role of the church? How strong is the Catholic component in the NPA?

The bishops' statement denouncing the fraudulence of Marcos' reelection, pointing out the lack of moral basis for his rule and calling on the people to wage active resistance against evil is a milestone in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship. I appreciate this statement notwithstanding its proviso against violent struggle. This statement serves to help isolate the fascist dictatorship and shake its foundation. It reflects the church people's condemnation of fascist dictatorship as an evil and it encourages intensified popular resistance. The Catholic Church is improving its image before the people.

The Catholic Church in the Philippines is of colonial origin. It has been traditionally in the service of foreign rulers and local exploiters. It is only recently that the Church has been trying to present itself as the Church of the poor people of God. The most progressive of priests, nuns and lay people are under the leadership of the Christians for National Democracy (CNL), which is a major component organization of the National Democratic Front (NDF). Quite a sizeable number of religious people have been integrated into the NPA as fighters. Thus, the enemy has failed to discredit the just cause of the NPA through obscurantist reactionary slogans.

If in one way or another Cory Aquino will be brought to power and the communist party will be legalized, and political prisoners will be freed, do you see the CPP developing along the lines of, let's say, eurocommunism?

If Cory keeps her promises, don't you think at least half of the young people now fighting in the ranks of the NPA will leave the jungles to work again aboveground, within a new constitutional framework?

Your questions are very hypothetical. Cory Aquino or anyone else against Marcos can be brought to power only if Marcos' control and manipulation of the reactionary armed forces can be overcome. Mrs. Aquino herself is now liable to further persecution by the fascist regime

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because she is a very imminent threat to it. What is more likely to happen is that the CPP will ultimately legalize itself by winning political power through armed struggle, or by becoming one of the decisive forces in the making of a coalition government, which would still have a lot of job to do in ridding the country of foreign and feudal domination.

There is not much factual basis for thinking that soon the US will do something to remove Marcos from power and make way for Cory Aquino. But if the US does something to this effect, it will exert strong pressure on her to take a rabid anticommunist, pro-imperialist and reactionary line. She will have difficulties fulfilling all her promises regarding democracy, even if all democratic forces will do everything to encourage her.

The possibility of the CPP becoming a party along the line of eurocommunism is very remote. If the antifascist, anti-imperialist and antifeudal demands of the people are not satisfied, the NPA will certainly remain intact. It will even grow in strength more rapidly than before. The people have nothing without a people's army. Also, the CPP is nothing without it; it would become a beggar kicked around or killed off anytime.

In your view, what are the main problems of the Philippines today? Will Cory in power be able to solve them?

The main problems of the Philippines are the fascist dictatorship and those which brought it about—US imperialism and domestic feudalism. The Filipino people want not only the restoration of formal bourgeois democratic rights and processes but also the realization of national sovereignty and independence from US imperialism in all fields; and the solution of the land problem in favor of the peasant majority of the people.

Mrs. Aquino can solve these problems only if she would raise the level of her own consciousness and get the support of all democratic forces, especially the revolutionary forces. In fact, it should be the revolutionary forces and the entire people solving the problems. It is wrong to expect one person to solve gargantuan problems. A leader can succeed only insofar as he or she can initiate the correct policies and rely on the revolutionary forces and the people.

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